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MEMOIRS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

COUNTY AND CITY OF YORK,

COMMUNICATED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

HELD AT YORK, JULY, 1846,

WITH A GENERAL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING, AND CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEUM FORMED ON THAT OCCASION.

LONDON:

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THE Central Committee of the ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, on the completion of the second volume of the Transactions of the Society at their Annual Meetings, regard with high gratification this accession to archæological literature, the result of their meeting in the city of York. The preparation of this work, illustrative of many subjects of the highest interest in the wide field of research presented to the Institute by Yorkshire, has occupied a much greater amount of labour and time than had been originally anticipated. The Committee, however, feel confident that the satisfaction with which the Society will receive the valuable contributions of the writers in this volume, will dispose them cheerfully to excuse a delay which it was not practicable to avoid, consistently with the convenience of the authors, or the careful preparation of the numerous illustrations with which the work is enriched.

The gratifying duty devolves on the Committee at the present time of renewing the expression of their thanks, on the Society's behalf, to the contributors generally, and more especially to His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl Fitzwilliam, Thomas Stapleton, Esq., V.P.S.A., the Rev. J. L. Petit, Robert Davies, Esq., F.S.A., Edward Hailstone, Esq., F.S.A., and J. H. Parker, Esq., by whose liberality the Committee have been enabled to incur an expenditure much beyond the limit of their ordinary resources.

The Committee beg to observe that they must not be accounted answerable for any opinions or statements which may be found in the publications of the Institute; the authors being alone responsible.

12, HAYMARKET, MARCH 1, 1848.

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Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES, ESPECIALLY IN ENGLAND.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1846.

HELD AT YORK, COMMENCING TUESDAY, JULY 21.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING.

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1846.

A General Meeting was held at 1 o'clock in the Festival Concert Room. The President, the President-Elect, the Vice-Presidents, and members of the several Committees having taken their seats on the platform, the business of the meeting was opened by

The MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON, President of the Institute for the past year, who observed that the pleasing duty had devolved upon him on this occasion of resigning the chair to the Earl Fitzwilliam, a nobleman who had always taken great interest in archæological studies, and who felt much gratified by the invitation he had received to preside over the present meeting. After some observations on the admirable field for antiquarian research presented by the city and county of York, the noble Marquis resigned the chair to

The EARL FITZWILLIAM, who addressing the meeting at considerable length on the value of archæological enquiries, observed that the industry and learning of the present generation had elevated the study of Archæology to the rank of a science, and he knew of no body of persons better calculated to preserve and illustrate the noble monuments of our country than the members of the Institute which he had now the honour of addressing. He could readily enlarge on such a subject, but feeling they had much to do and much to see he would conclude by expressing his gratification at having been elected to preside over the Society.

The DEAN OF HEREFORD then moved a vote of thanks to the Marquis of Northampton for his zealous services as President during the past year, which was seconded by Mr. Stapleton, and carried by acclamation.

The MARQUIS of NORTHAMPTON having returned thanks,

The DEAN of WESTMINSTER proposed a vote of thanks to the Vice-Presidents, Committee and Officers of the Institute for their exertions since the meeting at Winchester. The resolution was seconded by the MASTER of UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

Mr. HAWKINS returned thanks on behalf of the Committee and Officers, and the PRESIDENT having announced the different arrangements for the day the company separated.

During the afternoon numerous parties visited the Minster, the excavations recently made near the multangular Roman tower, the museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and the various objects of archæological interest in the city, which had been thrown open to the Society, with the utmost liberality, on this occasion.

In the evening the Lord Mayor gave an entertainment at the Mansion House which was numerously and brilliantly attended; the plate, state swords and seals of the corporation, together with many objects of antiquity from private collections, were exhibited in the saloon.

Wednesday, July 22.

At 12 o'clock the Architectural Section assembled in the Festival Concert Room, the President, Professor Willis, in the chair.

The following papers were read.

On the Painted Glass in the Cathedral and Churches of York, by Charles Winston, Esq.; read by the Rev. J. L. Petit.

At the conclusion of Mr. Winston's paper the chair was taken by the Earl Fitzwilliam, and

Professor Willis delivered his lecture on the Architectural History of the Cathedral.

In the evening a General Meeting was held in the same rooms, when the following papers were read:

On the Parliaments of York, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne.

On the Causes which arrested the progress of Medieval Sculpture, by Richard Westmacott, Esq., A.R.A.

The Dean of York received a party of the Members during the evening, at the Deanery, when the Chapter Library was opened to their inspection.

Thursday, July 23.

The Historical Section met in the Hospitium of St. Mary's Abbey; the President, Thomas Stapleton, Esq., in the chair.

The following papers were read:

A few Notes of Manuscripts from Wills in the Register of York, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

Notes respecting Travelling and the Transmission of Treasure, chiefly in the northern parts of the kingdom, in the reigns of Edward I., II., and III., or the former half of the fourteenth century, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

Historical Details of the ancient religious community of secular canons in York, prior to the Conquest of England, having the name of the church of the Holy Trinity, otherwise Christchurch; with biographical notices of the founder, Ralph Paynell, by Thomas Stapleton, Esq.

An account of King Henry the Eighth's Progress in Yorkshire, in the year 1541, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.

A True Memorial of the Life of the Lady Ann Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, dictated by herself in the sixty-third year of her age, from a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Thanet; communicated by Edward Hailstone. Esq., F.S.A.

Original Documents relating to Lambert Symnell's rebellion in the second year of King Henry VII., by Robert Davies, Esq., F.S.A.

On the Battle of Towton, or Palm Sunday Field, by the Rev. George Fyler Townsend, M.A., Vicar of Brantingham.

The Section of Early and Medieval Antiquities met at the Savings Bank, in St. Helen's Square, at 11 o'clock; Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., President of the Section, in the chair.

The following papers were read.

On the Art of Sculpture in England during the Middle Ages, by Sir Richard Westmacott, R.A.[a]

Notice of some supposed Egyptian remains in Upper Nubia, hitherto undescribed, by James Talbot, Esq., F.G.S., M.R.I.A.[b]

An account of Silver Ornaments and Treasure discovered at Cuerdale, near Preston, by Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A.[b]

On the Mint-Marks of certain Anglo-Saxon Coins, supposed to have been struck at York, by the Rev. E. J. Shepherd.

Notice of the ancient Chapel of St. Bride, on the shore of the bay, Towyn-y-Capel, on the west coast of Holyhead island, and of the curious interments there discovered, by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P.[c]

On the Mint and Exchange of York in Medieval times, by T. Hudson Turner, Esq.

The Architectural Section met in the Theatre of the Museum at eleven o'clock, PROFESSOR WILLIS in the chair. The following communications were read.

On the ancient Cross at Sherburn, Yorkshire, by George Fowler Jones, Esq.

On Beverley Minster, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, M.A.

On Clifford's Tower, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A.

Remarks on Stowe Church, Lincolnshire, by Sir Charles Anderson, Bart.

In the afternoon a numerous party proceeded on an excursion to the Churches at Skelton, Overton, and Nun-Monkton, in the vicinity of York.

In the evening a public dinner was held at the De Grey Rooms, at seven o'clock, the PRESIDENT in the chair, about 120 members being present.

FRIDAY, JULY 24.

On this morning a numerous body of members visited Aldborough, (the ancient ISURIUM,) where they were hospitably received by Andrew Lawson, Esq., M.P., and afforded every facility for inspecting the museum of relics of the Roman occupation of Aldborough, preserved in his mansion at Boroughbridge, and also the excavations at Aldborough which had been specially made for the occasion, under the superintendance of Mr. Rohde

[a] Since printed in the Archaeological Journal, vol. iii. p. 193.

[b] Ibid., vol. iv. pp. 111, 139.

[c] Ibid., vol. iii. p. 223.

Hawkins; from thence the party proceeded to Fountains Abbey, returning to York by Ripon.

By the kindness of the Very Rev. the Dean of York, the Minster was lighted in the evening, and a selection of Sacred Music was performed for the gratification of the members of the Institute.

Saturday, July 25.

An excursion took place to the Abbeys of Rievaulx and Byland, Gilling Castle and Church being visited on the road. The members were entertained by the Lord Feversham at Duncombe Park.

A Meeting of the Section of Early and Medieval Antiquities was held at the Savings Bank, in St. Helen's Square; President, Sir John P. Boileau, Bart.

The papers read were,

On a collection of Miscellaneous Antiquities of every period, found in the alluvial soil at Hoylake, near the mouth of the river Dee, by the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.[d]

On the Roman Station of Cataractonium, by Sir William Lawson, Bart.

On the site of the Campodunum of Bede, by W. C. Copperthwaite, Esq.

On the Mazer Bowl of Archbishop Scrope, by Robert Davies, Esq., F.S.A.

Note on the Sepulchral Brass of Brian Roucliffe, in Cowthorp Church, and on the Monument to Lord Wharton, in Helaugh Church, by the Rev. T. Jessop, D.D.

Observations on an Ancient Pillar found in taking down the old Parish Church of Leeds, by R. D. Chantrell, Esq.

A General Meeting was held in the evening at the Theatre of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, the Marquis of Northampton in the chair, when the following communications were read.

On the alleged discovery of the Tomb of Constantius Chlorus, near the church of St. Helen on the Wall, in York, and the ignited lamp found therein; as compared with a similar sepulchral lamp, reported to have been found in the province of Cordova in Spain, as communicated to the Institute by Mr. Wetherell, of Seville, Foreign Honorary Member; by Albert Way, Esq.

Professor Phillips, at the request of the Marquis of Northampton, concisely explained the main features of the physical geography of Yorkshire, and their probable influence on the direction of ancient roads, and the sites of ancient settlements.

Mr. Newton then read a valuable memoir on the British and Roman remains of Yorkshire; a paper of great interest, illustrated by a map, drawn on a large scale, shewing the ancient roads, earthworks, and supposed sites

[d] This interesting Memoir has subsequently been published by Dr. Hume, with representations of the most remarkable objects. London. 8vo. 1847. Longmans.

of stations. This valuable map, which Mr. Newton had prepared under the direction of the Committee of the Institute, has since been engraved and published.

MONDAY, JULY 27.

The Architectural Section assembled at half-past ten o'clock, in the Theatre of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, PROFESSOR WILLIS in the chair.

The following papers were read.

Observations on the Saxon Crypt under the Cathedral Church of Ripon, commonly called St. Wilfred's Needle, by J. R. Walbran, Esq.

On the Norman Keeps of Coningsborough and Richmond, by A. Milward, Esq. Read by the Rev. Edmund Hill, M.A.[a]

Mr. John Browne gave an account of some Norman masonry which he had discovered in the upper part of the Great Tower of York Minster, between the vaulting and the roof of the aisle, at the south-west angle.

A General Meeting of the Subscribing Members was held in the Theatre of the Museum at 12 o'clock; the Marquis of Northampton took the chair in the absence of the President. About two hundred members were present.

The Report of the Auditors, dated 20th May, 1846, was read by Albert Way, Esq., Honorary Secretary, from which it appeared that the Receipts of the Institute from March 11, to Dec. 31, 1845, amounted to the sum of £923. 10s., and the Expenditure during the same period to £465. 9s. 11d., leaving a balance to be carried to the account of the year 1845-6, of £458. 0s. 1d.

Mr. Way then announced that the Auditors had made the following recommendation.

"That the year shall be considered as closing with the 31st of December, from which time the subscriptions for the ensuing year shall become due.

A. J. B. Hope,
C. H. Hartshorne, } Auditors."

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Way, in the unavoidable absence of the Treasurer, made the following financial statement of the funds of the Institute up to the time of the Meeting.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at London bankers	370	10	0
Annual Contributions of Subscribing Members received during the Meeting of York	75	0	0
Contributions of residents in York and the vicinity, in payments for tickets taken during the present Meeting	145	0	0
Contributions to the Fund for defraying Local Expenses	74	10	0
Donations for General Purposes	15	0	0
	780	0	0

[a] Printed in the Archaeological Journal, vol. v.

Mr. Way proceeded to read the Report of the Central Committee.

The Report alluded to the success which had attended the monthly meetings of the Institute in London, to the great increase of members that had taken place subsequently to the Meeting at Winchester, upwards of 150 Subscribers having been enrolled since that period, and concluded with the following recommendations.

"In contemplating the prospects of the ensuing year, the Committee anxiously desire that they may be enabled to carry out the objects of the Institute in their monthly meetings and in their publications on a far more enlarged scale than at present. As these exertions will necessarily render larger resources requisite than are provided by the original scheme of the Society, the Committee would recommend that at the Annual Meeting in future years the price of Cards of admission should not be included in the Annual Subscription. The Committee may confidently state that their financial arrangement as originally adopted must prove inadequate, without some such modification, to the desired extension of the purposes of the Society.

"The attention of the Central Committee having been called by the Auditors of the last year to the inconvenience which has been found to arise under the present arrangement, in regard to the commencement of the financial year from the close of the General Meeting, they have resolved that the following recommendation be submitted for approval. That the present financial year commencing from this day, shall terminate with December 31, 1847, and that in all future years the financial year shall commence with the 1st of January and shall close with the 31st December. All persons however who shall have paid their Subscriptions at any time subsequently to September 22, 1845, shall be entitled to attend the monthly meetings and to any other privileges as subscribing Members until the close of the present year."

On the motion of the Noble Chairman the Report of the Committee was adopted unanimously.

The Chairman announced that the following Vice-President and six ordinary Members of the Central Committee had been selected to go out, in accordance with Rule V.

The Viscount Adare, Vice-President.
Charles F. Barnwell, Esq.
George Bowyer, Esq.
Hon. Robert Curzon, Jun.
Benjamin Ferrey, Esq.
Patrick Frazer Tytler, Esq.
William S. W. Vaux, Esq.

And that the Gentlemen nominated by the Central Committee to fill up the vacancies were;

The Marquis of Northampton, Vice-President.
William Henry Blaauw, Esq., M.A.

JOHN WINTER JONES, Esq., Depart. of Printed Books, Brit. Mus.
JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A.
JAMES TALBOT, Esq., F.G.S., M.R.I.A.
CHARLES TUCKER, Esq., F.S.A.
THOMAS HENRY WYATT, Esq., Fellow of the Instit. of Brit. Archit.

It was also announced that the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S A., had assented to join the Central Committee in the place of Thomas King, Esq., F.S.A., Rouge-Dragon, who had retired during the past year in consequence of ill health.

This list having been submitted to the Meeting was agreed to.

The Meeting then proceeded to elect as Auditors for the year 1846-7;

The Rev. PHILIP BLISS, D.C.L., Registrar of the University of Oxford.
CHARLES COCKERELL, Esq., R.A.

And as Trustees,

EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., M.P.
EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

The Marquis of Northampton announced that the Central Committee recommended Norwich as the place for holding the next General Meeting.

Previously to the motion being put, Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., presented a requisition from the county of Lincoln, signed by the Earl Brownlow, Lord Lieutenant, and principal gentry of the county, the municipal authorities and chief inhabitants of the city of Lincoln inviting the Institute to meet at Lincoln.

An invitation to the like effect was also communicated from Edinburgh, through W. B. D. Turnbull, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

A similar requisition from the authorities of Rochester was presented by Edward Foss, Esq., F.S.A.

The Noble Chairman having stated the reasons which had guided the Committee in selecting Norwich as the place of meeting, it was resolved that the next Annual Meeting of the Institute be held in the city of Norwich.

The Chairman then announced that the Bishop of Norwich was proposed as President-Elect, and the Honorary Secretary having read a letter from the Bishop assenting to the nomination,

The Lord Bishop of Norwich was unanimously declared President-Elect.

The following Votes of Thanks were passed unanimously.

To the Earl Fitzwilliam, President of the Institute, for the kindness with which he had presided over the Meeting, and for the services he had rendered.

Moved by the Rev. W. H. Dixon, and seconded by Sir Charles Anderson, Bart.

To the Lord Mayor and municipal authorities of York, for their kindness in allowing the use of the Guildhall and Rooms therein, and for the general assistance which they had rendered.

Moved by Professor Willis, and seconded by Thomas Stapleton, Esq.

To the Very Rev. the Dean and Chapter of York, for the gratuitous admission of the members to the Cathedral, and for the use of St. Peter's School for the purposes of the exhibition of antiquities.

Moved by Sir John Boileau, Bart., and seconded by Edward Hawkins, Esq.

To the Lord Prudhoe, for the communication of many interesting and valuable objects of antiquity found at Stanwick, which were deposited in the British Museum through the Central Committee of the Institute.

Moved by the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt, and seconded by Albert Way, Esq.

To the Right Hon. the Earl de Grey, and the Lord Feversham, to Andrew Lawson, Esq., M.P., and the very Rev. the Dean of Ripon, for their kindness in allowing the inspection of the ancient ruins of Fountains and Rievaulx Abbeys, the Remains of the Roman city of Isurium, and the Cathedral of Ripon, and for the hospitalities rendered on those occasions.

Moved by Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., and seconded by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne.

To the Rev. W. H. Dixon, chairman, W. L. Newman, honorary secretary, and the other members of the Local Committee who had so zealously given their assistance both previously to, and during the Meeting of the Institute.

Moved by the Rev. J. L. Petit, and seconded by Charles Newton, Esq.

To the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, for their kindness in allowing the use of their buildings for the purposes of the Meeting, and for their valuable assistance and co-operation.

Moved by the Rev. Dr. Plumptre, Master of University College, Oxford, and seconded by Edwin Guest, Esq.

To the Societies of Antiquaries of Scotland and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to the Council of the Whitby and Scarborough Museums, also to the Yorkshire Architectural Society for their liberality in sending antiquities from their Museum, and to the exhibitors and others who had united in augmenting the interest of the Meeting.

Moved by the Very Rev. Dr. Merewether, Dean of Hereford, and seconded by Professor Phillips.

To those Gentlemen who had contributed papers, and to the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Officers, and Members of the respective Committees.

Moved by the Very Rev. Dr. Peacock, Dean of Ely, and seconded by G. P. R. Minty, Esq.

The Marquis of Northampton having left the chair, it was taken by the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt. It was thereupon moved by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of York, and seconded by George Hudson, Esq., M.P.,

That the warmest thanks of the Members of the Institute be given to the Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton, for the valuable services he has at all times rendered to the Institute, and for his kind co-operation and assistance during the present Meeting.

This resolution having been put to the Meeting, was passed by acclamation.

The Marquis of Northampton acknowledged the compliment thus paid to him.

Previously to the dissolution of the Meeting, the Very Rev. the Dean of Hereford rose and stated that some Members of the Institute having felt great interest in the Cathedral, and how much of its history and antiquities had been elucidated by the valuable work thereon, written by Mr. Browne, of York, they had purchased a copy of his work, which he was requested to present on behalf of those Members to the library of the Institute.

Albert Way, Esq., then rose, and having alluded to the excellent manner in which the history of this city had been described in the days of the Romans by the Rev. C. Wellbeloved, and the regret which the Society must feel at his unavoidable absence from their proceedings, presented a copy of the work "Eburacum," written by that gentleman, as a donation to the library of the Institute.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE FUND FOR DEFRAYING LOCAL EXPENSES.

	£.	s.	d.
Sir J. H. Lowther, Bart., M.P.	5	0	0
H. R. Yorke, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
G. Hudson, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
The Very Rev. the Dean of York	1	0	0
Rev. W. H. Dixon, Canon Residentiary	5	0	0
The Lord Prudhoe	5	0	0
The Viscount Downe	5	0	0
The Lord Wenlock	5	0	0
The Lord Mayor	3	0	0
G. T. Andrews, Esq.	2	0	0
T. Barstow, Esq.	1	0	0
J. Bayldon, Esq.	1	0	0
J. Brook, Esq.	1	0	0
H. S. Belcombe, Esq., M.D.	1	0	0
E. Smith, Esq., Acomb	1	0	0
J. Phillips, Esq.	1	0	0
W. L. Newman, Esq.	1	0	0
G. Dodsworth, Esq.	1	0	0
R. Davies, Esq., Town-Clerk of York	1	0	0
R. Nicholson, Esq.	1	0	0
J. Priest, Esq.	1	0	0
G. H. Seymour, Esq.	1	0	0
W. Scawin, Esq.	1	0	0
Ven. Archdeacon Churton	1	0	0
T. Allis, Esq.	1	0	0
Joshua Buckle, Esq.	1	0	0
James Barber, Esq.	1	0	0
B. Dodsworth, Esq.	1	0	0
G. Goldie, Esq., M.D.	1	0	0
T. H. Travis, Esq.	1	0	0
T. Simpson, Esq.	1	0	0
H. Hearon, Esq.	1	0	0
H. Robinson, Esq., Petergate	1	0	0
E. Harper, Esq.	1	0	0
J. M. Butterfield, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. J. Kenrick	1	0	0
W. Gray, Esq.	1	0	0
Hon. P. Dawnay	1	0	0
W. Dyson, Esq., Howden	1	0	0
J. Swann, Esq.	1	0	0
J. Bailey Langhorne, Esq.	1	0	0
J. B. Rudd, Esq.	0	10	0

The total amount subscribed to the local fund was £162. 15. 0

CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUITIES,

Exhibited in the Museum formed, by permission of the Dean and Chapter, at St. Peter's School in the Minster yard, during the Annual Meeting of the Archæological Institute, held at York in 1846.

BRITISH ANTIQUITIES.

A stone hammer, or axe-head, with some spear-heads, found within the entrenchments at Stanwick, North Riding.—*The Lord Prudhoe (now Duke of Northumberland.)*

A stone hammer and arrow-head, found in the cairn of stones covering the cistvaen, in a tumulus opened in October, 1835, at Weapon-ness, near Scarborough. Within the cistvaen, which was closed by a large covering-stone, was found a skeleton, and a small drinking cup. The knees had been drawn up to the breast, and the corpse had not been exposed to fire. The hammer, with a flint arrow-head or javelin-head, was found in an inverted urn, containing calcined bones, and evidently a secondary deposit. An account of these discoveries was published by Dr. Travis, with representations of the tumulus and the various objects found therein. Similar cistvaens, containing skeletons deposited entire, and urns (not cinerary) have been found in the southern parts of Scandinavia, according to Mr. Worsaae.—*Dr. Travis, Scarborough.*

An arrow-head of silex, found near York.—*Mr. T. Browne.*

An arrow-head of siliceous stone, found in a tumulus on the Sussex Downs, near Lewes. Also a fine celt of white silex, found in a tumulus at Mount Caburn, Lewes; an oval perforated stone, supposed to have been an amulet, found in a tumulus on Cliff Hill, Lewes, and a cutting implement of blue veined silex, supposed to have been used for sacrificial purposes, found, with human bones, boars' tusks, fragments of sepulchral urns and ashes, in a large tumulus on Windoor Hill, near Wilmington, Sussex, in 1833. See an account of these discoveries in Horsfield's History of Lewes.—*Dr. Gideon Algernon Mantell.*

An arrow-head of agate, and another of silex, with knives of the same material, an iron arrow-head of later date and a buckle, found at Eskdaleside, near Whitby, not far from the British Camp on the northern edge of Sleights Moor. See Young's Hist. of Whitby, vol. ii. p. 686.—*Mr. Henry Belcher.*

An arrow-head of flint, barbed, and a portion of a cinerary urn, in which it was found, within a circular bank near the remarkable earth-works on Baildon Common, near Bradford, Yorkshire, described by the late Mr. J. M. Colls in a memoir printed in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 304. Representations of these objects are given ib., pl. viii. Also celts from Silsden Moor, Keighley, and an arrow-head, found with calcined bones and charred wood on Hawksworth Moor. —*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

Spear or javelin-head of silex, arrow-heads of the same material, spear-head of bronze, a pin of horn or bone, probably used for fastening the garment of

skin across the breast, another pin of wood, supposed to have been used as a bodkin, and an ornament of horn or bone, supposed to have been affixed to the handle of a spear. These objects were found with a skeleton deposited in a coffin, formed of the trunk of an oak tree, in a tumulus at Gristhorpe, between Scarborough and Filey. An account of the discovery was published, in 1834, by Mr. William Williamson. Human remains, wrapped in skins of deer sewed together, and deposited in the trunk of a large oak tree, were found in the King Barrow, Stowborough, Dorset, in 1767. Near the trunk was a small wooden cup, ornamented with incised lines. Hutchins, Hist. of Dorset, vol. i. p. 38. Camden, ed. Gough, vol. i. pl. ii. p. 70. An instance of a similar mode of sepulture, found in the north of Europe, is described by Mr. Worsaae, in his work on the Antiquities of Denmark.—*Mr. William Williamson, Manchester.*

Two weapons formed of silex, of unusual size, one shaped as a maul or battle-axe, the other resembling an adze. They were found in Suffolk. Also arrow-heads, of silex, found at Wolpit, and necklace of amber, beads, vitrified paste, and coloured stone, found with early British remains in Suffolk.—*Mr. W. Whincopp.*

Three stone celts, or axe-heads, found in 1844, at Mulickford, on the River Shannon.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.*

Beads, and small ornaments of jet, found in an urn containing calcined human bones, deposited in a tumulus near Mount Caburn, Lewes. Similar objects have been found in tumuli in Wiltshire, described by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. See Horsfield's History of Lewes, p. 47. pl. v.—*Dr. Gideon Algernon Mantell.*

Four specimens of Kimmeridge "coal-money," probably the refuse pieces from the lathe, produced in turning ornaments formed of the shale of the Dorsetshire coast. Found near Rempston Hall, Dorset. A curious notice of the origin of these objects has recently been given by Professor Henslow, in the Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—*Mr. Albert Way.*

A singular ball, composed of a nodule of flint, coated over with a hard composition, the ground white, with seven circular ornaments formed of incrustations of a reddish-brown colour, each circle enclosing a star of eight points. The diameter of the ball is about 2¼ inches. This unique object was found in a sepulchral urn of coarse fabrication, in a tumulus near the Race-course at Brighton. It has been supposed to have been used as a charm, possibly of the same description as the *ovum anguinum* of the Druids. Also a flat circular bead, found in a tumulus on Cliff Hill, Sussex. Objects of this kind have been found not unfrequently amongst early remains, and they were used, possibly, in connexion with the distaff. In Ireland, as also in Wales, they are still regarded with some degree of superstitious estimation. See Horsfield's History of Lewes, p. 49. pl. iv.—*Dr. Mantell.*

A ball of rock-crystal, beautifully translucent and perfectly polished, stated to have been found with British urns at Shropham, Norfolk. Similar balls, supposed to have been used in divination, were found by Douglas in tumuli near Chatham, and on Chartham Downs, near Canterbury. With these last were found gold ornaments and objects certainly of later date than the introduction of Christianity, and probably of the Anglo-Saxon age. These balls are represented in the Nenia, plates 4, 5. One of them is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, and another exists in the remarkable collection of remains found in Kentish tumuli, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Faussett, at Heppington, near Canterbury. There is also a specimen in the British Museum, and another, found in the tomb attributed to Childeric, near Tournay, is in the

Cabinet of Antiquities in the King's Library in Paris. Childeric died A.D. 481[a]. —*Mr. W. Whincopp.*

Three small urns, or drinking cups, a broken urn, and fragments of an earthen vessel described as "a pankin," filled with bones, found in two tumuli, on Stainton Dale Moor, near Whitby, in 1841, by Mr. William Marwood, of Stainton Dale, now resident at Whitby, who communicated them to Mr. Belcher, for exhibition at the York meeting. Also bones and remains found in a tumulus on Danby Moor, near Whitby, July 6, 1846.—*Mr. Henry Belcher.*

Fragments of British urns, and a stud or button of jet, found with them at Birdsall, near Malton.—*Mr. Copperthwaite.*

A small vessel or cup of deep red coloured ware, found in a tumulus at Upleatham, North Riding. Diameter and height, two inches. (From the Whitby Museum.)—*Dr. Young, of Whitby.*

A small British fictile vessel, rudely fashioned, without the use of a lathe; it is of the kind designated by Sir Richard Colt Hoare as drinking cups. Found on Bawdsey Cliff, on the coast of Suffolk.—*Mr. W. Whincopp.*

A small sepulchral urn, found in a tumulus on Cliff Hill, Lewes, with other urns and ashes. See an account of discoveries in tumuli in Sussex, in Horsfield's History of Lewes.—*Dr. Mantell.*

A gold torc, found in the year 1843, in ploughing on the estate of Timothy Hardcastle, Esq., at Scalby, near Scarborough, and now in his possession. Weight 2½ oz. 1 dwt., length 36 in. It is formed of a triangular bar twisted. The extremities are cylindrical, and recurved, intended apparently to be hooked together; their length is 1½ in. This is a fine specimen of the funicular torc or belt, according to the classification proposed by Mr. Birch, who thinks that the ornaments of this type may probably be referred to the fourth or fifth century. Archæol. Journal, vol. ii. p. 379; vol. iii. p. 27. Representations of similar torques are given in Pennant's Tour in Wales, vol. ii. p. 261; Vetusta Monumenta, vol. v. pl. xxix.[b]—*Dr. Travis, Scarborough.*

A gold torc, found Jan. 20, 1835, about a mile and half from the sea, in a loam pit, in the parish of Boyton, in Suffolk. It is formed of two flat pieces of gold bent longitudinally, so that the two sides are at right angles with each other; the two pieces were then placed back to back, and twisted so as to form a screw of four threads. It is to be observed that torques of this description, having the extremities recurved, forming hooks, are supposed to have been fastened, not by putting one hook within the other, but by a small ring over one hook, through which when brought to the neck or thinnest part of the hook, the other might readily be passed. The ring was too small to admit of the thick extremities being passed through it at the same time. This torc weighs 2 oz. 4 dwts. It was imbedded in the soil 12 feet below the surface. It had, when found, two small rings upon the recurved hooks, one of which was lost in washing it. A representation of this torc is given in the Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 471.—*Mr. Edward Hawkins.*

A bronze torc, of the simple twisted, or funicular, form; the extremities plain, terminating in blunt points, and upon each was found a ring formed of a bronze wire or bar twisted spirally; the use of these rings, the diameter of which is much larger than the size of the torc at the thickest part, has not been ex-

[a] See Montfaucon, Monarchie Franc., tom. i. p. 15, pl. v. He mentions the discovery of twenty balls of crystal in an alabaster urn, enclosed in a tomb, found at Rome.

[b] A gold torc, of a different type, found in the parish of Guiseley, West Riding, is described in Whitaker's Loidis, vol. i. p. 212. It was formed of two plain cylindrical rods, twisted together, and increasing in thickness towards their extremities.

plained. Four armillæ of bronze, of remarkable form, and a large celt. These curious objects were found beneath a low tumulus, within the ancient encampment near Stanmer, Sussex, called Hollingbury Hill. They were found deposited in regular order, the torc and celt were *broken*, apparently by design, before they were buried; the celt was placed in the centre, encircled by the torc, and the four armillæ were arranged, one at each corner, forming a square. The torc, with the exception of the extremities being plain, not recurved, is similar to two torques of bronze found on the Quantock Hills, Somersetshire, in 1794, and it is remarkable that within each of those torques was likewise found deposited a celt, similar in fashion to the celt discovered at Hollingbury Hill, but formed with a lateral loop, which is wanting in that specimen. (Archæologia, vol. xiv. pl. 23, p. 94.) The celt measures about 6 in. in length, and it is of the type formed with a central stop-ridge, according to the classification proposed by Mr. Du Noyer, previous to the use of a ring, or ear, at the side. (Archæological Journal, vol. iv. pl. 4, fig. D.)—*Dr. Mantell.*

A remarkable collar, or beaded torc, of bronze, found in 1831, in a stone-quarry at Mowroad, in the parish of Rochdale, Lancashire, and now in the possession of Mr. Dearden, of Rochdale. It consists of two portions, adjusted together by means of sockets and iron tenons. One half represents a string of eleven wreathed globular beads, with intervening pieces of metal in the form of a pulley-wheel. The other moiety is squared, chased with double zigzag lines, being apparently intended to represent the cord upon which the beads were strung. Dimensions, 4 inches and five-eighths, by 3½ inches diameter, the form being somewhat elliptical. See Mr. Whatton's account of this curious object, Archæologia, vol. xxv. p. 595, and remarks by Mr. Birch, Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 33.—*Mr. Dearden, The Orchard, Rochdale.*

A bronze collar, of the kind designated by Mr. Birch as the beaded torc, formed in two portions, one part, representing the string, being slightly elastic and adjusted to the beaded portion by means of pins or tenons fitting into corresponding sockets, so as to enable the wearer readily to remove it from his neck. It is ornamented with twelve knobs chased with zigzag lines, and apparently formed in imitation of the vitrified beads, ornamented with undulating lines, frequently found in British tumuli. Representations of it are given in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. pl. xxiii. p. 517, and in Mr. Birch's Memoir on the Torc of the Celts, Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 32. It was found deposited between two upright slabs, with an horizontal stone resting upon them, on the edge of the Moor, between Embsay and Barden, near Skipton, North Riding, Yorkshire.—*Mr. R. H. Sedgwick.*

Another bronze collar, or beaded torc, of the same type as the preceding, but varied in all its ornamental details. The beads are ribbed or reeded, like a melon; between each is a ring, grooved like a pulley or the vertebral joints of fishes. These, as well as the beads, are disconnected, having apparently been strung upon a metal wire, possibly of iron, as in the curious fragment of a torc found in Worcestershire, belonging to Mr. Jabez Allies. It was found in Socher Moss, Dumfriesshire, deposited in a small bronze basin, which was exhibited with it.—*Mr. Thomas Gray, of Liverpool.*

Portion of another beaded torc, of bronze, discovered at Barrow Cop, in Perdeswell, in the parish of Claines, about two miles from Worcester. It lay in a bed of gravel, about two feet below the surface. The beads are curiously wreathed, with an intervening piece, like the little wheel of a pulley, between each, the whole being strung on a strong iron wire. A representation of this

remarkable object is given in the Archæologia, vol. xxx. p. 554. See also Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 34.—*Mr. Jabez Allies, F.S.A., of Worcester.*

A very remarkable ornament of gold, in the form of a bow, with terminal cups, found at Swinton Park, in the parish of Masham, North Riding. It was discovered about 1815, in forming a sunk fence nearly opposite the entrance lodge, and scarcely two feet beneath the surface. It bears much resemblance to one type of the Irish "ring-money," as designated by Sir William Betham. (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xvii.[c]) By some antiquaries these singular objects have been termed armlets; it appears more probable that they might serve as fastenings of the mantle or other garment, or possibly they were ornaments of a sacred or mystic nature. The weight of this specimen is 5 oz. 3 dr. 10 gr. A gold ornament, of analogous description, was found in Scotland, in 1731, deposited in an urn. (Archæologia, vol. ii. pl. iii. Reliqu. Galeanæ, p. 280.) Another was found, in 1773, near the Lizard Point, Cornwall; and two, of which one weighed 9 oz. 10 dwts., were discovered near Ripon in 1780, as stated in Gough's Additions to Camden, vol. iv. p. 231. No example of the precise type found at Swinton, has been noticed as discovered in England. See plate 1, fig. 1. Communicated from the Swinton Museum, through Mr. Charles Tucker, by the kindness of Capt. and Mrs. Danby Harcourt.

A massive gold ring, supposed to have been worn on the finger, formed of two square bars rudely twisted together, and gradually diminishing in size towards the extremities, where they are united together. It was ploughed up at Bormer, in Sussex, and was presented to Dr. Mantell by the Earl of Chichester. It is represented in Horsfield's History of Lewes, plate iv. Two other torc-rings of this description, but differing in the fashion of the twist, have been noticed as found in Britain. One, found on the field of Flodden, is represented in the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 269; another, found in Suffolk, is in the collection of Mr. Whincopp, of Woodbridge. The resemblance between these ornaments and the gold "ring-money" of the interior of Africa, is exceedingly curious. See in the Numismatic Chronicle representations of two specimens in the possession of the Numismatic Society, with a memoir communicated by Mr. Dickinson, Nov. 1843.—*Dr. Mantell.*

Bronze spear-head, found near Flasby.—*Mr. Cooper Preston.*

A bronze weapon, the blade of which is formed like a spear-head, but without a socket; it terminates like the blade of a short-hafted weapon, and has a perforation at the extremity, intended apparently to serve in attaching a handle to it, like that of a dagger. It was found at Hintlesham, Suffolk. In the Goodrich Court collection there are two similar weapons, found in Ireland. Also several bronze celts, of unusually small dimensions, found in Burnt Fen, Mildenhall, and other localities in Suffolk. The smallest measures in length 3 inches, breadth of the blade 1 inch. The form resembles that of the celt with a slight central stop-ridge, given by Mr. Lort, Archæologia, vol. v. pl. ix. fig. 3.—*Mr. W. Whincopp, Woodbridge.*

An unique spear-head of bronze, found in 1844, in dredging the bed of the Severn, about a mile and a half below Worcester. A representation is given in plate 6. See also Archæol. Journal, vol. ii. p. 187.—*Mr. Jabez Allies, F.S.A.*

A bronze spear-head and dagger, found in a tumulus on the South Downs, near Lewes. Also a singular bronze object, apparently the handle of a vase; one extremity fashioned in the form of a lion's head. It was found in a tumulus on Alfriston Hill, Sussex.—*Dr. Mantell.*

[c] See also Vallancey's Coll. Hib., vol. iv. No. xiii. pl. vi. and vol. vi. pl. xiii.

A bone comb, found with a human skull, and several heads of oxen, (the *bos longifrons*) in a marshy spot near the church at Stanwick, North Riding. Several heads of the same primitive kind of cattle were found at another spot within the entrenchments at Stanwick, a few hundred yards from the church, to the eastward[d]. Professor Owen has given an account of the *bos longifrons* in his History of British Mammalia, p. 508; he thinks it not improbable that this breed may have been domesticated by the ancient Britons, a supposition corroborated by the discovery of the human skull and comb, at Stanwick, with the remains of oxen. Similar combs of bone have been found with other objects in various parts of Britain; a representation of one discovered in the drains of the Roman baths at Hunnum, Haltwhistle, is given in Hodgson's History of Northumberland, part ii. vol. iii. p. 319. Two were found at the Castle Hill, Thetford, as described by Dr. Stukeley, in 1760, and other specimens have been recently found in Dorsetshire. Another is figured in the Archæologia Scotica, vol. iii. pl. v. It was found in the Burgh, or circular fort, of Burgar, parish of Evie, Orkney, with a skull and part of a deer's horn.—*The Lord Prudhoe, (now Duke of Northumberland.)*

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN GREAT BRITAIN, AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES.

A "tabula honestæ missionis," a thin plate of bronze, now much broken and decayed, found, with a second similar plate, in ploughing "the Lawns," near Stanington, Ecclesfield, in Hallamshire, early in the year 1761. They are commemorative of privileges granted by Hadrian to certain cohorts of foreign mercenaries, who had served in Britain. An imperfect transcript of the other plate, which appears to have been in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk, on whose estates these valuable relics were found, has been given by Gough, in his Additions to Camden's Britannia, vol. iii. p. 263, ed. 1806. The fragments of this curious inscription, now belonging to Mr. Younge, were liberally communicated by that gentleman, through the kindness of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, in whose "History of Sheffield," (p. 18,) an account of this remarkable discovery is given.

A collection of ornaments, coins, and other objects, found in the parish of Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland, in 1838, during the demolition of an old bridge over the Troutbeck, near the Roman station, supposed by Camden to have been *Gallagum*, according to Horsley, *Brovonacæ*. These antiquities formed part of a concrete mass found embedded in the foundation of the bridge, and consisted of numerous coins, fibulæ of various forms, some lyre-shaped, others circular with a transverse *acus;* one ornamented with enamel, fixed by fusion in cavities chased on its surface, another object enamelled in like manner, ornaments resembling studs or buttons, a surgeon's probe, a small bird of silver, and a ring, deprived of the stone with which it had been set. Also an *aureus* of Hadrian. Communicated through the Rev. John Brown, of Kirkby Thore.—*Sir George Musgrave, Bart., F.S.A., of Edenhall, Westmoreland.*

Another assemblage of miscellaneous ornaments, found at the same spot, comprising a Roman stilyard, a style, gold chain with beads, a bronze figure of a greyhound, an ear-ring, a key, two spear-heads, and specimens of the conglomerate from the foundations of the bridge, in which are compactly embedded fibulæ, rings, enamelled ornaments, with two specimens exhibiting impressions of Roman coins, and other remains, discovered at Kirkby Thore. An interesting account of

[d] This comb has subsequently been deposited by the Duke of Northumberland in the British Museum.

this deposit was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Capt. Smyth, Dir. S.A., and is printed, with representations of some of the fibulæ and other relics, in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 279.—*Mr. John Crosby, of Kirkby Thore.*

A small draped figure of bronze, a fibula in the form of a wheel, a ring, various portions of vessels of "Samian," and grey coloured ware with embossed ornaments, found in Thornborough pasture, near the remains of the Roman station at Catterick.—*Sir William Lawson, Bart.*

A gold ring, found in Tanner Row, York, and a ring of mixed metal found at Bishopthorpe, both supposed to be of the Roman age.—*Rev. D. R. Currer.*

Enamelled fibula, in the form of a fish (?) resembling the small marine animal common in the Mediterranean, termed a sea-horse, the *Hippocampus* of Pliny. See plate 1, fig. 4. Also several rings, considered to be Roman; found at Malton, North Riding. A portion of an enamelled fibula, precisely similar to this, is preserved in the British Museum.—*Mr. Copperthwaite.*

A fibula, found at Malton.—*Dr. Young, of Whitby.*

Several remarkable examples of enamel, apparently of Roman workmanship; liberally communicated, with other antiquities, from the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. They comprised a bronze fibula of the form above mentioned, ornamented with red, blue, and yellow enamels, closely resembling one found at Malton, exhibited by Mr. Copperthwaite; a fibula in the form of an eagle; four other fibulæ of various shapes, and two enamelled studs or buttons[e].—*The Yorkshire Philosophical Society.*

A very remarkable lyre-shaped fibula of bronze, of most beautiful workmanship, and enriched with enamel of a brilliant blue colour. It was found in the Roman Station at Risingham, Northumberland, and communicated for exhibition in the Museum of the Institute by the kindness of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, through John Adamson, Esq. See plate 1, fig. 2. An enamelled fibula of similar fashion, found at King's Holme, Gloucestershire, is represented in Douglas' Nenia, p. 36.

A circular fibula, enamelled, another enamelled fibula in form resembling those found at York and at Malton, and the cover of a small box for perfume, enamelled with red and blue; discovered, with Roman remains, at Kirkby Thore. See plate 1.—*Mr. John Crosby.*

An enamelled fibula, of beautiful workmanship, found near Bootham-bar; a small enamelled box, of metal, probably for perfume, a ring of jet, found near Monk-bar with human bones and pottery; also beads of vitreous paste, found in York. See Mr. Wellbeloved's Eburacum, p. 131, pl. xvii.—*Mr. J. Browne.*

The handle of a knife, formed of bronze, representing a leopard issuing from foliage, and spotted with inlaid studs of silver; apparently of Roman workmanship, and found at York. Mr. Wellbeloved has given a representation of it in his Eburacum, pl. xvii. p. 133.—*The Yorkshire Philosophical Society.*

A fibula, and a small box for perfume, ornamented with enamel; fibulæ of silver and bronze, buckles, spoons, glass beads, arrow-heads, a die, knives, bone pins, and other objects; found, with Roman remains, at Kenchester (MAGNA CASTRA), Herefordshire.—*The Dean of Hereford.*

With the unique assemblage of antique enamels above enumerated, found in Britain, was exhibited a beautiful specimen of another analogous process; a bronze ornament discovered in Italy, enriched with minute inlaid tesseræ of vitreous paste of various colours. From the collection of the Marquis of Northampton.

[e] Representations of several very interesting specimens of Roman enamel, found at York, are given by Mr. Wellbeloved, in his Eburacum, pl. xvii.

Also an interesting and valuable assemblage of specimens of antique glass of various colours, chiefly from Italy, with various vases, lamps, and other choice examples of Greek and Roman fictile manufacture, exhibited by the kindness of the Marquis of Northampton. Amongst these may specially be mentioned a lamp, coated with a greenish vitreous glaze, from Rome, fragments of glass with figures and ornaments embossed in relief, a small vase or *unguentarium* of blue and white glass, in wavy lines, found at Nola. A number of beads, found in the neighbourhood of Rome, formed of pastes of various colours combined in various patterns, deserve particular notice on account of the close resemblance which they bear to the glass beads frequently found in Britain in tumuli, and with remains of the earlier period.

Two small fibulæ of bronze, probably of the Roman times; found in digging the foundations of the Royal Exchange.—*Dr. Mantell.*

A bronze statuette of Cupid, without wings. This interesting object was found, in ploughing, on the Downs near Falmer, Sussex, and presented to Dr. Mantell by Mr. G. F. Richardson.—*Dr. Mantell.*

Flat circular fibulæ of bronze, silvered, ornamented with impressed marks: one resembling, in the design of ornament, the silver objects found in Cuerdale, and exhibited at York by Mr. Hawkins. These fibulæ were found in Sussex; they measure about one inch and a quarter in diameter, and were formed with an *acus* and catch, on the reverse side. Similar fibulæ are preserved in the York museum. Also, another fibula of bronze, silvered, found in a tumulus on Breach Down, Kent, and described by Douglas, in the Nenia Britannica.—*Dr. Mantell.*

A circular inscribed plate of bronze, with a handle, perforated as if to attach it by nails or rivets to some object; described as "a Roman epaulet." Upon the disc, which measures in diameter 2 ¾ in. is inscribed DE.STATIONE C. CAESARIS AVGVSTI; length, including the handle, 4 ¾ in. A bronze statuette of Minerva, found near Kirkintulloch, during the formation of the Forth and Clyde Canal. A massive armilla of bronze, described as a "*cestus*," found, in 1747, at Stitchel, Roxburghshire, about 7 feet below the surface, in digging a well. (Presented, Nov. 14, 1782, by Sir James Pringle, Bart.) A bronze spiral armilla, in form of a wreathed snake, found in 1732, at Pitalpin, near Dundee[f]. (Presented, 1827, by the Countess Dowager of Morton.) A fibula, and a bronze lamp. These, with other valuable antiquities of various periods, were communicated with great liberality by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, from the museum of the Society, through the kind mediation of their Secretary, W. B. D. Turnbull, Esq.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

Two lions, carved in stone, of large dimension; found, with Roman remains, at Catterick (CATARACTONIUM.) The fore-paws rest upon heads of bulls. Horsley has given two representations of similar lions, found at Corbridge, Northumberland, (No. civ. p. 246); they appear to be struggling with, or devouring, some other animals. Compare the figures of lions found at Walwick Grange, Northumberland, and Stanwicks, Cumberland, Horsley, pp. 215, 216. —*Sir William Lawson, Bart.*

A large globular caldron of bronze, found, with Roman coins, at Catterick, and supposed to be of the Roman age. The bottom is very flat: and a large hole, caused by the action of fire, had been mended with a riveted plate. Near the mouth are three projecting pieces, apparently intended as supports for suspension, and there is an aperture towards the lower part which seems to have been

[f] Compare the remarkable bronze armilla found, about 1823, in the sand-hills, near the estuary of the river Findhorn. Archæologia Scotica, vol. iii. pl. vi. p. 99. Archæologia, vol. xxii. pl. 25.

formed to receive a tap, or to be closed by a spigot. Dimensions, height, 20 inches[g]; diameter of the mouth 22 ½ inches.—*Sir William Lawson, Bart.*

A figure of terra-cotta, representing a female seated, and holding two infants at her breast, a symbol of plenty. Found, with Roman remains, at Chesterford, Cambridgeshire. Several similar figures have been found in France. Compare the type on third brass coins of Constantine, with the legend, SALVS REIPVBLICÆ. —*The Hon. Richard C. Neville, F.S.A.*

A singular vessel of terra-cotta, probably a *thuribulum*, the bottom of the cavity being pierced with holes, as if for burning incense, or for some sacrificial purpose. Its form is a globular basin, supported upon a base formed of four short columns at the angles, and a semicircular arch on each side. It was found at Chesterford, Cambridgeshire, with Roman remains, a second brass of Vespasian, and fragments of pottery. In general form this unique object so strikingly resembles the early Norman or Saxon fonts of this country, that the conjecture may appear probable that their design was taken from some pagan model. Compare especially the font found amongst the ruins of Reading Abbey, and now used in one of the churches in that town. Two representations of this terra-cotta have been given by the Hon. R. C. Neville, in the account of his interesting discoveries at Chesterford, entitled "Antiqua Explorata."—*The Hon. R. C. Neville.*

A fragment of a Roman wall-tile, bearing the stamp, COHORS . IIII . BRE. It was found at Grimscarre, near Slack, Halifax, West Riding.—*Mr. Leyland.*

Another fragment of a tile, bearing a similar stamp, COHORS . IIII . BM. (?)—*Mr. T. Pitt.*

A Roman cinerary urn, containing burned bones; ornamented with a representation of hounds chasing a hare. It was described as having been found about 1825, near the nunnery, York.—*Mr. Richard Clark.*

Fifteen moulds formed of baked clay, for casting Roman coins, and a small crucible, used in the operation.—*Rev. S. Sharp, Vicar of Wakefield.*

Fragments of Roman pottery and tiles, a comb of bone, a clay mould for fabricating coins, resembling those found at Lingwell Gate, near Wakefield, and other remains, found during recent excavations at Millington, in the East Riding, supposed to be the *Delgovicia* of Antoninus.—*Rev. W. R. Griesbach, Vicar of Millington.*

Clay moulds for the fabrication of Roman Imperial coins, found at Lingwell Gate, near Wakefield. The series of Emperors extends from Hadrian to Severus Alexander. These moulds have repeatedly been found in very large quantities at that spot, and specimens are preserved in the British Museum, with a clay die, and small crucible, discovered with them; as also in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. In one of the moulds a coin was found. Similar discoveries have been made at Thorp, in Yorkshire, at Wroxeter, Ryton, and Edgington, in Shropshire, Murlinch, Somerset, at Lyons, in France, and other places[h].—*Mr. T. Pitt.*

Impressions from silver coins of Domitian, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, and Commodus, found at Elam, Bingley.—*Miss M. Ellis.*

Cast from the pig of lead, found, in 1734, with a second on Hagshaw Moor, parish of Ripon, near Pately Bridge, West Riding. It is now preserved in the British Museum. It bears the inscription, IMP CAES . DOMITIANO . AVG . C . C . S VII. by which its age is fixed in the seventh consulship of Domitian, A.D. 81[i].

[g] At Westfield, near Coggeshal, Essex, a great brasen pot was found, as Camden relates, containing two earthen vessels, and bones wrapped in silk. Roman remains were found in the neighbourhood, and Drake supposes Coggeshal to be the *Canonium* of Antonine.

[h] See notices of these moulds in Numism. Chron., i. p. 147; Archæologia, vol. xxiv. p. 349; Catalogue of Antiquities in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, p. 86; Hartshorne's Salopia Antiqua, p. 118, and Mr. Artis' "Durobrivæ."

[i] See Professor Ward's account of these pigs of lead, Philos. Trans., vol. xlix. p. 694.

Casts from two Roman altars, found at Adel, near Leeds, West Riding, supposed to be BURGODUNUM. One of them, inscribed DEAE BRIG., is preserved in the vestry at Adel church. Whitaker's Loidis, vol. i. p. 176.—*Rev. George Lesthwaite, Curate of Adel.*

Cast from an inscribed slab, of rude workmanship, found, with Roman remains, on the supposed site of a Roman town, eastward of Adel. It exhibits a Phallus surrounded by the inscription PRIMINVS MINTLAI, or MENTLA. Whitaker's Loidis, vol. i. p. 175.

A folio volume containing a large collection of facsimiles of Roman inscriptions, found in the north of England, chiefly rubbings from altars and inscribed stones preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. This valuable assemblage of important evidences for the history of the north under the Romans was formed by Mr. Bell. Also, various ornaments of bronze, found in the Roman station at Risingham, three soles of shoes, and an ornament of jet, found in the station of Little Chesters, with several antiquities, found in the station at Corbridge, all in Northumberland. Communicated by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, from their Museum, by favour of John Adamson, Esq., their Secretary.

Two patellæ, or skillets, of bronze, the inner side tinned, supposed to have been culinary vessels: one fits into the other, but not closely; they have flat handles, perforated at the extremity for suspension. The bottom is of considerable thickness, and ornamented with deeply cut concentric hollows and raised mouldings, formed by the lathe. A hole on the side of one of them has been mended with lead, or some soft white metal. Dimensions, diam. of bowl, larger specimen, 5½ in., smaller, 4¼ in., length, including handle, 10¼ in., and 8½ in., depth of both, about 2½ in. On the handle of the larger patella is an impressed pattern, composed of a thyrsus, vine-leaves and tendrils. Found in 1841, on a farm called Round hill, in one of the upper gills or valleys of the parish of Masham, North Riding, called Arna Gill. They lay in a small pit, covered by a large flat stone, and nothing was found in them. From the Swinton Park Museum. Exhibited by the kind permission of Capt. and Mrs. Danby Harcourt, through Mr. Charles Tucker. A fine example of this kind of vessel, found in the Isle of Ely, inscribed BODVOGENVS. F, was exhibited by Mr. Goddard Johnson in the Museum of the Institute at Norwich, during their Annual Meeting. It is given in the Archæologia, vol. xxviii. pl. xxv. A pair of similar patellæ, found near Dumfries, are figured in Archæologia, vol. xi. pl. viii. Another of silver, found near Capheaton, Northumberland, adjacent to a Roman road, is given in Archæologia, vol. xv. pl. xxiii. This, with other similar examples, is now preserved in the British Museum. Two examples from Ribchester, in the Townley Museum, are represented in Whitaker's Whalley, pl. 11. p. 22. See also Montf. Ant., t. iii. pl. 64.

A collection of very remarkable antiquities, found within the extensive entrenchments at Stanwick, on the estates of the Duke of Northumberland, deposited together in a pit at the depth of about five feet. They consist of bronze ornaments of horse-furniture, bits, ornamented rings of various sizes, a long iron sword in a bronze sheath, curiously ornamented, portions of iron chain-mail, handles and cross-guards of daggers, some fragments of gold, and objects both of light coloured mixed metal and of bronze, hammered up, or *repoussés*, some of them representing horses' heads. Some of these curious remains exhibit traces of enamelled work. At a spot adjacent to that where this deposit was found, large iron hoops, conjectured to have been the tires of chariot wheels, had been discovered. The date of these objects has not been satisfactorily ascertained: some have regarded them as accoutrements of the auxiliary foreign cavalry, the *alæ*, in the Roman

armies, at a late period in the Empire. It is remarkable, however, that neither Roman coins nor pottery have been found within the earth-works at Stanwick. These valuable remains have, by the liberality of his Grace, the Duke of Northumberland, been presented to the British Museum, through the Central Committee of the Institute, in furtherance of the formation of a series of British Antiquities. A deposit of precisely similar objects was disinterred at Polden Hill, Somersetshire; they are figured in the Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 70, and the originals have been purchased for the British Museum. They are exceedingly valuable as specimens of early enamel. Other antiquities of the same peculiar fashion and workmanship have been found in Annandale, near the Roman camp, at Middleby, in 1738, including the furniture of three bridles; also on Hagbourn Hill, Berkshire, with coins, a celt, and a bronze javelin-head. Archæologia, vol. xvi. p. 348, pl. 50. A collection of like nature recently found in Norfolk, are to be seen in the Norwich Museum, and a single piece, of very curious workmanship, is preserved in the collection of the Lord Hastings, at Melton Constable. The Stanwick antiquities, as it has been stated, are analogous in the character of their design to those found in Roman places of sepulture in Rhenish Germany. The peculiar character of these remains is shewn in the representations of some of the most curious objects, given in plates 2—4.—*The Lord Prudhoe, (now Duke of Northumberland.)*

An iron sword, enclosed in a bronze sheath, found on a moor near Flasby, in the parish of Gargrave, West Riding, at a spot adjacent to Roman remains, including a tesselated pavement. A representation of this curious weapon is given in plate 5. It closely resembles the sword found within the earth-works at Stanwick, as above described.—*Mr. Preston.*

A collection of antiquities, some of which bear much resemblance to the Stanwick remains. They were found in tumuli on the south-western boundary of the Wolds of Yorkshire, at Arras and Hessleskew, about three miles from Market Weighton, during excavations made in the years 1815, 1816, and 1817. They consisted of portions of a necklace formed of jet, or cannel coal, composed of quadrangular pieces, connected by oval beads; an unique diminutive celt of bronze, measuring one inch only in length; armillæ of bronze; a bronze bit, buckles belonging to harness, and other objects found with the iron tires of chariot wheels, skeletons of two horses, and two boars, near human remains, in a tumulus at Arras. Also an elegant gold ring, found with about 100 glass beads, a ring or large bead of amber, and a pendant ornament of metal curiously encrusted with concentric rings of hard varnished paste, two armillæ, tweezers, &c. found with another instrument at Arras; a fibula resembling a radiated cross, two resembling Scottish circular brooches, found in a tumulus at Kilham in 1824. The umbo of a shield, found in a tumulus at Kilham, and one of a number of celts found together, in 1843, at Everthorpe, near North Cave; also two knife-handles supposed to be Roman, similar in ornamental design, one found at Dryham, near North Cave, the other at London Bridge. Mr. Stillingfleet's interesting notices of these discoveries, communicated subsequently to the meeting of the Institute at York, are given at the close of this Catalogue, with representations of some of the most remarkable objects.—*Rev. Edward W. Stillingfleet, B.D., Vicar of South Cave.*

An ornament of jet, portion of a necklace similar to that found by Mr. Stillingfleet in a tumulus on the Yorkshire Wolds. It was found at the Roman station of Little Chesters, Northumberland. From the Museum of the Antiquaries of Newcastle. It measures about 1½ in. in length, by one inch, greatest width: it

is ornamented with a lozenge pattern, punctured, and is perforated breadth-wise, so as to form, with four rows of oval beads, a broad necklace, similar to that discovered at Hessleskew. Compare the necklace of jet found in Ross-shire, Archæologia Scotica, vol. iii. pl. v. and those discovered by Mr. Bateman in tumuli in Derbyshire, figured in his Vestiges of the Antiquities of that county, pp. 89, 92. —*Mr. John Adamson, Secr. Soc. of Antiquaries of Newcastle.*

Quern-stones, or hand-mills, supposed to be of the Roman period, preserved at Knaresborough Castle.—*Mr. S. Powell, jun.*

A small casket of bronze, elegantly ornamented in the style of the *renaissance*, described as having been found with Roman coins in forming the rail-road to Peterborough.—*The Earl Fitzwilliam.*

A circular piece of jasper, the sides bevelled, and presenting two flat faces, on one of which is cut, in intaglio, an Imperial Roman head, and on the reverse, Romulus and Remus with the wolf, in a galley, a head of Mars, and the word COMVNIS. These intaglios have the appearance of *antique* workmanship. Around the edge of the stone is the following blundered legend, inscribed, possibly, by a *medieval* workman who copied it from a defaced coin supposed to correspond with the Imperial head. ANTOOINVS AVS PIVS P.P. TR P COS III. In its size and form this curious object is precisely similar to the pomel of a medieval sword, such as were in use from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century; it is also perforated, as if to receive the termination of the iron blade; and such pomels during that period were occasionally decorated with Roman or Greek coins inlaid on the flat sides. It was found near the Roman station, not far from Beauvais, in France[k]. A similar pomel of jasper, of somewhat smaller size, and without any ornament, found near Athens, is in the collection of the Viscount Strangford. A third object of similar form is in the Payne Knight collection, in the British Museum. —*Mr. W. Whincopp.*

A fragment of fictile ware, bearing the Greek inscription, EIPHNAI ETTYXI.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.*

A bronze figure, found in Northumberland, supposed to be Egyptian. It is stated to have been "found in a gravel pit in the plantation by the Round Tower, belonging to the Rectory house, Whitton Tower, Rothbury, in 1789." It appears to be a representation of Horus. From Hay's collection, now in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

MAPS, PLANS, AND DRAWINGS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE BRITISH AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF YORKSHIRE.

Two maps, exhibiting the remarkable and extensive entrenchments at Stanwick Park, North Riding. One of them, on a scale of twelve chains to an inch, shews the position of the works between the Tees and the Swale; the other, on a scale of two chains to an inch, shews the works near Stanwick, Forcet, and Aldborough, in more full detail. Surveyed by W. Lax, Darlington, 1841.—*The Lord Prudhoe, (now Duke of Northumberland.)*

Map of ancient remains in the neighbourhood of Whitby, North Riding.—*Mr. Belcher.*

Ground-plan, exhibiting the position of the stones which compose a "Druidi-

[k] Compare the state sword fabricated early in the fifteenth century, for Battle Abbey, now in the Goodrich Court Armoury, Skelton's Illustrations, plate ci.; the brass pomel found at Dalswinton castle, N. Britain, Archæologia x., pl. xl., and many examples supplied by sepulchral effigies. It has been recorded that Charlemagne had a seal upon the hilt of his sword.—Petrasancta de Symbolis, lib. iii. c. 9.

cal" circle, on Cloughton Moor, north-west of Scarborough. It measures 36 feet, outer diameter; a small circle appears to have been formed in the centre, measuring 5 feet in diameter. The whole occupies an elevated area, measuring about 60 feet in diameter. Designed, in May, 1846, by Mr. Edward H. Hebden, and communicated to the Institute by Dr. Travis, of Scarborough, with a coloured drawing representing a general view of these curious remains.—*Dr. Travis.*

Two maps, reduced from the Ordnance Survey, exhibiting the position of British remains, earth-works, and tumuli, which exist on Rombalds Moor and Baildon Common near Ilkley, (OLICANA) West Riding. These maps have been published in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 300, with a memoir by the late Mr. J. M. Colls.—*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

Three plans, exhibiting the course of the Roman (?) road in the parish of Bingley, West Riding, and ancient remains near that place.—*Miss Ellis.*

Plan of the Roman Camp at Castle Shaw, West Riding, supposed to be the ALAUNA of the Romans. Taken from plans executed by the Ordnance Survey.—*Mr. Shaw, of Saddleworth.*

Map of the ancient military remains on the Yorkshire Wolds, and of the Roman roads diverging from Malton, North Riding, the supposed CAMULODUNUM of Ptolemy. Maps of the military remains on Settrington Wold, by Mr. J. Walker, and of those in the neighbourhood of Pocklington and Millington. Also Knox's map of the neighbourhood of Scarborough, exhibiting the position of the remarkable entrenchments, called the Scamridge Dykes. The earth-works laid down in these four maps are of very great strength and remarkable character. They appear to have defended the entrances of the Valleys on every side of the Wolds by double and triple entrenchments.—*Dr. Travis, of Scarborough.*

Map of Roman roads diverging from Malton; plan of the Roman Camp, the town and suburbs of Malton, shewing the walls and castle of the Norman times. Designed by Mr. Copperthwaite.—*Mr. W. Copperthwaite, Borough Bailiff of Malton.*

Ground-plan, exhibiting the remains of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, as explored in 1846, and shewing portions of the Roman walls of Eburacum.—*Mr. G. T. Andrews, of York.*

A large map of British and Roman Yorkshire, prepared, for the meeting of the Institute at York, by Mr. Charles Newton, of the British Museum, at the request of the Central Committee, and drawn, under his direction, by Mr. W. Hughes. It exhibits the vestiges of early occupation, the Roman stations, roads, and sites where any interesting discoveries have been made, as far as they have been recorded in printed works, or ascertained by an extensive correspondence carried on between Mr. Newton and the Antiquaries of Yorkshire, for this special object[1].

ANGLO-SAXON ANTIQUITIES.

Three fine cruciform fibulæ of bronze, curiously chased, found, in 1817, in stubbing up a hedge in Thornborough pasture, adjacent to the Roman remains at Catterick (CATARACTONIUM).—Representations of two of these remarkable ornaments are given in plate 6.—*Sir William Lawson, Bart.*

Bronze cruciform fibula, of similar character to the last, and supposed to be of the Anglo-Saxon period.—*Mr. Wm. Long.*

[1] A reduced map, engraved from this drawing by Mr. Hughes, has subsequently been published by the Institute, and may be purchased at their office, 12, Haymarket, London.

Silver armillæ, portions of armillæ, Anglo-Saxon ornaments, small ingots, bars, and portions of bars, prepared for striking silver coins. They form part of the remarkable mass of treasure discovered in 1840, in Cuerdale, near Preston, Lancashire, amounting to upwards of 1000 oz. in weight, exclusive of about six or seven thousand Anglo-Saxon, French, oriental and other coins, and supposed to have been deposited about A.D. 190[m]. A fine silver armilla, from Mr. Assheton's collection, is figured in plate 6.—*Mr. William Assheton, and Mr. Edward Hawkins.*

Bronze fibula of circular form, and of large dimensions, ornamented with representations of animals, and interlaced bands or knots engraved upon one side; supposed to be of the Anglo-Saxon age. The *acus* is wanting.—*Mr. Hailstone.*

A thin plate of bronze, coated with fine green *patina*, bearing an inscription, described as "Dano-Saxon." It is irregularly shaped, measuring in length about 2½ inches, the widest part being about three-eighths of an inch. At each extremity it is perforated, as if for the purpose of attaching it with small nails to some object. It was found at Malton, Yorkshire.—*Mr. Copperthwaite.*

Two sepulchral stones of the Saxon period, found in 1833, near the church of Hartlepool, Durham, where a monastery had been established in the seventh century by St. Hilda, afterwards removed to Whitby. These curious memorials exhibit crosses, with commemorative inscriptions partly in Runes. Representations are given in the Archæologia, vol. xxvi. pl. lii.; Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. i. p. 185.—*The Soc. of Antiquaries of Newcastle.*

A fac-simile of the sepulchral stone preserved in the vestry of the church of Wensley, exhibiting a cross, grotesque animals, and the name DONFRID, represented in Carter's Ancient Painting and Sculpture, vol. ii. p. 144, and in Whitaker's Richmondshire.

Four casts from sculptured capitals of columns at the church of Adel, West Riding, representing a Sagittarius, a warrior wearing a head-piece formed with a nasal, and attacking a lion; also casts from the string-course, and the ancient cross at the same place. Some of these subjects are represented in Whitaker's Loidis, vol. i. p. 176.—*Rev. George Lewthwaite.*

Fac-simile, or rubbing, of a portion of early mosaic pavement, laid before the altar of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, at Ripon.—*Mr. Walbran, Ripon.*

MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES.

A large collection of ancient objects, found at the spot known as the submarine forest, situated on the shore between the lighthouse at Leasowe and the mouth of the Dee, north of the village of Great Meols, and about a mile from Hoylake, in Cheshire. They are of various periods, apparently from the Anglo-Roman to late medieval times, consisting of small implements, needles, skewers, a fish-hook, key, &c., and minor objects of personal ornament or connected with costume, such as buckles, in singular variety, tags or pendants of girdles, ring-brooches, earrings (?) and metal ornaments for various uses. With these medieval objects, the precise age of which it may be difficult to fix, were found fibulæ of bronze, of the bow-shape, and resembling those of the Roman age, metal ornaments chased or engraved with designs similar to those of the Saxon or early Norman period, part of a leaden sign or pilgrim's token, inscribed *Jesus Nazarenus rex*, and coins of various dates, from Edward I. to George II., the more ancient being all broken

[m] A full account of this discovery, communicated by Mr. Hawkins to the Section of Antiquities at the York Meeting, is given, with representations of the most interesting objects, in the Archæological Journal, vol. iv. pp. 110, 200. The coins have been fully described in the Numismatic Chronicle.

into halves and quarters. A highly curious memoir illustrative of these remains was communicated to the Section of Antiquities at York, by Dr. Hume, and it has subsequently been printed, with a map, and representations of the more interesting objects[a].—*Rev. A. Hume, L.L.D., Liverpool.*

Two vessels of bronze, for domestic uses, standing on three feet, found in Northumberland, one in 1838, a mile west of Haydon Bridge, the other in the side of a mound near Alston, in 1839. Their age is not clearly defined: similar vessels, certainly of medieval date, have been discovered, such as that presented to the British Museum, by the Earl of Enniskillen, on which are seen the arms of Clare. Compare another specimen, found at Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, in 1789, Archæologia, vol. xi. pl. xix.; one found near Ulverston, Pennant's Scotland, vol. ii. pl. 1; and one of more ornamental character, Montfaucon, vol. iii. pl. 63.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.*

A chess-knight, carved from the tooth of the sea-horse (?), and representing two mailed warriors surrounded by massive foliage. It is thus described in the catalogue of donations to the Antiquaries of Scotland. "The handle of an ancient Gaelic dirk, curiously carved in ivory, on which are represented the figures of two warriors in the Caledonian dress, each armed with a helmet and broad-sword erected, and a shield charged with an armorial bearing. Presented by Lord M'Donald, Nov. 1782." Smellie's account of the Antiq. Soc., p. 71. This unique chess-piece, a curious example of military costume, as well as of the workmanship of the twelfth century, had probably been converted in later times to the purpose thus mentioned, for which a perforation had been made at one end. Representations of it are given in the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 241.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

A stirrup-iron, and the iron head of a javelin, or light lance; found in the bed of the river Ouse, near Lewes; relics, probably, of the fatal conflict between Henry III. and De Montfort, on May 14, A.D. 1264, when a large number of the king's followers perished in that river. Presented to Dr. Mantell by Mr. S. Glover, of Lewes. Also two iron javelin or bolt-heads, with barbed points, found in 1812 on Plumpton Plain, near Lewes, the scene of the battle. See Horsfield's History of Lewes, p. 146, pl. iv.—*Dr. Mantell.*

Portion of a sleeve of chain-mail, found on Silsden Moor, near Keighley, West Riding.—*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

A massive fibula of silver, thickly gilded, and ornamented with a Greek cross enamelled with brilliant blue and yellow colours. In form it bears much resemblance to the lyre-shaped fibulæ of Roman times. The enamel may, possibly, be of later date than the fibula itself, or have been renewed. Also two rings, one of base mixed metal gilded, bearing the name ROGERIVS REX, and a crown on each side of the hoop. The letters are in *relief*, and not inverted, as they should have been, if intended for the purpose of sealing. Their form corresponds closely with that of the legends on coins of Roger II., crowned king of Sicily, A.D. 1129; he died A.D. 1152[o]. The other ring is of silver, massive and singular in fashion, bearing a cross, and a legend, which has not been decyphered, probably talismanic.—*Rev. Walter Sneyd, of Denton, Oxfordshire.*

Ring of base metal, plated with gold, and bearing the talismanic inscription +THEBAIGVTHGVTHANI: it was found near the church-yard at Bredicot, Worcestershire. Another ring of base metal, silvered and partly gilt, bearing the initial H, a good example of the signet "thumb-rings" of the fifteenth century.

[a] The Antiquities found at Hoylake, by A. Hume, L.L.D., London, 1847, Longman.

[o] See Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 269.

It was found in dredging at Saxons' Lode, south of Upton, Worcestershire, in the bed of the Severn. Also an ear-ring of silver, with a cavity to receive a gem, now lost, found with or near brass coins of Allectus, Quintillus and Constans, the *acus* of a fibula and a silver penny of one of the Edwards, in a field called Nettlebed, on Bredon Hill, Worcestershire, near the ancient encampment [p].—*Mr. Jabez Allies, of Worcester.*

Two rings, one bearing the device of a bell, the other in the form of a garter, buckled, and inscribed MATER DEI MEMENTO. Date sixteenth century.—*Dr. Mantell.*

A gold ring, elegantly chased, and set with an uncut crystal; it was found at Winchester, in 1846. Date, about the middle of the sixteenth century.—*Mr. Albert Way.*

A gold ring, set with a stone, found in digging the foundation of a house in Parliament-street, York.—*Mr. T. Price, Clementhorpe.*

Two medieval ring-fibulæ: one of silver, stated to have been found near Abingdon, the other of bronze, found in Mr. Jewitt's garden at Headington, Oxford.—*Mr. Orlando Jewitt.*

A gold signet ring, found about the year 1775, in ploughing at Acaster-Malbis, near York. It exhibits a fleur-de-lys, with the initials B p, (Bryan Palmes,) and appears in an original portrait of Sir Bryan Palmes, Justice of the Common Pleas, who died at Naburn, A.D. 1511. Also, a gold signet ring, bearing the arms of Palmes, of Naburn, Yorkshire, (a chief vairé, in base three fleurs-de-lys, a crescent for difference.) It was found near Overton, in the neighbourhood of Marston Moor. Date, latter part of the sixteenth century.—*Rev. W. L. Palmes.*

A wooden tankard, stated traditionally to have been part of the spoils of Battle Abbey, and to have come into the possession of the Montague family with other objects from that monastery. It was given by W. S. Poyntz, Esq., of Cowdray Park, Sussex, to Miss Mary Boyle, the present possessor of this object. It is formed of the wood of the yew, and had been supposed to have served as a pyx, such as the "full symple and inhonest pixes, specially pixes of copre and *tymbre*," mentioned in the will of Henry VII. Figures of St. Michael and St. Margaret are carved upon it, with other subjects, sufficing to shew that it is of later date than the Reformation.—*Miss Mary Boyle.*

A silver cup, parcel gilt, of the form of the early communion-cups used in England, but apparently not fabricated for a sacred purpose. Stamps, the leopard's head, the old English letter A for the year of manufacture, and the lion. Date, early xviith century. Another smaller silver cup, gilt, the bowl very flat and shallow, like a Venetian drinking glass, the stem tall: it is of elegant design, and ornamented with three fleurs-de-lys. Stamps, the old English T, and a lion rampant. Also a double salt, a very curious specimen of English plate; date about 1600? It is in three pieces, consisting of two receptacles for condiments, with a cover. The exterior is elegantly engraved and pounced, with scrolls of foliage and blank scutcheons. Height, 7½ in; diameter of the foot, 3¾ in. Stamps, the lion, and old English B [q]. This curious object appears to be identical with a vessel thus described in the will of John Stafford, A.D. 1596. "One double salt, with a pepper-box at the end." Coll. Topog. and Geneal., vol. i. p. 144. These pieces of English plate had been found concealed in the earth, at Woodhouse, near Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, and belong to Mr. Thomas Wilson.—*Rev. Francis Raines, Milnrow.*

A drinking cup of silver gilt, bearing an inscription in Hebrew characters. A

[p] Representations of these rings are given, with more full particulars, in the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 267.

[q] A similar salt is described in the Gent. Mag., vol. xxiii. p. 136. Another was exhibited during the meeting of the Institute at Norwich, 1847.

mazer bowl, with the figure of the Virgin and Infant Saviour, on a roundel in the centre, and a stone cruse, or hance pot, both mounted with silver.—*Mr. Henry Hearon, Healington.*

A small pendant ornament, or locket, enamelled, exhibiting a portrait of James I. Within the cover is a representation of Noah's Ark, with the legend, STET SALVA PER VNDAS. From Baynall, Kent, and described as one of the ornaments presented by James I. to the admirals of his fleet.—*Rev. Charles Gaunt, of Isfield, Sussex.*

An oval silver medallion, exhibiting on the obverse a portrait of Charles II. Legend, PACE TRIVMPHANS. Reverse, Catharine of Braganza, his queen, SPES FUTURI.—*Mrs. Hearon.*

A singular little silver watch, of French manufacture, in the form of a flower, the petals closed, and having, in place of the stalk, a little ring for the purpose of suspension to the girdle, or some other part of the dress. It was formerly in the possession of the Halliwell family of Pike House, in the parish of Rochdale, Lancashire, and mention of it occurs in a will, dated 1662. The outer leaves, or calix of the flower, are engraved chequer-wise, which possibly may be heraldic rather than merely arbitrary ornament. It bears the maker's name—*henri Beraud fecit.* Also a snuff-box, formed of mother-of-pearl and silver, formerly belonging to the Read family, and now in the possession of the Rev. F. R. Raines.—*Rev. F. R. Raines, F.S.A., of Rochdale.*

Two silver tobacco boxes, of Dutch fabrication, elegantly ornamented with *repoussé* work, in the style of the seventeenth century. Subjects, Jacob at the well, and the Conversion of St. Paul.—*Mr. H. Hearon.*

A similar silver box, with ornaments of the same character.—*Rev. D. R. Currer.*

Ancient snuffers, found in the Highlands, also several ancient keys, one found at Falkland Palace, another at Little Chester, and a bronze lamp.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

A silver arrow, of full size, the prize in an annual competition of archers, which has been regularly held at Thirsk, since the year 1673.—*Mr. H. Peckitt.*

A brass ring dial, probably of the kind formerly designated as "journey rings," and a silver compass, inscribed "Joshua Mann, Ebor. fecit, 1686." A representation and detailed description of portable dials of this nature, is given by Petra Sancta, in his Treatise De Symbolis Heroicis, Antw. 1634, p. 99. Also a collection of miscellaneous objects, personal ornaments, of the time of Queen Elizabeth, with seals and rings of various periods, embroideries, and other curious relics.—*Rev. Danson R. Currer, Clifton House, York.*

A set of ten fruit trenchers, roundels of beech-wood, painted with curious ornaments and devices, and inscribed with texts and quaint stanzas, conveying moral admonitions. Date, the reign of Elizabeth, whose arms and supporters appear on the box in which the roundels are enclosed. A representation of one of them may be found in the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 336.—*Mr. J. Clarke Jervoise, of Idsworth Park, Hants.*

Another set of roundels, of a later period, and more ordinary description; exhibiting engraved representations of the sibyls, coloured, and surrounded by their prophecies, in verse, inscribed on the margins of the roundels. Purchased at Bradford, Yorkshire.—*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

A curious shoe-maker's rule or measure, of box-wood, the extremity quaintly formed in the fashion of the high-heeled shoe of the seventeenth century, introduced into this country from France, about the time of Charles I. It bears the date 1664. From the Museum of the Royal Institution of South Wales, by the kindness of Mr. George Grant Francis, F.S.A.

A fine sword of the sixteenth century, upon which are displayed the bearings of Douglas of Nithsdale, on an escutcheon, surmounted by a coronet, quarterly, 1 and 4, Douglas, a heart crowned, on a chief 3 mullets (this quartering engraved as if a bend traversed the coat), 2 and 3 Creighton, a lion rampant. It bears this inscription, 1346, (? 1546) *Gulielmus comes de Nithdall.* The Creightons, long distinguished by the title of Barons Sanquher, and the office of hereditary sheriffs of Nithsdale, had their castle at Sanquher, on the river Nith, near the ancient seats of the Douglas family at Morton, and Drumlanrig. Their bearing (sable, a lion rampant azure) was quartered by Douglas of Nithsdale. At a subsequent period Robert Maxwell, 8th Lord Maxwell, of Carlaverock, was created earl of Nithsdale, by James I., in 1620. This sword came into the possession of the late Lord Downe with the Beningborough property in Yorkshire, bequeathed to him by Mrs. Earle, supposed to be the last representative of the Bourchier family. It is now preserved at Beningborough Hall, Shipton.—*The Hon. Payan Dawnay.*

Handle of a dagger, found near Buntingford, Herts, and two pieces of ancient needle-work.—*Miss Biscoe.*

A dagger, found in Delamere Forest, Cheshire. From Hay's collection, now preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

Case for a knife, to be worn appended to the girdle. It is formed of cuir boulli, curiously ornamented, and inscribed with the motto—PENS A LA FIN. Date, early in the fifteenth century.—*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

A dagger of the sixteenth century. It exactly resembles one supposed to have belonged to James IV., king of Scotland, slain at the battle of Flodden Field, A.D. 1513, presented by the earl of Surrey, with the king's sword, to the Herald's College.—*Hon. Richard Neville.*

A dagger, found in digging the foundation of the railway terminus at York.—*Mr. J. Drew.*

A suit of pikeman's armour, of the time of Charles II., and a halberd.—*Mr. Frederic Bell, York.*

SPECIMENS OF LIMOGES ENAMEL, AND DRAWINGS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PROGRESS OF THE ART OF ENAMELLING.

Two fine plates of the work of Limoges, of the twelfth or earlier part of the thirteenth century, supplying admirable examples of the *champ-levé* process, by which the copper was chiselled out, and the cavities filled up with opaque vitreous pastes of brilliant colours. One of these plates, intended to serve as ornamental incrustations upon an altar, a portable shrine, or the binding of a book, represents the Saviour seated on the rainbow, surrounded by an *aureola.* At the four corners are the Evangelistic symbols. The figures are in relief and formed of several pieces of metal, richly gilt, and affixed to the plate; the eyes are formed of enamel. It measures 10½ inches in length. The second plate is nearly similar to that described.—*The Yorkshire Philosophical Society.*

Two good specimens of the same art, and of the same period, as those liberally communicated from the Museum of the Yorkshire Society. One represents the crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John standing near the cross; above, are two angels, and the Almighty hand; beneath, a grave opened. On the other is seen the Saviour seated on a rainbow, surrounded by an *aureola* of pointed-oval form, and the Evangelistic symbols occupy the corners. These enamels exhibited in great perfection almost all the vitrified colours employed

during the twelfth century, as well as the various processes of chasing, engraved work, the introduction of portions in relief rivetted to the plate, and other means of decoration used by artists of the Byzantine school. Also, a smaller specimen of the same period, remarkable on account of the shaded tints of the enamel. It represents St. James and St. John, and probably ornamented the cover of a book of the Gospels.—*Mr. Albert Way.*

Three specimens of the work of Limoges, during the twelfth or thirteenth century, namely, a processional cross of wood, covered with plates of Limoges enamel; a reliquary in the form of a small chapel or shrine, termed *cofra Limovicensis, bahut de Limoges*, and an enamelled morse, or brooch for fastening the cope.—*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

The following collection of richly illuminated drawings, of the most skilful and elaborate execution, produced by Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A., and very kindly communicated for exhibition at York by that gentleman, formed a valuable addition to the specimens of enamelled work assembled on the occasion, rendering almost complete this series of examples illustrating the progress of the art.

A representation of the remarkable casket, of enamelled copper, probably a nuptial gift, supposed to have been made for Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, towards the close of the thirteenth century. It is richly decorated with heraldic blazonry, exhibiting the bearings of England, Valence, Angoulême, Dreux, and other noble families. It was the property of the late Mr. George Pocock, and had been in the possession of his ancestors during a long period. It is now deposited temporarily in the collection of enamels at the Museum of Economic Geology, Craig's Court. Mr. Shaw selected this casket as a subject for his "Specimens of Ancient Furniture."

Illuminated drawings, representing a pyx for the reservation of the host, an enamelled work of the twelfth century, in the collection of Mr. S. P. Cox[r]; and another pyx, of the fourteenth century, in the possession of the Hon. Robert Curzon, jun., at Parham, Sussex.

A drawing, representing "King John's cup," preserved in the custody of the Mayor and Corporation, at Lynn, Norfolk. This unique piece of enamelled plate, of the time of Edward III., is enriched with exquisite subjects in transparent enamel upon silver. It forms one of the subjects in the "Specimens of Ancient Furniture." Another representation may be found in Carter's Ancient Painting and Sculpture.

A sceptre of crystal mounted in silver gilt, and enriched with pearls and enamel. It was formerly in the Strawberry Hill collection, and is now in the rich cabinet of Mr. Magniac.

Representations of two ancient salts, preserved at Oxford; they are of silver gilt and enamelled. One, preserved at New College, is of the close of the fifteenth century; the other, at Corpus Christi College, may be of rather later date.

Representation of the beautiful crozier of silver gilt and enamelled, which was presented to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, about A.D. 1517.

A roundel of enamelled metal, of French workmanship, date about A.D. 1400, representing St. Germain, patron saint of Paris. It appears to have formed an ornament of the cover of a service book, and is curious as shewing, on a small scale, the precise mode in which sepulchral brasses of elaborate workmanship were finished. The figure is engraved, the lines of the design filled up with

[r] Represented in Mr. Shaw's beautiful "Dresses and Decorations."

black, the field chased out and filled in with colour, the exposed parts of the metal being gilt and burnished.—*Mr. Albert Way.*

A collection of enamelled works of the artists of Limoges during the sixteenth and earlier part of the following century; a tazza executed by Pierre Rexmon, representing a banquet, works of Nicolas and Jean Laudin, and Pierre Nouailher. —*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS AND ORNAMENTS.

An exceedingly curious "sacring-bell," or rather the ornamented metal case formed for the preservation of a bell, a relic held in reverential estimation, as having been used by some holy person in early times. Several similar relics enclosed in elaborately ornamented cases, are still preserved in Ireland. This bell was found in the parish of Kilmichael-Glassrie, in Argyllshire, and it was presented to the Antiquaries of Scotland, by John Macneill, Esq., of Oakfield. A detailed account and representations of it are given in the Archæologia Scotica, vol. iv. pl. ix. p. 119. The bell, now much decayed, is formed of hammered iron, the case is of bronze, elaborately chased and engraved; and upon one side is a crucifix, with the hand of Providence above the figure. Also, a bronze chain and cross, of the patée form, found near the bell, concealed under stones. Communicated, from the Museum of the Society, by the kindness of their Secretary Mr. Turnbull.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

A chasuble, formerly the property of David Wells, Esq., of Burbach, Leicestershire, F.S.A., and afterwards presented by his nephew Ambrose Salisbury, Esq., to Mr. Nichols. It is embroidered in front with four subjects, the Crucifixion; the Virgin and Child; St. Peter with St. Paul; and the stoning of St. Stephen; it is semè all over with lions and griffins. The absence of a cross on the back, is supposed to shew its greater antiquity. Mr. Wells also possessed, in the year 1787, the stole and maniple of the same suit, and at the ends of these were wrought the bearings of England, Cornwall, Clare, and Lacy. These were the ancestors in the two previous generations, of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who died, A.D. 1300, and his wife, Margaret de Clare, daughter of Richard, Earl of Gloucester. These circumstances appear to fix the age of this relic in the reign of Edward I. A notice of this curious vestment is given in the Antiquarian Repertory.—*Mr. John Bowyer Nichols, F.S.A.*

A chasuble of crimson velvet, richly ornamented with roses, double-headed eagles displayed, and pomegranates. The subjects of the Crucifixion, St. Michael the Archangel, and the Virgin Mary are embroidered upon it. Another chasuble of drab-coloured velvet. A stole and maniple embroidered with gold, and ornamented with the figure known in the Eastern Church as the Gammadion, the "fylfot" of the medieval heraldic vocabulary in England. The extremities are gradually dilated towards the fringed appendages: in earlier times the stole and maniple were more frequently of uniform breadth throughout. The whole of these vestments appeared to be of the fifteenth century.—*Mr. George Joseph Caley.*

A cope of crimson velvet, with embroidered orfrays and hood, representing figures of apostles and saints; date, fifteenth century.—*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

In addition to this exhibition of ancient embroideries, the following drawings exquisitely illuminated, were contributed by the kindness of Mr. Henry Shaw.

A representation of a cope of crimson velvet, most richly embroidered; date, about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is now in the possession of the countess of Newburgh, and formerly belonged to Lady de Mauley. For many

years it had been used in the private chapel of her grandfather, Sir John Webb, at Harthrop, Gloucestershire, and its previous origin is unknown.

Representations of a suit of vestments, used on the occasion of funeral solemnities. They are formed of black velvet, lined with silk, and embroidered with silver and white satin. A corporas case, the veil for the chalice, a stole and a maniple. These beautiful examples of the work of the seventeenth century are from the same chapel as the cope, last described.

A small processional cross of base metal, ornamented with engraved foliage, and fictitious gems and crystals *en cabochon*, at the extremities of the limbs. It is of French workmanship; date, the fourteenth century.—*Mr. Albert Way.*

Several ornaments of sacred use, a pax, a thurible, two pyxes, two reliquaries, and a chalice: specimens of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The chalice is of the former period, but placed upon a foot of later date, to which are affixed some small ornaments of *niello*.—*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

A chalice and paten of pewter, and a crucifix formed of jet, found in a stone coffin at Old Malton, North Riding.—*Mr. Copperthwaite.*

A morse, found amongst the ruins of the Cistercian convent at Haddington, North Britain.—*The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

A Communion cup, and paten, of silver, formerly belonging to the church of St. Lawrence, Lighthorne, near Kineton, Warwickshire. It is a good example of the earlier fashion of the cup in the Reformed Church, after the abolition of chalices. The bowl is larger than that of the chalice, in proportion to the foot, it is elegantly engraved, the massive stem is ornamented with chased work. Height, 7 inches; diameter of cup, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of foot 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Date, the later part of the sixteenth century? In the centre of the paten is engraved the head of our Saviour, or the "vernicle." Also, a silver pyx, with the emblems of the Passion.—*Mr. Henry Hearon, Heslington.*

Three ancient objects, supposed to have been of ecclesiastical use, found in excavations near St. Mary's church, Scarborough. They consist of a spoon, with a folding handle, supposed to have been used for taking incense out of the ship, or *naveta;* a small flat box, of circular form, on which is engraved a representation of the Holy Lamb, and intended to contain one of the waxen tablets, blessed by the Pope, known by the appellation of *Agnus Dei.* They were distributed to the faithful, and esteemed as a sort of conservative talisman. Also a ring, with several hooks or clasps, of unknown use.—*Dr. Travis, Scarborough.*

WORKS OF ART, AND FAC-SIMILES OF PAINTED GLASS, SEPULCHRAL MEMORIALS, &c.

A selection of original examples of the art of illumination, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, exhibiting the characteristic peculiarities of Italian, Flemish, and French art, as displayed in illuminated MSS. The designs represented chiefly subjects of a sacred or symbolical character. With these were exhibited specimens of decorated letters, borders, and other ornaments from medieval MSS., one of them bearing the arms of Leo X. Amongst the illuminations was a representation of St. Stephen, depicted by "Dom Silvestre, monacho Camaldolese, del monasterio degli angeli, di Firenze."—*Mr. Edward Hailstone.*

A small collection of illuminated MSS., comprising a copy of the Scriptures, with illuminated initial letters, supposed to have been executed in England, date fourteenth century; part of the book of Esther, in Hebrew, a MS. on vellum, enclosed in a case of beautiful silver fillagree; four MS. service-books, illuminated in the style of French art, during the fifteenth century; a MS. of the

same age, of German art, and an early printed missal, with illuminated woodcuts.—*Mr. Spofforth.*

A piece of painted glass, representing St. George; a curious example of military costume, about A.D. 1425.—*Rev. D. R. Currer.*

Coloured tracings of some interesting portions of painted glass in York Minster, of early date, and in the Chapter House.—*Mr. John Browne.*

Coloured representations of a figure of St. Christopher, from a window in the south aisle of the nave, York Minster.—*Mr. J. Barnett.*

The following series of fac-similes of sepulchral brasses, exhibiting chiefly memorials existing in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Derbyshire, was contributed by Mr. George Goldie, Jun., Mr. A. H. Cates, and the Rev. T. A. Roper.

Ecclesiastics.—William de Grenefield, Archbishop of York, who died A.D. 1315; from York Minster, (engraved in Waller's Brasses.) Robert de Waldeby, Archbishop of York, 1397; from Westminster Abbey. Thomas and Richard Gomfrey, priests, a hunting horn between them, 1399; from Dronfield, Derbyshire. An ecclesiastic; from Battle Church, Sussex. An ecclesiastic; Tattershall, Lincolnshire. An ecclesiastic, with symbols of the Evangelists, 1453; from Brancepeth, Durham. John de Esteney, Abbot of Westminster, 1498; from Westminster Abbey. An ecclesiastic vested in a cope, with figures of saints on the orfrays; Boston Church, Lincolnshire, *circa* 1425; (Gough's Sep. Mon., Introd. vol. ii. p. 314.) Provost Ward, *circa* 1500; from the ancient Collegiate Church of Tattershall, Lincolnshire. William Symson, 1519, and another ecclesiastic; Ashover, Derbyshire. James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, 1525; from the Collegiate Church at Manchester. Galfridus Fyche, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1537; St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, (engraved in the History of that Cathedral, by Monk Mason, 1820.) Robert Pursglove, first and sole Bishop of Hull, 1579; from Tideswell, Derbyshire*. Adrian van Pollinchour, 1557; from the Chapelle du sang de Dieu, Bruges. Representation of the Holy Trinity; from Tideswell, Derbyshire. Sepulchral slab of stone, incised with a representation of John Barwic, Abbot of Selby, 1526; from Selby Abbey. (See Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 498.)

Military Effigies.—William de Aldeburgh, circa 1360; Aldborough, Yorkshire; (represented in the Manual of Sepulchral Brasses, published by the Oxford Archit. Soc., p. lxx.) William de St. Quintin, fourteenth century; from Brandsburton, Yorkshire. William Fienles, 1405; from Hurstmonceaux, Sussex. Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 1401, and Margaret his wife; St. Mary's Church, Warwick; (beautifully represented in Waller's Brasses.) Henry, Lord Berkeley, and his wife, 1417; Wootton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire. A knight, 1426, and another figure in armour, William Arnold, 1435; Battle Church, Sussex. Richard Knyveton, 14..; Mugginton, Derbyshire. William Burgh and his son; Catterick, Yorkshire. Ralph, Lord Cromwell, Lord High Treasurer, the founder of Tattershall College, 1455; Tattershall, Lincolnshire. A knight; from Howden, Yorkshire. Sir Thomas Harpeden, 1457; Westminster Abbey. Robert Eyre, who was engaged at Agincourt, and died 1459; Hathersage, Derbyshire. Thomas Stathum, 1470; Henry Stathum, and his three wives, 1481; John Sacheverall and his wife, 1485; Henry Sacheverall, and his wife, 1558, from Morley, Derbyshire. William Burgh, and his wife, 1495; Catterick, Yorkshire. Sir Humphrey Stanley, 1505; Westminster Abbey. Jacob

* This brass is represented amongst the examples published by the Cambridge Camden Society. See also Mr. Bateman's useful survey of the sepulchral memorials of Derbyshire, in his Vestiges of the Antiquities of that county.

Rolleston, 1507; Ashover, Derbyshire. Sir Lyon Dymoke, 1519; Horncastle, Lincolnshire. A knight and lady; from Chesterfield, Derbyshire. A knight, of the Scarisbrick family; Ormskirk, Lancashire. A knight, of the Cokaine family, and his wife; Ashburne, Derbyshire. Arthur Eyre and his wife; Hathersage, Derbyshire. Humphrey Oker, his wife and children, *circa* 1525, an exceedingly curious memorial; Oakover, Staffordshire. An excellent representation of this very singular example is given in Waller's Brasses.

SECULAR EFFIGIES.—Robert Braunche, and his two wives, 1364; St. Nicholas' Church, Lynn, Norfolk. (Cotman.) Elianore de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, 1397; Westminster Abbey. An effigy of a lady, date, *circa* 1400; Chester-le-Street, Durham. An effigy of a lady; Collegiate Church at Manchester. Robert Lytton, de Lytton, 1483, and his wife, 1458; Tideswell, Derbyshire. An effigy, fifteenth century; Boston, Lincolnshire. Joan, Lady Cromwell, 1469, wife of the founder; Tattershall, Lincolnshire. Brian Roucliffe, Baron of the Exchequer, and his wife, 1494; Cowthorp, Yorkshire, (admirably represented in Waller's Brasses.) Lady Matilda Willughby, 1497, a fine canopied brass; Tattershall, Lincolnshire. William Basset, and Joan his wife; Blore, Staffordshire. Thomas Blackewall, 1525; Wirksworth, Derbyshire. Effigy from Sedgfield Church, Yorkshire. Two sepulchral brasses from St. Jaques' Church at Bruges.

MATRICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS, ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, &C.

Matrix, especially deserving of notice as being formed of jet. It was the seal of Osbert de Hilton, found near Whitby Abbey. The device is a cross patée, with the legend, SIGILLUM : OSBERTI : DE HILTVNE. The form is pointed-oval.

Leaden matrix of the seal of Matilda de Depe, found, in 1834, during excavations for the foundation of a bridge near Whitby Abbey. + S' MATILDIS DE DEPE· Of pointed-oval form. It is preserved in the Whitby Museum. Date, thirteenth century. Also, an impression from the seal of Robert de Kilton, found on the sea-shore, near Whitby Abbey.—*Mr. Henry Belcher.*

Matrix of the seal of Bartholomew de Busschon (?) It bears a scutcheon charged with a lion rampant, double queued. Fourteenth century.—*Dr. Gideon A. Mantell.*

Leaden matrix, date about A.D. 1200. S' : IOH'IS : LE : CVRCH' :—*Dr. Gideon A. Mantell.*

Leaden matrix, the seal of the Penitencer of Jerusalem, found in a wall at Dunwich, and formerly in the collection of Mr. Gooding. It exhibits a patriarchal cross, with a key on either side, and the legend, * SIGILLVM . PENITENCIARI IEROSOL' * A representation of it is given in the Archæologia, vol. xxiii. p. 410. Presented to the Museum of the Institute, by Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq.

Silver matrix of the seal, prepared, during the time of the Commonwealth, for the approval of ministers ordered to travel through England to preach. In the centre is the book of the Scriptures, opened and inscribed thus, THE WORD OF GOD; on either side is a palm-branch, and the following legend runs around the verge, THE . SEALE . FOR . APPROBATION . OF . MINISTERS. A representation of it is given in Whitaker's History of Whalley, p. 89[1].—*Mr. F. H. Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, Otley.*

A signet ring, of gold, found at Lewes, on the site of the Priory. It is thus inscribed on the inner side, —en bon an. The same posey or motto is engraved inside the ring found with the remains of John Stanbery, Bishop of Hereford,

[1] Another seal with the same inscription, but bearing the device of a cross instead of a book and palm-branches, and dated 1659, is represented in Calamy's Continuation, vol. i. p. 462.

who died A.D. 1474: a representation of this ring is given in the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 249. Also, an ancient gold British coin, and a gold dinar, of the Khaliph Hesham ben Abd-el-malek, A.D. 724—743, found near the sea, at Eastbourne, Sussex.—*Mr. William H. Blaauw.*

Three small matrices of personal seals, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one of rectangular form, representing the Saviour, holding the mound of sovereignty, and a book; on another is a figure of the B. Virgin, AVE MARIA GRACIA: and the third, apparently Flemish, formerly in the collection of the late Dean of St. Patrick's, bears a scutcheon, charged with two heads of some animal, erased, and the legend IOHAN SWENSICKPENINGHE.—*Mr. W. Whincopp, of Woodbridge.*

Two small matrices of personal seals, of the fourteenth century, found near Wallingford, Oxfordshire. One of them, supposed to be the seal of John de Ufford, summoned to Parliament, 34 Edw. III., A.D. 1360, was found in a field at Newnham Murren, in 1844, and exhibits a scutcheon, charged with the bearing of Ufford, a cross engrailed, in the first quarter a mullet; three lions passant surround the shield, and the legend is * S' IOH'IS DE DUFFORDE. On the other seal, discovered at Clapcot, is the device of a tree, and an animal resembling a badger under it. * S' IOH'IS . DE . GILDEFORDE [a].—*Mr. J. G. Payne, Wallingford.*

A small series of impressions of the Great Seals of England, comprising those of Edward I., Henry V., Henry VII., Henry VIII., Philip and Mary, Queen Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., the Commonwealth, Charles II., Catharine of Braganza, William and Mary, and George III. Also the privy seals of several sovereigns, the seals of the King's Bench, and Exchequer. Also a collection of impressions of official and personal seals of various dates, including those of the county Palatine of Chester, of the Bishop of Durham, 1632, a large seal of the town of Colchester, and the seal of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, in the reign of Edward VI.—*Mr. Edward Hailstone, Bradford.*

Impression from a singular hexagonal matrix of a seal, apparently Italian or Flemish, preserved in the Museum of the Bath Institution. It exhibits a coat of arms, surmounted by a helm, with a pair of bellows as a crest. SIGILLVM MEII DE MICHILOMMIS. Above is an eagle displayed, crowned, and two armorial scutcheons, one on either side. Date, fifteenth century.—*Rev. Joseph Hunter.*

Impressions from the official seals of the burgesses of Scarborough, and of the mayor of that town. The former is a circular matrix, of the thirteenth century, representing a castle, or town-gate, adjacent to the sea. Over the battlements appears the head of a sentinel, armed with a flat-topped helm, and looking towards a vessel in the offing, in which two men are seated. Above is a flaming star. + SIGILLVM : COMVNE : BURGENSIV : DE SCARDEBVRG. The mayor's seal of office exhibits a vessel, in which are two castellated structures, supporting standards. SIGILLVM . VILLE . DE . SCARDEBROVGH. Date, about the seventeenth century.—*Dr. Travis, Scarborough.*

An original document, of considerable interest, to which is appended the seal of Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester. It is a grant from that prelate of fifteen hides of land in Alveston, Warwickshire, to the monastery of Worcester, and bears date on the day of Pentecost, third year of King William the younger, (May 20,) A.D. 1089. Dugdale has printed this deed from transcripts in the Worcester Cartulary, and Annals, preserved amongst the Cottonian MSS., and again, in his History of Warwickshire, from an ancient register at Worcester. A more full account of this curious deed, with a representation of the seal of Bishop Wulstan, is given in the Archæological Journal, vol. iii. p. 261.—*Mr. William Gray, York.*

[a] These matrices have been noticed in the Archæol. Journal, vol. iii. p. 75.

Deeds of "Inspeximus," dated the 29th and 32nd years of Elizabeth, and a deed of confirmation of the 46th year of James I., relating to certain estates in Oxfordshire, with the royal seals appended.—*Mr. George V. Drury, Shotover House, Oxford.*

The leiger-book of the Prior of Montacute, Somersetshire.—*The President of Trinity College, Oxford.*

A roll of the household expenses of William of Wykeham, dated 1394, preserved amongst the muniments of Winchester College.—*Rev. W. H. Gunner.*

A Patent of Nobility granted, in 1674, March 22, by the Emperor Leopold, to John Helwig Sinoldt, called Schütz. It is in the German language, written in a small folio book, on 15 leaves of vellum, measuring 13¾ by 9¾ inches, bound in crimson velvet, and tied with yellow ribbands. It has the signature of the Emperor subscribed; and the Imperial Great Seal (5 inches in diameter) of red wax, is appended by a double cord of twisted silver wire. The arms are displayed on the fourth leaf.—*Mr. George V. Drury, of Shotover House, the present representative of the Schütz family.*

Grant of two roods and a half of arable in the East field, Yarham, Norfolk. Dated 5 Ric. II.—*Mr. G. V. Drury.*

A MS. history of the ecclesiastical dignities of the diocese of York, from the Conquest to the Reformation.—*Mr. Copperthwaite.*

A collection of interesting autographs.—*Mr. J. Darlington.*

Two letters in the handwriting of the poet Shenstone, dated 1748.—*Mr. G. V. Drury.*

CROMWELLIANA.

The following collection of objects which belonged to the Protector, or relate to the times of the Commonwealth, are in the possession of F. H. Fawkes, Esq., and are preserved at Farnley Hall, near Otley, Yorkshire. They were exhibited by his kind permission.

A sword, well authenticated as having been used by Oliver Cromwell. It is double-edged, straight, with a guard formed of a single bow ending near the blade in a sort of quarter basket, resembling such as were generally used in the time of Charles II.[z]

A broad-brimmed hat, low in the crown, of drab-coloured felt, worn by Cromwell. It was preserved for many years at Denham Place, Buckinghamshire, and given by the late Benjamin Way, Esq., to Thomas Lister Parker, Esq., by whom it was presented to Mr. Fawkes.

A watch, used by Cromwell. It is a small repeater, bearing the name of the maker, *Jaques Cartier;* the outer case is formed of leather, studded with silver.

A sword, used by Sir Thomas Fairfax. It is a straight broad-sword, with a basket hilt, in the Scotch fashion, richly inlaid with silver. On the blade is the name of the maker, ANDREA FERARA, and the forge mark, a mound or globe, surmounted by a double or patriarchal cross.

A sword, which belonged to General Lambert. It is a hanger, serrated at the back, the handle formed of gilt brass, representing a lion sitting on his haunches, and holding with his fore-paws the guard, which consists of a single bow. The blade bears the forge mark of a dolphin, and date 1648.

An original silver matrix of a seal prepared by the Commonwealth for the approval of ministers appointed to travel and preach throughout England. It is fully described in the account of matrices of seals; see page 23 of this catalogue.

[z] Another sword, supposed to have belonged to Cromwell, is in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Catalogue of that collection, p. 26.

ACCOUNT OF THE OPENING OF SOME BARROWS ON THE WOLDS OF YORKSHIRE.

In a letter from the Rev. Edward William Stillingfleet, B.D., Vicar of South Cave, in that County, to Charles Newton, Esq. Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Archæological Institute, London, Feb. 1847.

Jan. 28th, 1847.

Dear Sir,

I am happy to comply with your request, by furnishing a short statement as to the discovery of a few British, or Roman-British articles, which were exhibited at York, last July, in the temporary museum of the Archæological Institute.

Having obtained permission from the proprietors of the estates and their tenants, at occasional opportunities, during the summer months of the years 1815, 1816, and 1817, I joined a party, which was formed for the purpose of opening a group of barrows, at Arras and Hessleskew, on the south-western boundary of the Yorkshire Wolds. The site may be traced in something of an irregular circuit around the third mile-stone from Market Weighton, on the turnpike road to Beverley. The ground is very elevated, on a kind of table land, after a gradual rise of two miles; above the vast plain, which stretches from the Humber to the Hambleton Hills, and across the Vale of York to the Highlands of the West Riding. That vast plain, it commands westerly. On the north, it looks over an extensive range of the Wolds; and towards the east and south-east nearly on the map of Holderness, from Spurn Point to the Cliffs of Flamborough. Few situations could have been better chosen for observation, or for security from surprise, or for advantages of pasturage, or for the pursuits of the chase.

Here, with every probability,' has resided a British tribe. Perhaps, a British track, or ridge-way, may have extended from (what are provincially called) "the Double Dykes," on the east of Hessleskew, southerly, by the high grounds of Hunsley and Riplingham, towards the Humber; and northerly, across the Wolds, to the British settlements, which have been discovered by the historian of Whitby, on the moors in that neighbourhood. Whether this ridge-way may have connected Hessle on the Humber with Hessleskew on the Wolds, may be left for the decision of more learned etymologists. As far as general agreement in mode of sepulture, and very considerable similarity in the ornaments found, may determine the point, this tribe seems to have had a national affinity with the tribes on the Wiltshire Downs, whose barrows were investigated by the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare. Only, our Brigantian tribe were a poorer race than those of the Belgæ.

Mr. Oliver, in his History of Beverley[a], overstates, I think, the number of bar-

[a] Oliver's History of Beverley, p. 4. note 7. The information received by Mr. Oliver has evidently not been clear; or he would have given a less confused statement in that note.

rows opened: a little more than half the number given by him is nearer in agreement with my recollection after a lapse of years. Generally speaking, they were circular in shape, and were formed from the adjacent chalk and soil. Of course, in our researches, there were several blanks; and we had to encounter many a weary hour in which hope was deferred, and much patient investigation frequently obtained little reward. With any dry detail of such matters, you need not be troubled. The most interesting portable articles which fell to my share were exhibited in your temporary museum at the York meeting; and, in now communicating to you those parts of our researches which were connected with their discovery, what is most interesting to the public, will be placed on record.

The ornaments of jet, or Kimmeridge coal, were found in a barrow on the Hessleskew ground. The flat ornaments are singularly dotted; and much resemble what we see depicted, as still worn by uncivilized tribes. Ornaments, similar in punctuation and shape, were exhibited at York, from the Museum of Newcastle on Tyne. Oval beads[b] of the same material, were found mixed with these. The arrangement in which both are now represented, was adopted as probable.

The bracelets are valuable as being similar in form and material to those which have been discovered elsewhere, by other investigators. They are partially elastic, and may be adapted to the wrist; closing after the manner of a key-ring of the present day. We found several much finer bracelets; but they did not fall to my share.

The miniature bronze celt, or British axe, of the length of a single inch, was found in a barrow on the Hessleskew side of the turn-pike road: having a pin which connected it, when used, with a small light blue glass bead. It is of beautiful workmanship, and proves considerable skill in the artisans of what are called the rude ages. This must have been a valuable trinket to its fair owner; and, as a discovery, is probably unique. The care of our workmen was evident in bringing it to light, as it was, likewise, in the opening of a barrow, which was dignified by the name of the Queen's barrow: the barrow of the chief female of the tribe. This barrow was in the Arras ground; its elevation about three feet; its circumference not large; but it proved to be a barrow, rich in its contents. An iron knob was found above the interment, nearly even with the surface of the rock. These iron knobs were of frequent occurrence; they puzzled us much. All we could conjecture was, that they were placed in their position from some superstitious, or talismanic notion. This iron knob was upon a cist, which, on being excavated to the depth of about a foot, was found to contain the skeleton of a moderately tall female, lying with her head to the north, and her feet gathered up. Both these were frequent, if not general

[b] A jet bead of a singular form is given in the 32nd (Woodyates) plate of Sir Richard Hoare's South Wiltshire, and one of amber, by Dr. Stukeley, in his Stonehenge, tab. 32. The larger portions of jet here represented, measure in length one and a half inch by about one inch greatest width; they are narrower at one extremity than at the other. The beads by which they were probably connected, are also of gradually increasing length, and measure half an inch, three quarters, and one inch. It is obvious, that by these arrangements the necklace composed as above shewn would more conveniently adapt itself to the throat. The greater portion of a similar necklace of jet, found on Holyhead mountain, is in the possession of the Lord Stanley of Alderley. See also in the Archæologia Scotica, vol. iii. pl. v. p. 39, similar ornaments found in Ross-shire. Also the necklace from Windle Hill in Bateman's Vestiges in Derbyshire, p. 89, and another at p. 92 of that work.

features, in the interments of this group. The former points to an era prior to a general extension of Christianity in Britain; the latter seems to be in agreement with the custom of a patriarchal age, and is said, by Sir Richard Hoare, to be the primitive mode of interment[c]. Her ornaments remained; and these were found near the head and the upper part of the body. They consisted of about one hundred beads of glass, or some vitreous substance, generally opaque, and of three or four patterns. Two sorts had different shades of blue as their ground; these were spotted or zigzagged by white. A smaller number of transparent green glass beads had a serpentine line of opaque white entwined around them[d]. Besides these beads, a ring of red amber was found near the neck or breast; in exterior diameter, one inch and five-eighths; in interior diameter about half an inch. Likewise, a radiated brooch of curious workmanship; and a singular round ornament: its diameter two inches, with a protuberance in the centre, and a neck by which it may have been suspended from that of the fair wearer, as was the bracteate in Anglo-Saxon times. Both these trinkets had been covered with a kind of paste, which, in the circular ornament, wound round in three concentric rolls. This paste has originally had an outer coat of varnish, or some thin and hard substance: it is now very brittle. In addition, we found two bracelets of inferior workmanship, in diameter two inches and a half; a small ring, scarcely one inch in diameter; a pair of tweezers; and a pin of two inches in length, with a ring at its end, to fasten the robe of this British lady. Each of these articles seems to be of copper, mixed perhaps with tin, or some other metal; and were, as customary, coated with a green varnish.

At this barrow, I received from the hand of my labourer, a ring of very nearly standard gold, in weight 3 dwts. 21 grs. In front, this ring is clasped in a kind of rose, or quatrefoil; and it is an ornament by no means of despicable workmanship[e].

In his indefatigable, and most interesting researches on the Wiltshire Downs, Sir Richard Colt Hoare had not the good fortune to discover any barrow of a British charioteer. We discovered two. That in which the articles here represented were found, is situated on the very edge, and to the north of the present turn-pike road. The elevation of this barrow was uncertain from the circumstance of its crown having been levelled, probably at the time when the turn-pike road was formed; its diameter was from eight to nine yards. The cist was nearly a circle of eleven or twelve feet.

In a cist, as just observed, almost circular, excavated to the depth of about a foot and a half in the chalky rock, and on a nearly smooth pavement, the skeleton of a British charioteer presented itself; surrounded by what in life formed the sources of his pride and delight, and no inconsiderable part of his possessions. The head of this charioteer was placed to the north, with an eastern inclination. He rested on his back, his arms crossed on his breast, and his thigh and leg bones, when bared, presented to the eye what may be termed a singular *grained* work: both the thigh and leg bones appearing to have been crossed in opposite directions. Very near to his head were found the heads of two wild boars. Inclining from the skeleton, on each side, had been placed a wheel: the

[c] Genesis xlix. 33. Ancient Wiltshire, ii. Northern District, p. 90.

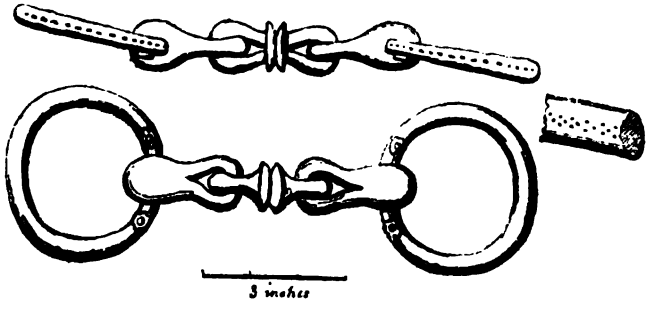
[d] Stukeley's beads found on Overton Hill, in 1720, seem to have been of the same class. Abury, ed. 1743, p. 44.

[e] This ring was exhibited during the meeting of the Early and Mediæval Section of the Archæological Institute, at York, on the 23rd of July, 1846. Stukeley (Abury, p. 45) records the finding of a flat gold ring in a barrow at Yatesbury. In his barrow discoveries of a later date, Douglas (Nenia Brit., p. 117) says, "rings to the finger seldom occur of any ponderous metal, like the Roman ones of gold, silver, or bronze."

iron tire and ornaments of the nave of the wheel only remaining. The tire of the wheel to the east of the body was found perfect in the ground; but unfortunately it broke into several pieces on removal, owing to its corroded state. Small fragments of the original oak still adhered to the iron. In diameter, these wheels had been a trifle more than two feet eleven inches; the width of the iron tire about one inch five-eighths. The diameter of the ornaments of iron, plated with copper and varnished green, which had encircled the nave as a kind of rim, was very nearly six inches. The circumference of the wheel, on the western side, had been forced much out of its shape; evidently by pressure of the earth. Each of these wheels had originally rested on a horse; the bones of which were found under, or adjoining to them: the head of each horse being not far from that of the charioteer, on opposite sides. From the sizes of their leg bones, these horses were of unequal height: but probably, neither of them reached thirteen hands. Perhaps they may lawfully be regarded as progenitors of the Shetland, Welch, or forest breeds of our own day; at any rate, they corroborate by the most certain of all evidence the historical record that the British horse was "diminutive in his size, and swift in his motion[f]." The latter appears to be very probable from the slender girth of the leg bone; which would almost bespeak some mixture of what Yorkshire jockeys term *blood*. Indeed there required something of lightness in the breed of their steeds, if Cæsar's well-known account of the great expertness of British charioteers be correct, "Tantum usu quotidiano, et exercitatione efficiunt, ut in declivi, ac præcipiti loco *incitatos* equos sustinere, et brevi moderari, ac flectere—consuerint[g]."

On the western side of this British charioteer were found two very singular articles of the length of five inches; round at one end, and curved at the other; of iron plated with green-varnished copper, which our workmen called linch-pins. Whatever may have been their use, similar articles were exhibited at York amongst Lord Prudhoe's discoveries at Stanwick which are now deposited in the British Museum. Besides these, (in different parts of the barrow, but all, I think, on the western side,) were found two little rings, three quarters of an inch in diameter; and five buckles, semicircular, of various sizes, in some of which the tongue still remained. These buckles undoubtedly belonged to the harness; and their fellows may be seen in the Stanwick collection. (Compare plate iv. fig. 4.)

On the same side, near the legs of the skeleton, were found two other appendages of the equipage of this British charioteer, in full length about ten inches. They are formed by two substantial rings, of the outer diameter of three inches and



[f] Whitaker, History of Manchester, book i. chap. ix. sec. 6; he quotes Dio, p. 1280.
[g] De B. G. iv. 33.

a quarter, joining on strong globular links, being tied together by another strong double link of two inches three quarters long. Like the rest of the articles found, they are of iron, plated with copper coated with green; and the large rings have a pretty chain-pattern running round them. These articles would generally be pronounced to be the bits of bridles; and a general verdict must be received. Objects similar to these have often been discovered, and may be seen, both in the Stanwick, and Polden Hill collections. One of the most intricate in its form, appears to have been that which was purchased by Dr. Stukeley, and pronounced, by that learned antiquary, to have belonged to the harness of a British chariot. It was found, on an accidental opening being made on the well-known Silbury Hill, in 1723; it is delineated in Stukeley's Abury, and in Gough's edition of Camden [h]. It was not uncommon, to bury horses and their trappings with the ancient heroes, in proof of which, we may adduce the fact that a bit of this kind was discovered, with many fragments of chariot wheels, on Hamden Hill, in Somersetshire [i].

This barrow was laid open with great success, and afforded a valuable evidence as to the mode in which a British charioteer, of renown in his day, had been entombed. In fact we brought into day-light a concealed mausoleum dedicated to his memory and fame: more durable than the splendid architectural mausoleum of a refined age, and perhaps as rational. The uncivilized Brigantian, after surrounding the remains of his chieftain with memorials of his character, rank, and celebrity, raised the simple mound; and "bade it speak to other years [k]." The skull of the skeleton was that of an old man. The labourers were certain that he "must have been a king," and, as we could not contradict them, we named this "the king's barrow," to distinguish it from the sepulchre of another British charioteer whose remains were found in the ground of Hessleskew.

This charioteer's barrow was small. It had been levelled nearly to the adjacent surface of the soil; was not elevated so much as two feet in its summit; and in diameter was about eight feet. Yet, in this barrow we found an ancient North Briton resting on his shield; his skull partially marked by corrosion from the verdigrease of its bosses. I am sorry that I omitted noting how many bosses there were; but one of them, nearly entire, measures four and a half inches in diameter. It is thin, and of the material usually found in this group. On discovery, a small portion of the wood of the shield adhered to this boss. It was surrounded by a thin rim of the same material; we also found a part of the iron rim of the shield, much corroded, and, in that state, about one inch in width: all supporting the opinion, that ancient British shields were not large in size. Inclining from the body of the British warrior, both on the western and on the eastern side, had been placed a wheel and a bridle bit, with iron rings which had belonged to the chariot,

[h] Abury, pl. 36, ed. 1743. Gough's Camden, i. pl. ix. fig. 5. [Compare two other bits found with other portions of harness on Hagbourn Hill, Berkshire. Engraved, Archæologia, xvi. p. 348, pl. l.]

[i] Archæologia, xxi. pl. v. pp. 39—41. One of the Polden Hill bits in engraved, ibid. xiv. pl. xix. fig. 1. [For the custom of burying horses with the dead, see the account of the funeral rites of the Scythian kings, Herod. iv. 71. Baehr (in loco) speaks of the discovery of horses' bones in the barrows of Southern Russia. Compare Tacitus, Germania, xvii., who speaking of the German tribes of his time, says, "struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant, sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur." For similar customs among the Scandinavians, see Mr. Kemble's remarks, Appendix to Beowulf ad fin. "Certain it is that the jewels, arms, and chariots, were supposed to be for use in a future world. In a passage which I am about to cite, (Fornald, Sög. i. p. 387,) a chariot and saddle are placed in the mound, that the hero may take his choice between riding or driving to Valhalla." In a tumulus at Elenborough, [Virosidum,] in Cumberland, were found below several strata of different materials, the bones of a heifer and of a colt, with some wood ashes near them.—Hutch. Cumberland, ii. p. 281, quoted by Hodgson, Northumb. iii. pt. 2. p. 239.]

[k] Ossian.

or to its trappings. These bits were of iron, without any coat of brass, corroded by age, and somewhat resembled the harsh snaffle-bit of our own horse-breakers. One bit was taken out nearly entire; the other was injured by the workmen. The diameter of the wheels was only about two feet eight inches: a sufficient indication of the lightness of the British chariot. The diameter of the rim of the nave of these wheels, also of iron, was about five inches. Oak was still attached to part of the tire of the wheels, and the nails which had been used as rivets, were entire. The tire of only one of them was perfectly traced in the ground, with its nave; and unfortunately even that broke into pieces on removal from its earthen bed. Two wild boar's tusks had been placed on the body of this British charioteer. One of them had been enclosed in a singular kind of outer case of thin brass. It was found in good condition, perforated by a square hole, by which it had most probably been suspended from the neck or girdle of the hunter. The case is adapted to the curve of the boar's tusk; and in a straight line measures five inches. The length of the boar's tusk itself is four inches and a half. It has evidently been polished; has a diamond pattern engraved on its top to the length of three quarters of an inch, and a square hole bored through it, corresponding with the hole in its case.

I have found no ornament similar to this, in any of the books to which a retired country residence affords access. Perhaps, this square hole may throw some light on the use of that which is bored through a boar's tusk, found by the late Mr. Connington, on Upton Lovel Downs, in Wiltshire[l].

The discoveries of this barrow, record the interment of a warrior, a mighty hunter, and a person of celebrity in his day and amongst the people of his clan; glorying in the chace after an animal said to have been scarcely less savage than the wolf; and reluctant that the memory of his deeds should be consigned to oblivion. Had it not been for the material of which the boss of the shield, and case of the boar's tusk is formed, we might have regarded this interment as of prior date to that of the regal charioteer. And may it not lawfully be so regarded? may not this, if either, have been the war chariot; while the king's equipage more nearly resembled that of a British Esseda, which figured at a later date on the fashionable drives of ancient Rome? Dr. Stukeley quotes authority to shew, that Celtic bridles were curiously wrought; and regards the circumstance of the bridle found at Silbury Hill being perfectly plain and rude as an argument of its great antiquity [m].

These remarks are submitted to the candour and indulgence of the members of the Archæological Institute. A country clergyman, occupied by professional engagements, with only such opportunities for research as are afforded in a secluded situation, may lawfully be excused for venturing on little beyond matter-of-fact statements. Yet, after all, matter-of-fact statements are not among the least valuable. It is by the collation of discoveries made in our own islands with the result of the researches of our northern continental neighbours that a mass of evidence will in due time be collected, in regard to the customs of the various tribes, who have peopled Britain, in different eras. We shall thence become far better acquainted with the habits, manners, pursuits, and commerce of our remote ancestors. And, in this point of view, sepulchral relics will be found to be

[l] Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, i. pl. vii. p. 76, and more clearly represented in the Archæologia, vol. xv. plate 2. p. 124.

[m] Abury, p. 42.

of sterling historical value; and not merely, to "arise unto late posterity, as emblems of mortal vanities [a]."

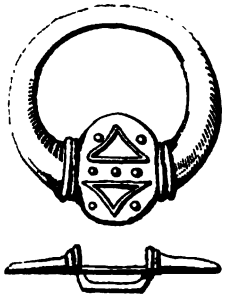
I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

EDWARD WILLIAM STILLINGFLEET.

CHARLES NEWTON, Esq.

[a] Sir Thomas Browne on Urn Burial.



Ring of Bronze, resembling some of the ornaments of horse trappings found at Stanwick. See Plate II. fig. 3

DESCRIPTION OF ANTIQUITIES REPRESENTED IN THE PLATES.

PLATE 1. Early British, and Roman Antiquities.—Fig. 1. Gold ornament from the Museum at Swinton Park. Catal., p. 5.—Fig. 2. Lyre-shaped fibula, enamelled, found at Risingham; from the Museum of the Antiquaries of Newcastle. Catal., p. 7.—Fig. 3. Small mosaic ornament found at Kirkby Thore, size of the original. Catal., p. 7.—Fig. 4. Enamelled fibula found in a Roman camp at Malton. —Fig. 5. Enamelled fibula of similar form, found at Kirkby Thore.—Fig. 6. Enamelled ornament, found at Kirkby Thore. Catal., p. 7.

PLATE 2. Ornaments of bronze, part of a large collection found on the estates of the Duke of Northumberland at Stanwick, and deposited by his Grace in the British Museum.—Fig. 1. Ornament of thin bronze, hammered up, representing the head of an animal; dimensions 2 in. 9 tenths, by 2 in. 8 tenths.—Fig. 2. Ornament enriched with little circles of enamel; dimensions 4 in. by 2 in. width across the upper rings.—Fig. 3. Ring fitted to be attached to harness; size of the original. Compare one found by Mr. Stillingfleet, figured in the illustrations of his letter.—Fig. 4. Dimensions, 3 in. 5 tenths, by 2 in. 2 tenths.—Fig. 5. Ornament of similar workmanship to fig. 1, representing a horse's head (?); dimensions 3 in. 9 tenths, by 2 in. 7 tenths.—Fig. 6. Specimen of rings, found in considerable number, and of various sizes. Diameter, 3 in. 2 tenths. See Catalogue, p. 10.

PLATE 3. Stanwick antiquities.—Fig. 1. A bronze hook; length, 3 in. 1 tenth. —Fig. 2. Specimen of bronze enamelled rings, found in considerable variety. Dimensions, 3 in. 7 tenths, by 2 in. 8 tenths.—Fig. 3. Cross-guard of a dagger or knife: length, 3 in. 2 tenths.—Fig. 4. Enamelled ring; diameter, 2 in. 7 tenths. —Fig. 5. Slip of thin bronze, possibly used to strengthen the handle of a shield; length 8 in. 9 tenths.—Fig. 6. A piece of iron, with an ornamental bronze head attached, length 5 in. 1 tenth.—Fig. 7. Ring of a bridle rein (?); diameter 3 in. 3 tenths.

PLATE 4. Stanwick antiquities.—Fig. 1. Ornamental band of thin brass, hammered up. Size of the original.—Fig. 2. An iron pin, mounted at both extremities with bronze, supposed to have been attached to some part of a chariot; length, 6 in. 6 tenths, diameter of ring, 1 in. A similar object is in the Museum of the Lord Hastings.—Fig. 3. Band of thin brass, nearly the size of original.—Fig. 4. Brass buckle, size of original.—Fig. 5. Stud, measuring 1 in. diameter.—Fig. 6. and 7. Portions of iron mailed armour, with a specimen of the ornamental bronze buttons attached to it; considerable remains of mail were found, converted into indurated masses of oxide. Represented of the full size. —Fig. 8. Cross-guard of a dagger or knife, length 2 in. 8 tenths.

PLATE 5. Fig. 1. An iron sword, in a bronze sheath, in the possession of Mr. Preston, found near Flasby, West Riding, near Roman remains, and resembling a sword discovered at Stanwick. Catalogue, p. 11.—Fig. 2. A circular enamelled fibula, of late Roman workmanship, found at Kirkby Thore.—Fig. 3. An ornamental stud, or button, of bronze, set with a black stone, found at Kirkby Thore. —Fig. 4. A bronze spear-head, found near Worcester, length 10½ in., breadth of blade, 2¾ in. From the collection of Jabez Allies, Esq., F.S.A. Catalogue, p. 5.

PLATE 6. Anglo-Saxon ornaments.—Fig. 1. A torc-armlet of silver, found in Cuerdale, as related in the Archæological Journal, vol. iv. pp. 110, 200. From the collection of William Assheton, Esq.—Fig. 2. and 3. Fibulæ of bronze, curiously chased, found in Thornborough Pasture, near Catterick. Dimensions—fig. 2, length, 6¼ inches; fig. 3, length, 5 inches. From the collection of Sir William Lawson, Bart.

PLATE I

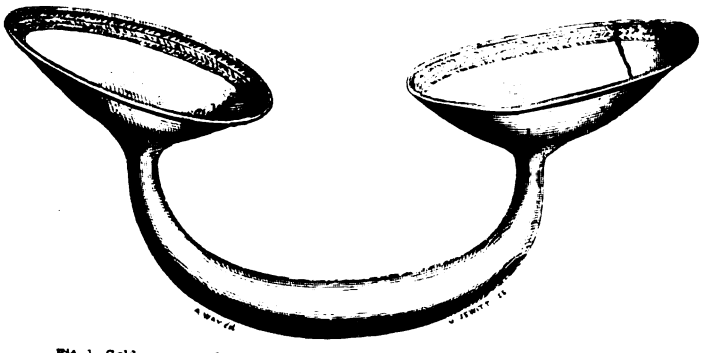


Fig. 1. Gold ornament discovered at Swinton Park Scale, two thirds of original size.

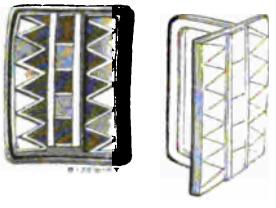


Fig. 6. Enamelled ornament found at Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland. Size of original.

Fig. 3 Enamelled mosaic ornament found at Kirkby Thore Size of original

Fig. 2. Enamelled Fibula of bronze, found at Risingham, Northumberland. Size of original

Fig. 4. Enamelled Fibula found in a Roman camp, at Malton, Yorkshire. Size of original.

Fig. 5 Enamelled Fibula of the Roman period, found at Kirkby Thore.

PLATE II.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3

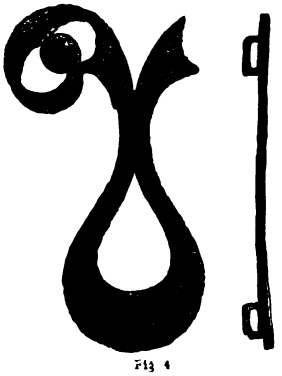


Fig. 4

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6

PLATE III.

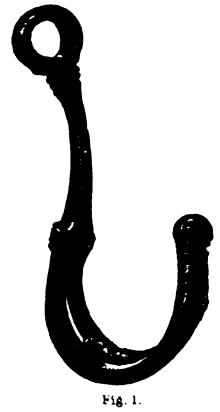


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6.

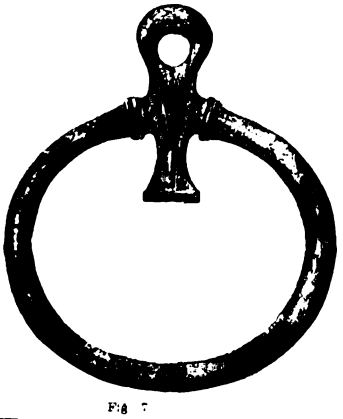


Fig. 7

PLATE IV.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4

Fig. 5.

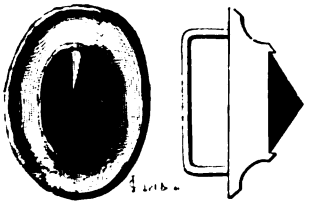
Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8

PLATE V.

Fig. 4. Bronze spear head, found in the river Severn



Enamelled ornament, and jewelled button, found with Roman remains at Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland.

Fig. 1. Iron sword in a bronze sheath, found near Flasby, West Riding

PLATE VI.

Fig. 1. Silver Armilla, found with Anglo-Saxon coins in Cuerdale.
From the collection of W. Assheton, Esq. Size of original.

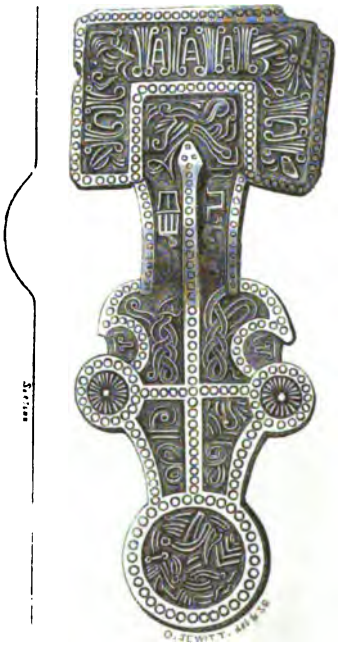


Fig 2. Length, 6½ in.

Fig 3. Length, 5 in

Cruciform Anglo Saxon Fibulæ found at Catterick.
From the collection of Sir William Lawson, Bart. Scale, ½ size

THE PARLIAMENTS OF YORK.

BEFORE the forty-ninth year of the reign of Henry III. (1265), when writs of summons to Parliament first included knights of the shire, who were summoned by the sheriffs, and the burgesses who were chosen by writs directed to the citizens, it cannot be said that there existed any regularly constituted system of representation in this country. For although the title of Parliament had been given to an assembly convened at Oxford seven years before (June 11, 1258), it was merely a representation by the nobility, a baronial council, rather than the organ either of the royal will, or the voice of the community. It was an assembly which referred all things to the power of twenty-four, and delegated the reformation of the kingdom at large to those who were intent on their own interests, and hostile to the crown. In this Parliament the peculiar foundations of an English monarchy were in imminent danger of destruction, since not only was the executive power transferred from the royal person, but the provisions even required that the Parliament should be convened at stated times without any previous summons. Yet from this state of things, so inauspicious for the extension of liberty, arose causes materially affecting the general welfare of the people; and it was in consequence of the arbitrary exercise of regal power, that the barons induced their vassals to unite with them in obtaining the Great Charter, and the repeal of the Forest Laws. The excessive power of the king made England free, and hastened the most material changes in the constitution. By its collision with the nobility, their suspicions became at once awakened to a sense of their own safety, and no sooner was the royal prerogative humbled, than an enlarged system of recording the sentiments of the people, contributed in turn to rescue the sovereign from the selfish dominion of the aristocracy, and thus to establish the equilibrium of government.

Nor, indeed, was the attempt made at the Mise of Lewes by the earl of Leicester three years afterwards (1261), when three

knights were summoned from each county, either an independent or a disinterested assembly; for the king was at that time in the hands of his factious barons, and the representatives were rather invited to treat with them than freely to enter upon the discussion of business affecting the welfare of the state[a].

Undoubtedly this Parliament of the 49th Henry III. (1265) was the earliest to which our modern notions of such an assembly can reasonably attach themselves. Immediately before it the king, it is true, was under restraint, and so far it was convoked with a restricted executive, and the nobility reigned, but the individual liberty of the subject was at the same time secure. The seeds from which have sprung our present form lay for a time dead, as to all purposes of vital utility in the exercise of the royal prerogative, and of this even the discretionary power was mutilated, since Henry III. had allowed himself to confide it to a chosen number of his barons. Now, however, that he issued a writ of a more comprehensive character, including within its monitions, besides one hundred and twenty-two ecclesiastics, twenty-three secular peers, two knights from each county, and two discreet men from among the burgesses of different towns and cities, there arose the outline and form which our present representative system has embodied. Before this the various acts of legislation partook in great measure of the nature of ordinances and proclamations, and cannot be regarded as statutes passed by the concurrent voice of the nation.

It has frequently been observed that York and Lincoln were the only cities mentioned in the first record authorizing the burgesses to send representatives[b]; and some stress has been laid upon this fact, as though they were cities of greater importance than the rest, but as the writ was also directed "cæteris burgis Angliæ," it does not appear that these two shared greater privileges than those whose names were omitted on the roll, the entry being evidently inaccurate.

The chief business of the Parliament already alluded to was to arrange the terms for the liberation of Prince Edward, who

[a] Parry, p. 41, and Dig. Peer. i. 133.

[b] The city of York sent representatives, 49 Hen. III. Dig. Peer. vol. i. p. 144; 26 Edw. I. Dig. Peer. vol. i. p. 375. The dean of York was summoned to the Parliament of Westminster under the Præmunientes clause, and made treasurer to Edw. III. in the thirteenth of his reign.

had been given up as a hostage at the battle of Lewes. The language of the different provisions then agreed upon shews, that besides the king, there were two other contracting parties, namely, the barons (les hauz hommes), and the knights and municipal representatives. By whom these were chosen it does not enter into the present question to enquire, nor indeed would it be easy to determine it. It is enough for the purpose simply to state what were the powers deputed, and what were those commonly exercised. There is then clear evidence that at this period (49 Henry III.) there existed a national council convoked by the king, and consisting of ecclesiastical and temporal peers, of knights of the shire, and of citizens or burgesses, who together formed the legislative assembly of the realm.

The victory of Edward at the battle of Evesham, and the death of Simon de Montfort, restored Henry III. to freedom, and were the means of introducing new changes into the government. There were at that time no clear or fixed principles by which the community were ruled; the laws and institutions were in a state of perpetual transition; the executive was despotic over the property of the people; and, as baronial tyranny, or the arbitrary imposition of tallage, pressed upon the energies and rising wealth of the middle classes, they gradually sought for relief from their burdens. These grievances opened the way for the enlargement of popular rights in the reign of Edward I., at which time it may be said that great part of the representative system acquired its modern form.

The law became greatly improved under his directions, and such was his prudence in amending it, a labour in which he was greatly assisted by Bishop Burnel, that posterity has dignified him with the title of the English Justinian. Still, whilst his efforts to consolidate the jurisprudence of the country have placed him in the foremost rank of national benefactors, his expensive wars with the Scotch, his unjust ones with the Welsh, his contentions with the opulent barons, with the clergy, together with his firm resistance to papal encroachments, compelled him to adopt arbitrary modes of taxation, which have left a reproach upon his character for injustice. Hence we perceive another cause arising which immediately affected the representation.

The pecuniary distresses of the crown became the increasing

cause of its diminished influence, whilst the aids granted by the people were in turn the origin of their growing power over the royal councils. As the exchequer became exhausted, appeals were made to the people to replenish it, and at every fresh pressure something was lost by one party and gained by the other. Thus the statute of Westminster, 18th Edward I. (statute of Westminster the third), subdued the spirit of feudalism, and enabled every freeholder to alienate his land. The statute De Quo Warranto diminished the rights of the crown. Had not the sovereign reserved the power of dismissing his ministers and council at his pleasure, such a preponderance would have been fatal to the existence of monarchy. But even in this early period the feeling in favour of sovereignty, the permanent faith in the divine right of kings, prevailed to so great an extent, that the notion, in fact, of any other kind of government was so utterly wanting to men's minds, that the throne possessed an inherent weight, sufficient of itself to counterbalance, to a great degree, the combined influence of the other powers of the realm. Perhaps this is worth remembering, lest we should imagine the nice balance to have been the result of skilful legislation. So delicately was the weight of the respective parties adjusted, so mutually were they dependant on each other, that neither of them could disturb the balance of the commonweal.

It may be seen, then, that improvements in the state of the representation were being gradually effected, occasioned by the exigencies of the crown, by the growing power of the barons and ecclesiastics, by the discontent of the people; but these are facts which can only be thus generally adverted to, my object being rather to sketch the outline of those events more immediately associated with the Parliaments convened at York.

The earliest we have any mention of being assembled in this city, is that held in the 26th year of Edward I. (1298), when a writ tested at Westminster was issued to the earl of Surrey, commander of the army in Scotland, desiring him to bring with him such of the barons in his service as he thought proper, who might be depended upon, and to meet him at York on the day of Pentecost, there to hold privately a special conference (colloquium) touching the affairs of the king and state, leaving in the meanwhile their men at arms within the

walls of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for its protection. On the same day writs were issued to Roger le Bygod, earl marshal, under similar forms, but who was summoned to bring with him as small a retinue as was necessary. (Cum pauciore gente qua poteritis personaliter accedatis.) Writs were issued to the earls of Gloucester, Hereford, Angus, and Arundel. The sheriff of Yorkshire was at the same time directed to summon two knights of the shire, and two discreet and able citizens, so that each party should have betwixt them full and sufficient authority to express their feelings in the common council, lest, through want of this confidence, the business they had to transact should remain in any way imperfect. Writs of a similar tenor were addressed from Fulham to the other sheriffs, and it appears from the records that seventy representatives were returned on this occasion by the counties, and one hundred and fifty-four by the boroughs; or, according to modern phraseology, two hundred and twenty-four representatives of the commons, and six peers.

In this assembly there are two things very remarkable, namely, the entire absence of the ecclesiastics, even deducting those who omitted to attend, and the overwhelming majority of the commons. In some instances, moreover, no returns were made by the bailiff of the liberties. With few exceptions, all the original writs still exist, but no enrolment of the allowance for expenses has been preserved, excepting one hundred shillings each for the citizens from London. There is every presumptive proof in favour of this being a freely chosen and independent body of constituents, the dorse of some of the returns intimating how unanimously the burgesses were elected. The Scottish nobility were summoned to this Parliament, the king insinuating that if they did not appear they would be considered enemies of the state. As such their absence declared them, and sending no excuses, Edward adopted measures for their chastisement. Considering the posture of affairs in Scotland at this juncture, it is more than probable that his chief object in calling together the Parliament was to obtain an aid for carrying on the war. The Exchequer and the Bench were transferred hither on this occasion; and to the frequent removal of the former, much of the loss and confusion in its documents may be attributed, a circumstance which will also explain the meagre account that has been handed down of

the transactions in the present Parliament[c]. For as long as the records remained at York, the officials at Westminster would find them so difficult to consult, that their use would be impracticable. The Rolls of Parliament have not preserved any particulars of the business that passed under review, for the settlement of the dowries of Margaret of Navarre (afterwards united to Edward I.) and of Isabella (espoused to his son), have been incorrectly placed in the printed copies under this year of his reign. Contemporary historians have only slightly supplied the deficiency of more accredited records. We learn from them, however, that the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, two of the discontented barons, who regarded the exercise of the royal prerogative with peculiar suspicion, did not omit the present opportunity of demanding a confirmation of the Charters already obtained from Henry III.

These Charters were in all respects very important safeguards of the public freedom. The one, always deemed the Great Charter of the Liberties of the kingdom, loosened the bonds of feudal tyranny, afforded some kind of protection to commerce, had respect for a better administration of justice by procuring a trial for the accused, and moderated the imposition of taxes. The other, the Charter of the Forest, mitigated the extreme rigour of the game laws. And it need not excite surprise that the opportunity was seized for their confirmation; for what could possibly be said in behalf of enactments decreeing, for even the most trifling offences, a year's imprisonment, or loss of limb or life; or who would not eagerly desire to see the overthrow of such arbitrary maxims, which, even a century afterwards, sanctioned the death of Sir Thomas Haxey as a traitor, for raising his voice in favour of economy. Pursuant to the demand of the assembled representatives, these Charters, with some additional articles, were read, and the bishop of Carlisle, invested with full pontificals, uttered the sentence of excommunication against all who should dare to violate them.

The aids granted to the crown seem to have been from this time placed under regulations better for both parties. It is

[c] The Roll of Expenses of removing the Exchequer from London to York, still exists amongst the Records at the Chapter-House. Appendix to Report of Commissioners, p. 18, Edit. 1837. The commons petitioned the king, in the 38th of his reign, that the Bench might be permanently fixed either there or at Westminster. Rot. Parl. ii. 286.

inconvenient to enter further into their discussion, or indeed to pursue the constitutional history of this period. Yet we may not entirely leave it without observing how grateful is the investigation of a subject which reveals improvement at every successive step we take, which shews, as we advance in the enquiry, a fairer and a more noble structure gradually rising from its rude foundations, increasing in moral beauty and strength, until it arrives at the grandeur of that form of government which people of other countries regard with envy, and our own with love.

On the 18th of October, in the third year of Edward II. (1309), a privy council (secretum parliamentum) was held at York, and, in pursuance of its deliberations, summonses were addressed on the 26th for a Parliament to assemble here on the Sunday next after the Purification (Feb. 8, 1310), setting forth to the twelve earls, eighty-four barons, and nineteen bishops, who were invited, that Robert Bruce, having committed various acts of rebellion and treachery, and broken the truce agreed upon through the medium of Philip, king of France, they were enjoined, that laying all other business aside, they should meet the king to hold a conference and treaty (colloquium et tractatum) on the subject[d]. It is singular that nearly all those now summoned had been desired to meet the king for the same purpose three months previously at Stamford, and therefore it may be inferred that this was an adjournment of those proceedings. There is considerable doubt whether an assembly thus constituted, without the presence and assent of the commons, can be correctly styled a Parliament. The language of the writs would rather imply it to have been a council, yet as the dorse calls it a Parliament we will examine its acts under this title. It met, but speedily dissolved, though not before it had intelligibly hinted to the king that grievances must be redressed. The war in Scotland, disastrously carried on by this feeble monarch, and the profligacy of his minions, soon brought matters to a crisis, and the meeting was prorogued till Lent; and in the next year the great Parliament of Westminster (Aug. 8, 1311, which was but a continuation of this) placed the internal affairs of the kingdom on an advanced footing.

The battle of Bannockburn (June 24, 1314), so inglorious in the result, caused Edward to throw himself, by a hasty

[d] Parl. Writs, ii. 40.

flight, into the city of York. He remained here until the middle of the following October, during which interval he held a Parliament (Sept. 9, 1314) to discuss the unhappy prospect of Scottish affairs. Humiliating must have been the reflections that were in the meantime agitating the king's mind. In vain had he issued his writs for aid to nearly four hundred of his principal subjects, and urged the sheriff of Yorkshire, under the threat of royal indignation and fine, to hasten onwards his 4,000 chosen foot; in vain were letters patent sealed to secure the loan of the 8,800 marks he had been compelled to borrow from the bishops; for by the 10th of August the enemy had crossed the Tweed and entered the county of York[e]. Other causes also concurred to disturb Edward's repose. His father-in-law had demanded homage and fealty for the duchy of Guienne, acquired through his wife, which he had either refused or evaded, and he was thus brought into hostility with the king of France. A quarrel of a serious nature had broken out betwixt his two metropolitans, and to ally their mutual animosity required the exercise of his prompt attention. Under such a clouded and inauspicious aspect commenced the third Parliament (colloquium et tractatus) held within the walls of this city.

The summonses, dated July 29, 1314, declared, truly enough, to those to whom they were respectively addressed, that, setting all other things aside, they should meet the king on the morrow of the Nativity of the Virgin (Sept. 9) to consult on certain arduous affairs, (a phrase sufficiently illustrative of what has already been stated,) and especially on those of Scotland.

The two metropolitans, eighteen bishops, forty-five abbots, three priors, the representative of the vacant see of St. Asaph, the master of Sempringham, nine earls, one hundred and two barons, two knights from each county, and two citizens from each borough, besides those ecclesiastics comprehended under the Præmunientes clause, were nominated to attend on this emergency[f]. The first insertion of this clause, summoning the inferior clergy, occurs in the Parliament of 23 Edward I. (1295), when there was a great deficiency in the royal exchequer, and it does not again appear until the accession of Edward III. On all these occasions it is probable the crown wished the sanction of the Church generally to the public

[e] Parl. Writs, i. 427—430. [f] Ib. ii. 126.

grants, rather than to receive the expression of their individual advice on public matters. On the present emergency their co-operation and consent was considered so desirable, that a second letter was issued to the archbishop of Canterbury, enforcing those previously sent to the bishops, and commanding the attendance of the deans, and priors of cathedral churches, with the archdeacons, whilst the chapters were to be represented by their proctors, and the body of the clergy at large by two sufficient procurators. The justices of assize were even ordered to relinquish their sittings till the business was concluded.

Before the Parliament actually entered upon the matters for which it was convoked, Edward commanded the archbishop of York, under forfeiture of all he could deprive him of, not to molest the archbishop of Canterbury, but to withdraw his sentence of excommunication, and to allow him peacefully to attend with the others who were summoned. He declared that the right of bearing their croziers in each other's province, which was the cause of dispute, should not be prejudiced in consequence, and thus this great scandal to the primates, and constant cause of interruption to public business, remained unsettled till the 6th Edward III., (1334,) when Pope Innocent effected a compromise.

Urgent business prevented the king from opening his Parliament in person, and he consequently addressed a commission to the bishop of Exeter, and Aymer de Valence, to proceed with its affairs until his arrival[s]. No roll has hitherto been found to shew what was done, all the information recorded is simply that the commons attended from the 9th to the 27th of September, and were paid for their attendance at the rate of 4s. a day, exclusive of the expenses of their journey.

As the historian pursues events, he finds the cotemporary documents of the period reciting little except musters for war or an account of levies for its prosecution. The aggressions of the Scotch daily became more intolerable, so that the English monarch was again obliged to call together his council to deliberate on the measures most suitable to check their interrup-

[s] The testing of writs shews that Edward was in the interval at the following places, though the business he was engaged upon does not appear.
September 6. York.
September 7. Wolston.
8. Wolston.
10. York.
12. York.

tions, as well as to ensure the internal peace of the realm. He passed much of the tenth and eleventh years of his reign at York, and in the twelfth, again summoned a Parliament to meet him within its walls. Writs were issued for its assembling in the three weeks of St. Michael, Sept. 20, (1318). A fortnight before commissions had been directed to various citizens to furnish troops for the north, and, independently of the conscripts from each Riding of all those inhabitants between the ages of twenty and sixty, as well as from three or four other contiguous counties, nearly five thousand foot-soldiers were now under arms within the city. The services of this extraordinary army were, according to the military tenure of the age, only commanded for a term of forty days. At no time before had an army been drawn up within the walls of this ancient city when greater disasters were impending. The long and glittering line of warriors withdrew through the massive gates, and ere the laments of the sorrowing kindred who had watched their departure had ceased, the king met his new Parliament.

Writs had been directed to the two primates, eighteen bishops, forty-two abbots, the Præmunientes clause including the minor ecclesiastics, nine earls, eighty-four barons, twenty-five of the council, and to all the sheriffs, in short, to upwards of a hundred of this class of members. The expenses of the county representatives were allowed at the rate of 5s. a day; the municipal ones received 2s., thus shewing the difference of their relative positions in life. This Parliament may be considered as fairly representing, like that of 8 Edw. II. (1314), the general feeling of the community. As we fortunately have the original roll of its proceedings, we are able to ascertain what was the nature of the statutes it passed, and the grievances it strove to redress. Yet before briefly glancing at these facts, it is not unworthy of remark that the same abbots were not invariably summoned to attend, and that very rarely the same commoner was returned to two successive Parliaments. One of the most important acts which was now originated was the Statute of York, a statute containing important clauses for the due administration of justice. Other matters immediately bearing on the liberty of the subject passed under review, such as the confirmation of the celebrated Ordinances of the 5th of Edward II., recording and determining pleas deferred, that a Parliament should be held

once or twice a year if there should be need, the royal assent in such matters of state as could be performed without the sanction of Parliament, the king's declaration to be ruled by a chosen council, his unqualified pardon to the earl of Lancaster, and nearly five hundred of his adherents, besides the redress of various private complaints. It made provision for the meeting of the next Parliament at York during Easter, agreed upon the muster of the army at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and answered several grievances of a municipal, military, and personal kind. The commons remained at York till the 9th of December (1318), having sat fifty-one days.

In the following year, May 6th, (1319,) they again met at York, the character and the numbers of its members varying in very little beyond the accession to it of the twenty-five justices of assize. They continued their sittings twenty days, and at the conclusion, the knights of the shire were each paid 4s. a day, and the municipal representatives 1s. 8d. for their expenses. In conjunction with the earls and barons, the "liberi homines" and the "communitates comitatuum" granted an eighteenth of their moveables, and the burgesses a twelfth from the towns, for carrying on the Scottish war. A roll of petitions set forth before this Parliament has been preserved, but its contents are undeserving remark beyond the complaint of the delay and the expenses of suits in the court of Chancery, and its presenting the earliest instance of a disputed election.

It cannot fail to have arrested the attention that on this and on other emergencies, when the crown required pecuniary aid, it was given or withheld according to the wishes of the community. Before the passing of the statute, 25 Edw. I., de Tallagio non concedendo, the nation had only had the precarious enjoyment of this privilege, but that act virtually secured it by decreeing that no levy or impost should be collected without the united consent of the lords and commons (liberi homines) of the realm. They had in the reign of Henry III. practically and resolutely asserted its principle on more than one occasion. Under Henry IV. they again refused their contributions; and the petition of rights, in the reign of Charles I., finally adjusted the question by fully establishing the power of the commons to originate money bills, and to regulate taxation.

Edward II. continued to reside at York until nearly the

end of July (1319), when just before his departure for the north he held a council. (July 23, 1319.) His thoughts were necessarily engrossed by the conflicts daily taking place on the borders, and his chief object was to consult on the best method of retrieving the recent loss of Berwick-upon-Tweed. He had commanded all his host to meet him at Newcastle on the 22nd of July last past. On the 26th the earl of Lancaster had invested Berwick, but Bruce, both anxious to save it from recapture, and unwilling to run the hazard of a general engagement, withdrew his forces, and, with an army of 15,000 men, under Randolf and the Black Douglas, invaded England, ravaging all the country to the gates of York.

The queen, previously informed, saved herself by a hasty flight to the south, but before her husband could return to the city, in the month of October, a decisive battle (Sept. 20) had occurred on the banks of the Swale, in which the English were routed[h]. In the absence of the regular army and a military leader, the king commissioned William de Melton, archbishop of York, to call together such forces as he could from among the clergy and others, and go forth to withstand the common danger. He collected together a mingled group of countrymen and ecclesiastics, who, little acquainted with the discipline of war, offered but ineffectual opposition to the invaders. Three hundred priests are said to have fallen in the encounter, from which circumstance, in the savage pleasantry of the time, it bore the name of the White Battle and the Chapter of Mitton.

Edward returned to York on the last day of September, and continued to reside here for the whole of the next four months, taking measures during the interval for levying fresh troops, and providing for the collection of subsidies.

He held a Parliament on the 20th of January (1320), but

[h] The attesting of the royal writs, shews, that Edward passed his time from the 4th of September to the 10th of October, at the ensuing places.

September 4.	"Kynbrigham in Scotland."	September 23.	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
4.	Rokesburgh.	25.	
9.	"In obessione villæ Berewici super Twedam."	26.	
12.	Berwick-on-Tweed.	28.	
17.	Berwick-on-Tweed.	October 1.	York.
20.	Belford.	5.	
21.	Newcastle-on-Tyne.	6.	
22.	Newcastle-on-Tyne.	7.	
		8.	
		10.	

as none of the inferior clergy, the knights of the shire, or the burgesses, were called to it, it is most probable that the dispute respecting homage for the duchy of Guienne, formed the leading subject of consideration, since this is set forth in the writs of summons, as the ostensible reason for its meeting.

We now approach the consideration of the Parliament of the 15th of Edward II. (1322). It was the last this king assembled at York; but it was not only the principal one held here, but one of the most important probably ever convened in England. Since the representatives last met at York a truce had been concluded with the Scots, and externally the kingdom enjoyed peace. It was, however, only of brief duration, and Bruce seized the earliest pretext for recommencing hostilities. Edward, on the other hand, had never forgotten his own repulse, and lost no opportunity of privately engaging the sympathies of his people in favour of another war. The attainder and beheading of the earl of Lancaster, and the results of the battle of Boroughbridge, filled his mind with new dreams of conquest, and we behold him now taking most active steps to recover the disgrace of his losses in Scotland[i]. During the two years he was absent from York (he left in January, 1320, and returned in May, 1322) his attention was called to the Welsh, and his own baronial insurgents. Having effectually checked their insurrections, and ordered the execution of his relative the earl, he addressed writs from Pontefract castle, three days after it (March 25, 1322), to the primates, bishops, and nobility, reminding them of the great injuries which the Scots both in his father's time and in his own, had inflicted on the kingdom, and urging them and his subjects generally, to meet him, with all their service of horse and arms, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the 13th of June. And thus daily did he, for more than three months, by the expression of his thanks for their former help, by threats, by the hope of reward, incite his subjects to render him assistance for this new expedition. The next step was to obtain the sanction of his Parliament, and this he summoned to meet him here on the 2nd of May[k]. Besides the two archbishops,

[i] In the first Parliament of Edw. III., 1327, Henry, the brother and heir of the earl of Lancaster, set forth a petition for reversing the sentence, and in the recital of the earl's misdemeanours by the chancellor, it is mentioned that when the king was holding his Parliament at York, he came hither with a thousand armed men, and overawed the king. See a full recital of his offences, Rot. Parl. ii. 4.

[k] The king remained at York and in

the nineteen bishops, two priors, and two masters, nine earls, seventy-two barons, and thirty-three of the council, who, with the knights of the shire, and burgesses, were, as on former occasions commanded to attend, we now find, for the first time, writs directed for the sheriffs to summon forty-eight of the most discreet, lawful, and able-bodied men from the Principality, twenty-four from each division, and the constable of Dover castle, and warden of the Cinque Ports, to return two members from each of the Cinque Ports[l]. The Præmunientes clause, which was enjoined upon the archbishop of Canterbury, by a second letter, included the inferior clergy, so, that even did the Welsh members not attend, (a fact as yet involved in obscurity,) this must have been a very numerous meeting of representatives[m].

Passages in some of the subsequent writs state, in excuse for the king's neglect of private petitions, that he was fully occupied during these sittings with making preparations for the expedition, and there can be no doubt that much of the business transacted in the earlier part bore immediate reference to it. One topic of discussion, indeed, we know was the postponement of the great muster at Newcastle till the 24th of July. After seventeen days' attendance the commons were dismissed with writs of expenses, but the proceedings were continued for more than a fortnight afterwards, the hearing of petitions and private business not being considered as in their nature strictly legislative.

In considering the other affairs to which the attention of Parliament was directed, difficulties become apparent which neither the legal acuteness of some of our best writers on jurisprudence and constitutional history, nor yet the extended labours of a more recently appointed commission of the house of lords have fully determined.

The attention shall not be further fatigued, by attempting to unravel the subjects of dispute, nor by agitating the perplexing points of prescription and usage, subjects productive in themselves of such a variety of opinion that their investigation would rather demand a distinct enquiry. Nor, indeed, can the

the neighbourhood from May 3 to July 22.

[l] The Cinque Ports returned representatives, 49 Henry III., when the towns sent none, and do not appear to have again possessed the privilege till now, from whence they may have uninterruptedly enjoyed it.

[m] The knights of the shire received 3s. a day, and the burgesses 20d., besides the cost of their journeys. Parl. Writs, ii. 258.

confession be honestly withheld, that even after the lapse of six hundred years, it is an arduous effort to lay aside all the prejudices of inheritance, and to enter dispassionately upon the several bearings of what now took place: and when we consult the authors who have illustrated these transactions, we cannot shut our eyes to the facts, that whilst some have anxiously sought to invest the commons house of Parliament with almost indefinite antiquity, others have indiscreetly rushed into the opposite extreme.

The leading point, then, that invites remark, is the language of the statute reversing the sentence of the king's favourites the Despencers. It is observable, that this instrument is the first in which the earls and barons are styled peers of the realm. Although the prelates and commons are made parties to this act, neither were named in the award of exile, nor yet does the recall from banishment mention the latter. In fact, until this moment it was not decidedly understood, that to make a law on every subject the consent of the commons was essential, the distinction between power and right having been in that age much confounded. Whatever was the principle virtually recognised in previous reigns, the reversal of this attainder of the Despencers shews that the legislative power for all important purposes was now generally acknowledged to reside only in the king, with the assent of his lords spiritual and temporal and commons assembled in Parliament. The government was now for the first time clearly defined, and the present act of the legislature positively declared that matters to be established for the estate of the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, ought to be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament by the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as had been before accustomed [n].

It will be inexpedient to pursue, on the present occasion, this subject with the same degree of minuteness much further. And this determination is moreover considerably influenced by the knowledge, that out of the six other Parliaments held at York, in the succeeding reign, only one of them offers any peculiar inducement for specific examination.

It will, however, be desirable to make a slight digression

[n] Dig. Peer., i. 292.

at this point of the narrative, for the sake of noticing the Parliament summoned to meet on the 14th of November in the same year. The monition directed to the archbishop of York, commenced by stating the intended plan of Edward the Second's winter campaign, which was, that the king and his army would continue stationed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, (from whence it was dated, Sept. 18,) and watch the movements of the Scots, in order that in the following summer they might proceed more effectually against them, so as to put an end to the war, and upon these and other arduous affairs the king wished to hold a 'Colloquium' and 'Tractatus' at Ripon. Concurrent writs were addressed to the several prelates, peers, abbots, and sheriffs, but without the usual Præmunitory clause. Many of the ecclesiastics excused themselves from coming to the meeting. William, abbot of Thorney, laboured under sickness; the abbots of St. Alban's, Reading, and Colchester, had similar afflictions; Thomas, bishop of Worcester, was too ill to ride to the 'Tractatus;' bodily weakness and urgent business concerning his church, prevented the attendance at the 'convocation,' of David, bishop of St. Asaph; his dangerous maladies stopped John, bishop of Llandaff; Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, having set out, was prevented by indisposition from proceeding any farther on his journey; and John, bishop of Carlisle, was unequal to take so long a journey, incapacitated by age, infirmities, want of horses, and the proper outfit. There were, in short, so many other real or feigned reasons of this kind assigned, that the PARLIAMENT OF RIPON never met, and letters of procuration being granted on these doubtful pleas, the old writs were recited on the 30th of October, and the assembly was changed to sit at York on the day originally fixed upon.

This meeting is deserving notice from the variety of expressions under which it was spoken of. The terms 'Colloquium,' 'Consilium,' 'Tractatus,' 'Parliamentum,' 'Convocatio,' and 'Trettitz,' will at once shew what a degree of laxity characterized the official language of this period, when it was applied to the supreme councils of the realm. After having deliberated upon the affairs and necessities of the kingdom, before separating, the Parliament granted a subsidy, and writs were ordered convening provincial councils at York to obtain further aid. It appears, however, that when this convoca-

tion came together, January 14, 1323, it shewed the true motives of the ecclesiastics' absence, in their refusing their contribution until the authority of the Pope had been obtained [o].

Edward the Third ascended the throne at the early age of fourteen, with internal discord and foreign war demanding his immediate attention. The Parliament, which had been called together by his father, scarcely interrupted, was not considered dissolved in consequence of the royal deposition, but continued to prolong its sittings for a term of sixty-three days. In the very commencement of the second year of the young king's reign (Feb. 7, 1328), he summoned a Parliament to meet him at York. (Colloquium et deliberacio.)[p] It sat for a month, and on a second occasion for a week, within the same year. (July 31. Consilium, deliberacio et tractatus.) A point of local interest now suggests itself as deserving remark. Edward had invited Sir John de Hainault to assist him in this his first expedition against the Scots; and he was here, on the present occasion, with a very numerous retinue of his countrymen and retainers. Whilst the king was holding, on Trinity Sunday, a great council at the house of the Black Friars, and sixty ladies about the queen were anticipating the pleasures of the ball to be given in honour of her father, a serious affray broke out betwixt the Hainaulters and the English bowmen, in which two hundred and forty-two of the latter, and five hundred and twenty-seven of the former were slain, besides one hundred and thirty-six more of the Flemings who perished in the Ouse. Had not this unfortunate quarrel happened, the foreign strangers, says Froissart, would have passed their time pleasantly enough, for there was such plenty in the city and surrounding country, that during more than six weeks, while the king and the lords of England, with upwards of 40,000 men at arms remained here, provisions were not dearer, for as much was to be bought for a penny, as before their arrival. Good wines from Gascony, Alsace, and the Rhine, were in abundance, and reasonable; poultry and other such provisions at a low price. Hay, oats, and

[o] Parl. Writs, sub anno. Pat. Rolls, 16 Edw. II. Rot. Parl. i. 457. 459. The Assessment roll is still preserved among the documents of the Queen's Remembrancer's office.

[p] Edward relaxed his hold over Scotland on the 1st March, 1328, at York. Rot. Parl. ii. 442.

straw, of a good quality, and cheap, were delivered at their quarters.

In the sixth, seventh, eighth[q], and ninth[r] years of Edward's reign the national councils were again agitated within this city. But out of these only one seems to call for special attention.

In the sixth year of his reign the king planned his second expedition against Scotland, and on his road thither he called together his Parliament. At first assembling it sat merely for a week. It had been convoked for Friday, the 2nd of Dec., (1332,) but the "grauntz," great men, peers, or prelates, not having arrived, the meeting was adjourned to the following Tuesday. On that day Geoffrey le Scrop, the king's prolocutor, opened the proceedings by stating the transactions of their last meeting, held three months before (Sept. 9) at Westminster. It had been then decided that the king should be vigorously assisted in his wars against the Scots, and he was consequently here to prosecute the object of his ambition. The result, as is well known, was partially successful, though his untiring anxiety to unite this fair dominion to the English crown, urged him to renew the contest on other occasions. His wars with France, in the meanwhile, afforded ample scope for his military energies, and, after the ninth of his reign (1335) he convened no more Parliaments at York. The one, however, held here on the 6th, demands a slight notice; it must of necessity be slight, because the analysis of questions involving perplexity in their very nature, and obscurity in their origin, as those of parliamentary usage and precedent confessedly do, requires rather the delicate sifting of private research than public discussion.

The king's prolocutor having referred to the proceedings of the last Parliament, to the advice tendered by the prelates, earls, barons, and 'autres grantz' of the Parliament, and knights of the counties, and to the discussions severally held

[q] The treaty between Edward III. and Edward Baliol was now agreed to. Rot. Parl., vol. ii. p. 179. See the form of writ, Rep. Dig. Peer. iv. 422; Rymer, sub anno 1334, p. 875; and Walsingham, p. 133.

[r] The statute of the 9th of Edward III., passed at York, redressed the evils of existing monopolies, and, in fact, asserted most clearly the doctrines of free trade. See Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. p. 269, 270, &c.; and account of the Parliaments of Northampton, Arch. Journal, vol. iii. p. 327; Rot. Parl. ii. 229.

by each estate separately, he proceeded to inform them that the Parliament was summoned to York for the purpose of receiving the advice of the king's good people and lieges of his kingdom, prelates, and others, on the affairs of Scotland: and the king, by the mouth of le Scrop, in full Parliament, charged them to give him this counsel, and the prelates with the clergy by themselves, the earls and barons by themselves, and the knights of the counties by themselves, treated of the business until the Friday following, when each of the three estates, first separately, and then all together in concert, resolved that without the assistance of the prelates, and other absent 'grantz,' they did not dare to advise the crown, and in this their answer to the king they requested him to continue the Parliament to the octaves of St. Hilary (Jan. 20, 1333), and to charge those who were absent to be at York at that time, to which request he at once assented.

Some singular facts may be observed in this convention. The trial and reply to private petitions, was set aside in consequence of the non-attendance of several individuals who were summoned to appear on the occasion. The writs for the ensuing Parliament were only issued to those absent from the present one. The Parliament itself had not yet assumed the form it wears in our own day. There was a manifest distinction between the knights of the shire, and the municipal representatives of the cities and boroughs, in fact, the latter appear chiefly to have been called together with the view of countenancing the imposition of an aid; and the inferior clergy (whom we know taxed themselves in convocation until 1661) were dismissed by the episcopal chancellor before all the business was concluded. Viewing these circumstances, it may be justly inferred that its proceedings could not, after such a dismission, have been of a strictly legislative nature, since that would have been a violent infringement of the liberties of the subject, and contrary to the spirit of the statute of 15 Edward II., already adverted to.

At this time the history of the Parliaments of York may be said virtually to close; and certainly, as far as this ancient city itself is concerned, as the scene of any future councils of the realm, the thread of Ariadne is broken, and we can gather no clue to weave an account of the remainder into a consecutive narrative. After the 9th of Edward III. (1335) no Parlia-

ments of constitutional importance were convened. Those summoned the 16th of Richard II. (1392) and the 2nd of Henry IV. (1400) never met; whilst that of the 10th of Edward IV. was superseded.

Yet it may be alleged, and perhaps with the semblance of truth, that the subject would still be left incomplete without drawing attention to the proceedings of an assembly which met here when England was convulsed by the approaching horrors of civil war. Such an assembly can hardly be dignified with the title of a Parliament, which was merely a council of the peers, a kind of feudal gathering, fallen into desuetude for the four previous centuries, and one which at no period was regarded with affection by the hearts of the people.

When the hopes and affairs alike of Charles I. had failed in Scotland, he determined to retrieve them by the pliancy of a council which should favour his despotic views, and with this intention he summoned one at York in 1640. The unfortunate monarch vainly flattered himself their decision would extricate him from his surrounding difficulties. The history of the past ought to have been better understood, had he not gained experience by his late reverses of fortune. The city of London, and twelve of the most influential peers, solicited at once, in positive terms, the convocation of a more Constitutional Parliament. Nevertheless, with that fatal infatuation and want of political sagacity which marked all the actions of his life, the peers met on the 24th of September, in the hall of the deanery house within the close, and sat until the 18th of October, when, having deliberated on the articles of peace, and settled the terms of a new loan, they adjourned to Westminster; and the king dissolved his Parliament on the 28th of the same month. Within a short week afterwards (Nov. 3) he met in person the Long Parliament, the last he ever did meet, whose proceedings are so familiar to readers of history.

The review of all the events to which our attention has been directed, will have shewn how gradually and almost imperceptibly, alterations have been made in the representative system. Of those alterations, by far the most important arose out of the statute passed at York in the 15th of Edward II. But besides this, there were changes perpetually occurring, and conspiring to produce, in all its various parts,

that form of government under which it is our blessing to live; a constitution, not the creation of any specific age, but the hallowed work of time, of circumstances, yea, of accident, rather than of human forethought or any legislative enactments.

CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

COUNCILS, PARLIAMENTS, CONVENTIONS, AND CONVOCATIONS, HELD AT YORK[s].

COUNCILS.—Henry II. Aug. 10, 1175, when the king of Scotland swore fealty.

John, Dec. 25, 1212, (Curia.)

Henry III. June 18, 1221.

——— March 25, 1229.

——— Dec. 25, 1230, (Concio.)

——— Sept. 14, 1237.

——— Dec. 26, 1251, when the king of Scotland marries Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, and does homage.

Edward I. Jan. 20, 1283.

——— May 20, 1300.

Edward II. Oct. 18, 1309, (Secretum Parliamentum.)

——— Feb. 20, 1312.

——— Feb. 26, 1312, (Colloquium et Tractatus.)

——— Jan. 13, 1323.

——— May 15, 1323.

——— May 23, 1323.

——— Feb. 17, 1334, (Convocation.)

Edward III. July 3, 1335, (Colloquium.)

——— July 24, 1335.

——— August 11, 1335.

——— August 31, 1335.

——— May * *, 1336, (Convocation summoned.)

——— March 27, 1346[t].

——— Dec. 18, 1346, (Convocation.)

——— Jan.? 1377, (Summoned.)

Richard II. March * *, 1379, (Convocation summoned.)

——— March * *, 1380, (Convocation summoned.)

——— Feb. 17, 1394, (Convocation summoned.)

——— May 11, 1397, (Convocation summoned.)

——— Feb. 24, 1399, (Convocation summoned.)

[s] I am greatly indebted to Parry's admirable work for this list.

[t] The writ calls it a convention, Rot. Scotiæ, 20th Edw. III.; Rep. Dig. Peer. iv. 557; Parry, 117.

Henry IV. May 12, 1401, (Convocation summoned.)
——— April 6, 1402, (Convocation summoned.)
——— April 6, 1403, (Convocation summoned.)
——— April 6, 1404, (Convocation summoned.)
——— April 6, 1410, (Convocation summoned.)
——— April 6, 1412, (Convocation summoned.)
Henry V. Aug. 1, 1414, (Convocation summoned.)
——— before the morrow of St. Hilary, 1415, (Convocation summoned.)
——— before the octaves of St. Hilary, 1416, (Convocation summoned.)
——— the octaves of St. Hilary, 1418, (Convocation summoned.)
——— Jan. 13, 1420, (Convocation summoned.)
——— May 2, 1421, (Convocation summoned.)
Henry VI. Oct. 6, 1439, (Convocation summoned.)
——— May 12, 1439, (Convocation summoned.)
——— Jan. 3, 1442, (Convocation summoned.)
——— Jan. 26, 1446, (Convocation summoned.)

PARLIAMENTS.—1. Edward I. 26th, May 25, 1298.
2. Edward II. 37th, Feb. 8, 1310.
3. ——— 9th, Sept. 27, 1314; sat for 19 days.
4. ——— 12th, Oct. 20, Dec. 9, 1318; sat for 51 days.
5. ——— 12th, May 6—25, 1319; sat for 20 days.
6. ——— 13th, Jan. 20, 1320, only summoned.
7. ——— 15th, May 2—19, 1322; sat for 18 days.
8. ——— 15th, Oct. 10—Nov. 29, 1322.
9. Edward III. 2nd, Feb. 7—March 5, 1328; sat for 28 days.
10. ——— 2nd, July 31—Aug. 6, 1328; sat for 7 days.
11. ——— 6th, Dec. 2—11, 1332.
12. ——— 7th, Jan. 20—26, prorogued to 1333.
13. ——— 8th, Feb. 21—March 2, 1334; sat for 11 days.
14. ——— 9th, May 26—June 3, 1335; sat for 9 days.
15. ——— 10th, Jan. 13, prorogued 1337.
16. Richard II. 16th, Oct. 14, 1392, (Summoned.)

PARLIAMENTS.—17. Edward IV. 2nd, Feb. 5, 1400, (Colloquium et Tractatus, summoned, but did not meet.)

18. ——— 4th, Feb. 20, 1464, and prorogued to May 5, then till Nov. 26.

19. ——— 9th, Sept. 22, 1469, put off sine die.

20. Charles I. 16th, Sept. 24, 1640; sat till the 18th of October.

ACCOUNT OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH'S PROGRESS IN YORKSHIRE.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

THE only visit which King Henry the Eighth paid to his subjects in Yorkshire was in the year 1541.

The political object was for the purpose of holding a personal conference with his nephew James the Fifth, king of Scotland, who had agreed to meet the king at York. But it may be presumed that it was also hoped that the presence of the king in the lately-disturbed counties of Lincoln and York, might have a tendency to allay discontents, and to reconcile the minds of the people to the ecclesiastical changes which had been made.

The king left London in the first week of July, but he was in no haste, for the time was distant when the king of Scotland was expected at York. He spent the whole month in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, and at the beginning of August entered Lincolnshire. He passed two or three days at Grimesthorpe, at that period the possession of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and the duchess his wife, who was the daughter and heir of Lord Willoughby. He passed from thence through Sleaford to Lincoln, and remained in that city from the 9th to the 12th of August, on which day he removed his court to Gainsborough, where he was on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of August, no doubt at the house of Lord Borough.

The queen was with him, Catharine Howard, whom he had taken to wife a few months before. When, soon after his return to London, this lady was charged with acts of criminality with Dereham and Culpeper, special cases were laid at Lincoln on the 10th and 11th of August, and at Gainsborough on the 13th and 15th. Lady Rochford, one of the ladies of her chamber, was in attendance on the queen in this progress, and was charged with having been privy to the queen's misconduct[a].

[a] The various indictments laid in the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, and also in the county of York, the county of Lincoln, and the county of the city of Lincoln, are laid up in the *Baga de Secretis*. See the *Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, Appendix, p. 261.

The king was also attended by his council, namely, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, William Fitz-William, earl of Southampton, lord privy seal, the great chamberlain, the great admiral, Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Durham, the treasurer and comptroller of his household, the master of the horse, the vice-chamberlain, Sir Thomas Wriotheseley, and the chancellor of the court of augmentation[b].

On the 16th the court removed from Gainsborough to Scrooby, a short distance from Bawtry, where the archbishop of York, who was at that time Edward Lee, had a palace. The king appears to have remained at Scrooby one night only, the archbishop being, as it seems, absent. On the next day he entered the county of York. He was met on his entrance, says Hall the chronicler, by two hundred gentlemen of the county in velvet, and four thousand tall yeomen and serving-men well horsed, who on their knees made a submission by the mouth of Sir Robert Bowes, and presented him with £900.

Instead of proceeding to Doncaster, and thence northward to York, the king turned aside to Hatfield, where he had a manor-place of his own in the midst of the Chace. The court was at Hatfield from the 17th to the 23rd of August, the king during that time taking the diversion of hunting, which was to be enjoyed in greater variety at Hatfield than in perhaps any other part of the country. It was then a level, large tracts of it covered with shallow water.

The enjoyment of the pleasure of the chase at Hatfield had been a part of the plan from the time when the northern progress was determined on: for De la Pryme, the Hatfield antiquary, had seen a letter from the earl of Southampton, addressed to the earl of Shrewsbury, who was chief justice of the forests north of Trent, in which were enclosed warrants for taking twenty bucks out of one of the king's forests, to be conveyed to Hatfield a day or two before the king's coming, to be chased there, together with the earl's courteous reply, dated the 6th of July, who said that he would provide for the king's pleasure, but would spare to use the warrants, and make up the number of bucks out of his own grounds at Sheffield. He further requested of the earl of Southampton, that the king might be moved to see his poor house at Win-

[b] *Privy Council Books*, published by the late commissioners on the public records, vol. vii. p. 231.

field, and to hunt in Duffield forest[c]. The earl, who was Francis, the fifth earl, was one of those who met the king at his entrance in the county.

On the 23rd of August the court made its remove to Pontefract. We can hardly conceive of so large a company gaining the high road at any other point than Doncaster, and yet there is no trace of the king having visited that town. If he was there it is evident he could make no long stay, as he dined at a house about five or six miles north of Doncaster. We learn this fact from Leland, who in his first Iter travelled much in the steps of the king, and not long after him. Leland went from Doncaster to Scawsby-Lees, "a mile or more," according to his mode of computing, "where the rebels of Yorkshire of late assembled." Two miles further on the Pontefract road, he says he saw on the left hand "an old manor-place where the king dined." The house which Leland intends is probably Brodsworth, at that time a seat of Sir John Dawney by inheritance from the Darrels.

The king must have made a hasty meal, for he continued his journey, and on Barnsdale was met by the archbishop with three hundred clergy, who presented him with £600 and made their submission. We have this information from Hall. The bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall, was with the king as one of his council. One of the Vavasors of Hazelwood who lived near the time, has preserved the memory of a conversation which passed between the king and the bishop, "near Scawsby-Lees," he says, "a few miles north of Doncaster," but probably on the higher ground of Barnsdale, in which the bishop, who had been much abroad, called the king's attention to the noble scene which was before him, "one of the greatest and richest valleys," said the bishop, "that ever he found in all his travels through Europe, where were great mountains and great hills on the east side of the said valley being called York Wolde and Blackmore, and upon the west the high fells of Craven, and all within the county of York." Vavasor makes this the text of his curious discourse on the riches of the part of the county around Hazelwood which is printed by Hearne, with Leland's Collectanea[d].

[c] See De la Pryme's Collections for the History of Hatfield and the Chace, Lansd. MSS. in British Museum, No. 956. Winfield is the earl's manor-place of South Winfield, of which there are considerable remains. It stood not far from the confines of the forest of Duffield.

[d] Vol. vi. p. 302. edit. 1774.—Hearne does not inform us where the original is: the manuscript was known to Fuller, who

The king arrived at his castle of Pontefract on the evening of the 23rd of August, and the court was established there till the 3rd of September.

One reason of this delay at Pontefract, and perhaps the only reason, is assigned by the king himself, writing with his own hand, in one of the state papers lately published under the authority of the royal commissioners, from originals in the State Paper Office (4to. 1836, vol. v. p. 200.) It was the hesitation which the king of Scotland manifested respecting the fulfilment of his engagement to meet his uncle the king of England at York. In fact there was a strong party in Scotland who were exceedingly averse to the young king venturing to engage himself in a personal conference with Henry, and who were determined if possible to prevent him from undertaking the journey. Yet having engaged himself, and the king of England having actually come so far northward for the purpose of meeting him, the king of Scotland could not easily excuse himself. He appears to have been in quite an unresolved state of mind, and the king of England was frequently receiving while at Pontefract, letters which spoke of his nephew's intention to be at York, but not fixing any precise time, and this the king says occasioned him to delay longer about Pontefract than he intended. We shall see that finally the king of Scotland did not fulfil his engagement.

We have no account of the manner in which the king spent his time during the eleven days of the court being at the castle of Pontefract, where the council sat every day, though very little business was done. But there can scarcely be a doubt that he would visit the gentry who were within reach; and this gives countenance to the tradition which was committed to writing by Dr. Nathaniel Johnston within little more than a century of the time, that the king in this progress visited the old house of the Wentworths at Bretton. The owner of Bretton at that time was Sir Thomas Wentworth, an ancient knight, who had been knight-marshal of the king's household, and he no doubt is the person who put up the arms of King Henry the Eighth in the window at Bretton, and caused his head to be carved on a livery cupboard which still remains there. The tradition of the house runs in favour of a visit from the king, and this tradition it is best to relate, if at all,

quotes from it in his *Worthies*, Yorkshire, p. 185. Hearne's edition of it is full of mistakes.

in the words of a gentleman who married one of the Wentworths of this branch of the family, the last of the Godfrey Bosviles of Gunthwaite, who in some family memorials says, that an old bed having the arms of Wentworth and Dronsfield carved thereon, was made for the reception of Henry the Eighth in his progress to the north, but "that there being a handsomer wife at Chevet, he went thither." This tradition may go for as much as it is worth: but if the king had visited Chevet, I think such an honour would have been noticed in the book of family transactions, written for the most part in 1540 by Sir John Nevile, the then owner of Chevet, which remains amongst his descendants.

Whatever excursions the king may have made, the queen seems to have remained at Pontefract. She is charged in the indictment found against her at Doncaster, with having carried on her illicit connection with Dereham and Culpeper, with the connivance and assistance of Lady Rochford, during this residence at Pontefract.

On the 3rd of September, the court removed to Cawood, the house of the archbishop. Here it remained two days; but still no intelligence was received of the king of Scotland having set out on his journey; so that the king, instead of proceeding to York, turned aside into the East Riding, crossing the Ouse and reaching Wressil castle that evening. This was one of the houses of the Percys; but there was then no earl of Northumberland to receive the king, the family being at that time under a cloud, Earl Henry having died four years before, and the descent of his title having been interrupted by the attainder of his brother Sir Thomas Percy, who had been put to death in the very same month, for having taken part in the movement called the pilgrimage of grace. Leland, who is usually but too sparing of his information, appears quite lavish when he is describing Wressil, with its "study called paradise, and its garden within the mote, and orchard without, and in the orchard a mount *opere topiario*, writhen about with degrees like turnings of cockle-shells to come at the top without pain, the river Derwent running almost hard-by the castle, and about a mile lower going into Ouse." At this pleasant place the king remained till the 7th of September, when he removed to another house of the Percys, namely, Leckenfield, more in the interior of the East Riding. This house Leland describes as "large, standing within a great mote in one very

spacious court." Here as at Wressil, was "a little studying-chamber called paradise," in which he found a pedigree of the Percys.

On the 10th the king removed to Hull. He would pass through Beverley, where he would see the beautiful minster, one of the four mother-churches of the diocese of York, as I find Lord Monteagle about this time designating it; the churches of St. Peter of York, St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and St. Mary of Southwell, being the other three. The king's visit to Hull was for the purpose of seeing a place which he had lately purchased, intending to improve it as a harbour and a place of strength. The writers of the accounts of Hull inform us that he was received at the boarded bridge near Newland, on the confines of the county of the town, by the sheriff, with a numerous retinue, who conducted him to the town, where at Beverley gate the mayor and aldermen stood ready to receive him: the same gate at which just a century later King Charles the First received his memorable repulse.

On this his first visit to Hull the king remained only two nights, and on the 12th of September made his remove to Risby, where he spent one night. This was the house of Sir Ralph Ellerker, one of the most active persons of the time, who had been much employed on the northern border. On the 13th the king slept at Leckenfield, and on the 14th at Wressil. On Thursday, the 15th, he entered York. This was the farthest point north, and here the king remained eleven or twelve days; in no very pleasant humour we may believe, for no king of Scots made his appearance, and at last a messenger arrived with an apology for his absence, which was in fact a denial of his presence. The king's residence would no doubt be at the Manour, his own house. [Information had been given to the citizens of York of the honour which the king intended them, as early as the month of June, and at a meeting of the corporation on the first of July it was agreed that £20 should be laid out at London in the purchase of two cups of gold and silver of the best fashion to be presented to the king and queen. On the 8th orders were given for the erection of scaffolds at Mickellith Bar against the king's coming; and on the 12th "my lord mayor called certain joyners and painters of this city and commanded them immediately to take their counsel and devices together to make a showe at Mickellith Bar of the said city where that

the king's majesty was supposed to enter; and so they promised to do accordingly." On the 15th they agreed that Sir Ralph Clayton, clerk, "shall devise the speeches that shall be spoken on the entry of the king's majesty at Mickellith Bar." —Thus were things prepared as early as the month of July. In August they had a graver matter before them; for on the 9th "It was agreed that Mr. Recorder shall ride to Bolton to my lord archbishop, to desire his grace of his best advice and counsel, how and after what manner they should submit themselves to the king's highness on the coming of his majesty to this city, and whether that the said presence in the name of the whole body of this city should confess themselves guilty in any thing done in the time of the late rebellion, according as the Lincolnshire men had done at the coming of the king's majesty there." On the 13th of September the final resolution respecting the present was passed: a cup of gold with £100 in it was to be presented to the king, and another cup with £40 therein to the queen's grace for the worship of this city. Application was to be made by the recorder and town-clerk to the duke of Norfolk, to know when the king would be pleased to receive the present[e].]

The most material transaction during the king's residence at York was the issuing of a proclamation, inviting all persons dwelling in those parts who had any complaint to make of not having justice done them, either by the council of the north or any other person in trust, to repair to the king and his council attendant upon him, and declare their griefs. Immediately, namely, on the next day, bills of complaint poured in against the president and council, the new court for the north then lately established. The king and his council examined these complaints, declared them forthwith all to be false and untrue, and that the president and council had done justly and uprightly.

In this measure of the king's we perceive stronger lines of policy than sincerity, and the effect, it is evident, would be that the new and unpopular court would gain a great accession of strength.

Another measure is, on many accounts, greatly to be deplored. Many of the beautiful shrines in the churches of the

[e] These notes from the records of the corporation were most obligingly communicated by Robert Davies, Esq., the present town-clerk, subsequently to the meeting at York.

north were still remaining undefaced, with their minute sculpture and fine goldsmith's work, creations of the highest artistical skill of the middle ages. On the 22nd of September the king issued his commands to the archbishop to cause all these shrines to be taken down, and the places where they stood to be made even and plain. We have this on the best authority, the minutes of the privy council.

The king left York on the 26th of September. That night he slept at Holme in Spaldingmore, a house which had lately belonged to Sir Robert Constable, one of the attainted for the pilgrimage of grace. He was on his way to Leckenfield, where he slept on the 27th. Here he remained three days, and on Saturday, the 1st of October, he again entered Hull.

So little expected was he that the burgesses were assembled to elect a mayor, when news was brought that the king would be with them by dinner-time. The writers of the history of Hull tell us that on receiving this intelligence the hall was dissolved, and the burgesses went in a body to meet the king without having chosen the mayor. The king on his arrival caused them to resume their consultations, and he himself nominated Sir John Elland to be the mayor, who was immediately elected, the king voting for him. The king presented his sword to the corporation. The king's interference in the election is noticed in the privy council books with some variations from this the received account.

He remained at Hull till the 6th of October, devising, says Hall, certain fortifications. The Hull historians inform us that he gave orders for the erection of a castle, two blockhouses, and other places of defence. He also ordered the manor to be repaired, and a canal of fresh water to be constructed from Newland to the town. The money expended in these improvements is said to have been £23,000. The king granted the burgesses of Hull various privileges, as may be seen in the privy council minutes.

He left Hull on the 6th of October, crossed the Humber, and was received that night by the religious of Thornton college to their house, who met him in solemn procession. And here ends the Yorkshire part of the progress.

It remains only to add, that on his return southward he passed from Thornton to Grimesthorpe by Kettleby, Kenby, Carlton, Nocton and Sleaford. From Grimesthorpe the king passed to Colly-Weston, and from thence to Fotheringhay,

Higham Ferrers, Gostwick, Ampthill, and taking Ashridge and Chenies by the way, to Windsor, where he arrived on the 26th of October.

The king had been greatly chagrined by the conduct of his nephew, the young king of Scotland; but he had a deeper subject of discomfort prepared for him on his return, in the information which was then formally made to him of the light conduct of his queen, both before marriage and afterwards. Proceedings were taken without the least delay, for on Thursday, the 24th of November, an indictment was preferred against the queen, Dereham, Culpeper, and Lady Rochford, before the king's justices at Doncaster, for acts of criminality alleged to have taken place at Pontefract, and a true bill found. On this and other similar inquisitions in other counties a trial took place, and finally, Dereham and Culpeper were executed at the beginning of December, and the unfortunate queen and Lady Rochford a few weeks afterwards.

The justices who sat at Doncaster were the earl of Shrewsbury, Robert Holgate, bishop of Llandaff, then president of the council of the north, Sir Marmaduke Constable, senior, knight, Sir William Copley, knight, Sir John Wentworth, knight, Sir Gervase Clifton, knight, Thomas Fairfax, serjeant-at-law, and William Babthorpe, esquire: and it may be gratifying to a meeting in which so many representatives of the principal families of Yorkshire are present, to learn that the persons who composed the grand jury by whom the bill against the queen was found, were

Sir William Malory, knight,
Sir John Dawney, knight,
Sir Roger Lassels, knight,
Sir William Fairfax, knight,
Sir Peter Vavasor, knight,
Sir Richard Evers, knight,
Sir Edward Gower, knight,
Sir Henry Everingham, knight,
William Vavasor, esquire,
Robert Stapleton, esquire,
Thomas Markenfeld, esquire,
John Barton, esquire,
William Thwaites of Marston, esquire,
Edward Saltmarsh, esquire,
Nicholas Tempest, esquire,
Christopher Thirkeld, esquire,
Hugh Wirral, esquire, and
Henry Newark, esquire.

A FEW NOTES OF MANUSCRIPTS FROM WILLS IN THE REGISTER AT YORK.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

(1.) Robert de Playce, rector of the church of Brompton, which appears from the names of persons and places which occur in the will to be the Brompton near Scarborough, not the Brompton upon the Swale from which place the historian John de Brompton derived his name, in 1345 gives to Sir William de Playce all his goods, moveable and immoveable, at Knapton, and also his Bible, "*bibulam meam*," translated into the Roman tongue: his *Portiforium ad usum Ebor* to Sir Gilbert de Aton: and to Thomas Kilwardeby his book of the *Statutes*, and all his other books concerning the law of the land.

(2.) Thomas de la Mare, a canon of the church of York in 1348, a kinsman of Archbishop Melton (near whose tomb he desires to be buried), bequeaths to Master Richard de Beckingham a book called *Forcett:* to Master William de Langton a book called *Code:* and to two other persons two books called *The Old Digest*, and *The New*, in French.

(3.) Thomas de Buckton, rector of the church of Rudby, and prebendary of Wyghton, in 1366 gives all his books of the law to be divided equally between the house of St. Mary of York, and his relation Thomas de Buckton: and two books to the monastery of Kirkham. This testator died when on an embassy.

(4.) Thomas de Farnylaw, who was chancellor of the church of York, in 1378, leaves to Merton college, Oxford, the following books:—*Liber de Distinctionibus Mauricii; Compotus Johannis de Sacro Bosco; Kalendarium*, formed by himself; and *Bracton:* also to Balliol hall his *Bible*. His other books, bound and unbound, "libros meos et quaternos," he leaves to the vicar of Waghen, for the use of himself and others of their race; and whatever books belonging to him were in the hands of the vicar of Pont Eland, he gives to him. Also to the church of Emeldon the book of Sermons which is called *Abiciamus*, beginning "*Parvulus natus est nobis*," also "quaternum meum de papiro," be-

ginning "*in memoria eterna erit justus.*" His book called *Lilium Medicinæ* he directs shall be sold, and the price of it laid out for the soul of Sir William Tate, of whom he had it. We have not yet done with his books. He leaves a *Bible* and *Concordances*, which had belonged to some person whom he called his lord, *dominus*, to be placed in the north porch of the church of St. Nicholas at Newcastle, there to be chained, for common use, for the good of his soul. So far from the truth is it that in the middle ages, wrongly called dark, the great ecclesiastics uniformly discouraged the use of the Holy Scriptures.

(5.) William de Feriby, archdeacon of Cleveland, in the same year bequeaths five books of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and a book of *Decretals*; also several Portifores, and a book *de Disputationibus inter Christianum et Judeum*. This testator had books which had belonged to Archbishop Melton, his lord: those he leaves apparently to be sold, "ad novam fabricam Ecclesiæ Ebor."

(6.) William Lord Latimer, in 1381, gives to his daughter Elizabeth a primer covered with velvet, which had belonged to Maud Longespee, countess of Salisbury. There is nothing remarkable in the gift of a primer, and such kind of manuscripts I mean in general to pass over, but the designation of the lady to whom a century before the book had belonged, "Maud Longespee, countess of Salisbury," is well deserving notice, first because of the name of addition given to her, which we should not expect to find given to the ladies of this house; and secondly, on account of the rank of countess of Salisbury attributed to her, while it is said in the usual authorities that her husband, William de Longespee, was never allowed that dignity.

(7.) John de Wilton, a chaplain of York, in 1390 gives to the rector of St. Margaret a little new book called *Scriptum de Sacramentis Ecclesiæ*.

(8.) The rector of Adel, Thomas de Halton, gives to the abbot of Kirkstall, *unum Par Decretalium, sextum librum*, together with the *Clementine Constitutions*, and two books entitled *Pars Oculi*, and *Casus Bernardi*.

(9.) Hitherto we have had nothing but divinity, law, and medicine. But John Percyhay, of Swinton, in Rydal, who died in 1392, had a book which he calls *Peter Blesanz*, who must be Petrus Blesensis, the archdeacon of Bath at the close of the thirteenth century, whose works have been collected and printed. He had also a book called *Trevet*, which must mean a work of Nicholas Trevet, or Trivet, another historical writer of the same century in which Percyhay lived. But the book was "nondum plene scriptum." This Yorkshire gentleman had also in his library a *Brute Chronicle*, in French. He speaks also of a *Par Decretalium*, and a *Portifore*. In the same volume with his Peter Blesensis

were bound other tracts, viz. *de expositione Officii Episcopi; de commissione beati Pauli; de Transfiguratione Domini; de expositione beati Jobi:* and *Vita beati Lazari.* This John appears to have been the founder of the family of Percyhay, which continued in the state of gentry for many generations. He was sheriff of the county.

(10.) John de Clifford, treasurer of the church of York, in 1392, leaves his civil law books to any son of his brother who chooses to enter on that study, under an engagement that he will not alienate them, but allow them to descend to persons of his blood. This included a *Corpus Juris, Decrees,* and *Decretals.* He mentions no other books except a Missal, and a Portifore which Grenealke wrote.

(11.) Sir Robert de Roos, of Ingmanthorpe, in 1392, beside several books of religious offices, bequeaths a book in French of *Old Histories* to his wife, and to his daughter a *Psalter* in French, a *Bible,* and a *Legend of the Saints,* in French, and a little Psalter to his daughter Catherine, who was a nun; to Lady Elizabeth Stapleton, a book in French called *Sydrak.*

(12.) John de Croxton, a chandler, of York, makes his will in the English language, 1393, in which he leaves to his nephew "a quayer of *Emunde Mirrour,* in Ynglysch," probably *Mundi Mirror.*

(13.) John Hopton, a chantry chaplain in the church of St. Trinity, in Goderam Gate, in 1394, leaves a *Psalter* glossed, a book called *Speculum Ecclesiæ,* and a book of the *Gospels* in English.

(14.) Mary, the widow of John Lord Roos, of Hamlake, and sister to the first Percy earl of Northumberland, 1394; she bequeaths to Isabel Percy a book in French concerning the duke of Lancaster, who must be Duke Henry who died in 1362. It is to be feared this book is lost. It is easy to account for such a MS. having been in the hands of this lady, her father Henry Lord Percy having married to his first wife a sister of this duke. Lady Roos was the issue of a second marriage. There is some difficulty in determining who the Isabel de Percy was to whom this precious volume, together with a green primer which had formerly been her father's, are bequeathed by this lady, dying in the very flower of her age, to pray upon for her soul. But young as she was she had outlived her husband, near whom she desires to be interred in the monastery of Rievaulx, in the choir of the same, the resting-place of the Rooses lords of Hamlake. This illustrious lady, who was baroness de Orrby in her own right, and so describing herself in her will, "Lady Roos and Orrby," further bequeaths to Lady Isabel Fanconbergh a ring of gold and a roll of the Passion.

(15.) Walter de Bragge, clerk, canon of York, made his will in 1396. He leaves to Sir John Warmington his *Bible* bound in red leather, a book called *Piers Ploughman,* and another book in which were several

little tracts, the first of which was *Pars Oculi*. To Sir John Wyke he gives a book, *de expositione Evangeliorum vocatum Unum ex Quatuor*, which appears to have been of the nature of a harmony of the gospels. He speaks also of a *Brito*, probably Britton, a book entitled *Speculum Prælatorum*, a *Psalter* glossed, and a *Catholicon*; also a *Summa Summarum*, and *Commune Aloquium*; and lastly a *Par Decretalium* with the sixth book.

(16.) John Wawen, a burgess of Scarborough, in 1398, leaves to Thomas de Ughtrede a bed with a counterpane woven with figures of the great men of France in their proper arms, and to Margaret the wife of the said Thomas a romance, which is called *Brute*. These people were of the neighbouring village of Kexby.

(17.) Thomas Roos, of Ingmanthorpe, 1399, gives to Sir William de Helaugh a book called *Maundevile*, and the *Stimulus Conscientiæ*. The latter was one of the works of Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole: the other of course the travels of Sir John Mandevile.

(18.) Thomas de Dalby, archdeacon of Richmond, 1400, leaves to Mr. Robert Ragenhill a book of *Decretals*, and his great *Portifore* annotated, to lie before the stall of the archdeacon of Richmond, chained to the desk.

(19.) Isabel de Percy, 1400. If this is the lady to whom Lady Roos in 1394 bequeathed the book on the duke of Lancaster, it is to be regretted that the further descent of that MS. cannot be traced by information given in her will. She gives other books, as a book *de Sancto Spiritu*, to Catharine Howme, a *Primer* to Lady Latimer, and a *Psalter* in French to Joan Chetwin; to the chaplain of the parish church of All Saints in North-street, York, an English *Psalter*. This testatrix names also a Lady Roos, so that it is clear that she was highly connected; and that her name should not be found in the accounts of the great house of Percy is another proof how much is still to be done before we have what can aspire to the character of being a critical history of one of the noblest houses in Europe. The house of Percy is however in this respect very far indeed from being peculiar. Our gentilitial antiquities even in the noblest families, and we may begin with the sovereign, have yet been but very unsuccessfully illustrated.

This brings us to the close of the fourteenth century, to the latter half of which, the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., the nineteen wills of which we have spoken belong. They are all printed, nearly at full length, in that most valuable volume the *Testamenta Eboracensia* of the Surtees Society. We may observe upon them generally, that by far the greater number of manuscripts which are made the subject of bequest are either religious, or relating to the civil law. We have one Bracton, and perhaps a Britton; one book of statutes; and one book of medicine

only. In natural science, only a tract of Sacro Bosco. The number of Bibles is remarkable. Of historical writings we have a Legenda Sanctorum, the Brute chronicle twice, something of Trivet and something of Peter of Blois, and the French tract on the duke of Lancaster. Of English writers in the vernacular tongue, we have Piers Ploughman, the Stimulus Conscientiæ, and Mandevile, all new books at the time. As to the rest they can be considered as but of small value on any account.

We cannot but remark the total absence of the classical authors, and also of the Fathers; even Bede does not occur. But we may observe with some satisfaction that scarcely any thing is lost to us which was valued in those times, as far as this testimony goes; we possess, I believe, all the books named by any of these testators, with the single exception of Lady Roos' tract on the duke of Lancaster. When we see that the books are in Latin, French, and English, the inference seems just that in the fourteenth century there was a familiarity with writers in all those languages in the better classes of society in England.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

It is not proposed to weary the Meeting with repetitions of the books on the canon and civil law which occur in the wills of this century, or of the books of practical divinity popular in those times; but to proceed almost immediately to testators who died after the Reformation of religion. Yet it may be of some interest to state that Sir John Le Scrope, the archbishop's brother, had two French books, entitled *Tristram* and *Grace Dieu*, which he gives to two of his daughters: and that in the next year, 1406, Thomas Graa bequeaths to John de Horsley a book which he designates "*Tyxt*," (probably a manuscript of the Scriptures,) most magnificently bound, richly ornamented with figures, and having, as I understand the passage, reliques inserted in the covers. In the same year John de Harwood, an advocate in the court of York, leaves to John de Neuton, treasurer of the church of York, his book of *Chronicles*, and the option of purchasing any of his books. Of this option the treasurer seems largely to have availed himself: he had at least we know collected one of the most extensive and valuable libraries of the time, about half of which he gave in 1418, by will to the chapter of York, "in subsidium et relevamen librariæ faciendæ." He specifies the particular manuscripts in his will. *Bibles* and portions of the Bible with *Concordances* and *Glosses;* works of *St. Augustine, St. Gregory*, and *St. Bernard;* several of *Alcuin's* tracts, who was the glory of the church of York in the age of Charlemain; works of *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Thomas Aquinas;* a

volume containing tracts of several English authors, as *John Howeden, Richard the Hermit, Sir Walter Hilton,* and *William Rymyngton; Beda de Gestis Anglorum, Alfred of Beverley,* and *William of Malmesbury de Pontificibus* in one volume; *Holcot; Petrarch de Remediis utriusque fortunæ,* and many others of less note. These books would in themselves constitute what in those ages was no mean library, yet how inferior to the library of the church of York in the days of Alcuin, celebrated by the author of the poem *de Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiæ Ebor.* Such a will as this is sufficient to shew how rich a treasure of literary history lies buried in the hardly accessible depositories of the testamentary evidence of England. Neuton must have been a zealous book-collector indeed, for his bequest to the minster library was of not more than one half his books. He leaves to St. Peter's college, Cambridge, several of the Fathers, together with *Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Macrobius, Vegetius, Boethius, Cassiodorus, Egidius de Regimine Principum,* and *Alanus de Planctu Naturæ,* with other authors: and single books to various private friends.

The library of the chapter was further enriched in the same century by the gift by Thomas Walworth of a *Bible* in two tomes, and a copy of *Archidiaconus in Rosario.* He was a canon residentiary, prebendary of Langtoft, and rector of Hemingborough.

It is difficult to account for the disappearance of the books bequeathed by John de Neuton, the treasurer, to the church of York: but the disappearance must have occurred before the Reformation, for Leland, while he enumerates many precious volumes which he saw in the library of St. Mary's abbey at York, speaks of the destitution of the library of the canons. The portions of the Bible which are found in the present library may or may not be the portions bequeathed by Neuton, but of the manuscripts now there scarcely any can with any probability be supposed to be included in Neuton's bequest. The present library is the accumulation of later times; and it may be said that the foundation was laid by the widow of one of the Protestant archbishops, Dr. Toby Matthew, who gave to the church the library which had been collected by her husband, a noble bequest, for which her worthy name ought to be mentioned as chief amongst women, not at York only, but wherever good letters and good deeds are held in honour.

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

I pass on to a few testators of this great county living at a more recent period, of whom we learn by the light which their wills afford us, that they were lovers of books and manuscripts; and the first name

which I fall upon is that of Robert Parkyn, who was curate of the church of Adwick-le-Street, in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. He is to be reckoned not only among the book-collectors but among the writers of Yorkshire, for though there is nothing of his, it is believed, printed, he was the author of a large poetical paraphrase of the gospel history; in which he may seem to have imitated Richard the Hermit of Hampole, who two centuries before employed himself in the same kind of composition close to the place where Parkyn lived. The MS. of this work, apparently in the author's own handwriting, was in the library of the late Mr. Heber; and Drake speaks of another MS. of Parkyn, containing historical matter which in his time was in the library of Sir Brian Cooke at Wheatley.

The will of this Robert Parkyn is dated March 16, 1568. He gives to his nephew Robert Perkyn, "his great chist bound with yren, six of his best silver spoynes whereof one hath an antique face pictured thereupon, also the holle *Bible book* in Latin, and *Dionysius Cxrthusianus* his work upon the Bible in seven large volumes: also another fair book called *Opera Divi Hilarii*; a great book, namely, *Concordantia Bibliæ*, and also another fair printed book called *Epitome Omnium Operum divi Aurelii Augustini*." If the nephew die young, the books are to be sold, and the proceeds given to the poor of Owston. To Mr. Hudson the dean of Doncaster he gives a great thick written book in parchment, which beginneth thus: '*Incipit Tractatus Moralis de Vitiis Capitalibus*.' To the vicar of Brodsworth, Sir Robert Skoley, he gives a printed book called *Sermones Jodoci Chichtovei*, and to Sir William Watson, curate of Melton-on-the-Hill, "a written book profitable and easy to find sentences of the Bible by letters," with other three written books in boards, which he likes best. To Mr. James Washington, *Mr. Calvin's* book in print, and to Mr. Leonard Wray the English *Bible* of a large volume. To his godson Francis Arthington he gives *John Harding his Chronicle* in print.

His neighbour and friend William Watson, the curate of High Melton, had also a few books. His will is dated April 28, 1569. He gives to Mr. Hudson, dean of Doncaster, a book called *Dionysius Cartuciensis*; to his cousin Sir Thomas Robinson, parson of Sandal, a book called *Judocus Chichtoveus*; to Sir Richard Furnys his Latin *Bible*, and to the vicar of Brodsworth, two books of *Haymo*. To William Mote, his neighbour, a book called *The Institutions Provincial*. All the rest of his books, as well in print as in writing, he gives to his nephews Robert and William Watson, sons of his brother Christopher.

Both these wills were proved on the same day, October 5, 1570.

A book of *Gardening Knots*, a book of *Medicine*, a *Bible*, and book of *Notes on the Bible*, and a book for *Measuring of Land*, occur in the

will of a junior member of the family of Nevile, namely, George Nevile, of High Popplewell, gentleman, in 1577. He was a cultivator of mathematical science at a time when there were few such in England, and had some mechanical contrivances to facilitate calculation; giving to Thomas Brigg "a black thinestone for multiplying and dividing," and another of those stones for dividing to John Field, of East Ardsley, the astronomer, author of the first Ephemeris published in England, calculated on the principles of the Copernican philosophy. Field had himself a library which came into the possession of Hugh Coley, a practitioner of physic at York, who left it back to the family.

In 1597 we find Richard Roberts, one of the assistant ministers in the church of Sheffield, possessed of a book of *Chronicles* and a book of the *Statutes*.

Nicholas Hanson, of Elland, one of the servants and clerks of Sir John Savile, of Methly, baron of the exchequer, in 1613, gives half of the books in his study to his son Robert Hanson, and the other half, (except his precedent books,) to his son-in-law John Farrer; to the chapel of St. Matthew, of Rastrick, he gives a book containing a *Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse;* to his brother John Hanson, a manuscript *Bracton* in parchment. He had the *Acts and Monuments,* in two volumes, and the *Christian Warfare,* of which he makes special bequests. To his cousin Thomas Hanson, of Brighouse, "such several books for song and scholarship as he and his other brothers did chuse out of my books, which song-books cost me money." To his cousin Edward Hanson he gives four of his own precedent books; to his brother William Dean my book of *Resolution of a Christian.* His physic books he had already delivered to his friend John Mitchel, and some other scholar books were some time his. To Joseph Wilson another precedent book, "a special good one written." He had already given a book to his brother John Farrer, teaching to *Learn to Live and Die Well;* and finally his *Fitz-Herbert's Natura Brevium* and some other law books he bequeaths to his cousin, Mr. John Savile, the attorney.

One bequest only in the will of Lancelot Turner, of Towthorpe, gentleman, made in 1619, need be noticed: "To my nephew John Stephenson all my books, *except my song-books, which I give to Thomasine Newton.*" There is little in this clause to excite any interest on the first view; but it becomes of very considerable interest when we connect with it the fact that this Thomasine Newton, to whom the testator gives his books of poetry, became soon after his death the wife of his nephew William Turner, and was the mother of Edith, the mother of Pope, whose poetical turn of mind seems from this to have come from the mother's side.

Ann Dring, the widow of Anthony Dring, of the city of York, in 1668, gives to her daughter Mary Dring the manuscript in folio written by her husband, but without affording any intimation respecting the subject to which it related.

And lastly, in the same year, Edward Horsley, of York, painter-stainer, gives to his son, Benedict Horsley, 20*s*., and to his grandchild, William Horsley, a book of armoury, being a copy of the same book he bought of Mr. Thomas Harrison, which cost £15; to his son William Horsley he gives all his books of armoury, written, drawn, or printed, and all his books of history and divinity, and all his prints and print-books, and all the painted pictures in the house, with all his colours, working tools, and grinding-stones, and oil belonging to his trade; to his grandchild Edward Horsley he gives all his books commonly called Quakers' Books. He desires to be buried in St. Helen's church, near his first wife. His son and successor in the same profession, William Horsley, made his will in 1677, describing himself "of York, herald-painter." He desires to be buried near his father. He gives to his son Thomas Horsley the house in Blake-street he lives in, and all his "books, whether printed or written, or be books of heraldry drawn and painted, and in regard there is a catalogue of these books, I desire a duplicate may be made thereof, to the intent that my father-in-law Christopher Whitehill may have the custody and use thereof untill my son Thomas be of full age, hoping he will preserve the same and make good use thereof."

The Horsleys were thus, it appears, at York, what Beckwith was afterwards, and what in the time of the Horsleys the Holmes were at Chester; and had heraldrical collections, not probably equal in extent and value to those of either Beckwith or the Holmes, but of which it would be well if any part could now be recovered, or even the catalogue which was made of them. Next to the officers of the College of Arms, it is to these provincial professors of the art that we owe the preservation by contemporary hands of facts which would be now quite beyond the hope of recovery in the history of the old English families of the second rank. Even the painter-stainers' work-books, of which a few are preserved in the library of the British Museum, are often consulted with advantage by the curious enquirer. The subsequent history of the York family of Horsley, and their heraldrical collections, is a subject worthy of some attention, and the more if it should ultimately be found that John Horsley, the learned author of the *Britannia Romana*, was a member of this family. I would not make the suggestion, were there not some grounds of reasonable probability. All the research of Mr. Hodgson, the curious and learned author of the *History of Northumberland*, who was inquisitive into this point, and has printed the result of his enquiries,

left undetermined even the father of Horsley, and conducted us only to this point, that the great author of the Roman Antiquities of Britain is "said to have been born at Pinkie house, between Haddington and Edinburgh, in 1685:" and that there were Horsleys at Milburn Grange in Northumberland, of whom were George and John, with whom he supposed that the writer might be connected. The probabilities which guide us to York, and to the heraldric Horsleys of this city, are these:—That the distinguished Horsley was of a puritan and nonconforming family, being himself, indeed, a minister of the presbyterian denomination to a congregation at Morpeth, and that the Horsleys of York were also puritans and nonconformists, some of them going to the extreme of quakerism, bequeathing as we have seen specially the quaker-books in their library, and some of them being interred in the quakers' burial-ground at York, as appears by the register-book of that community. Next, Benedict Horsley, when he published a plan of the city of York, dedicated it to Sir John Hewley, the great patron of nonconformity in York; and John Horsley, the author, was one of the ministers nonconforming who shared in the benefaction of Dame Sarah Hewley from the beginning. Benedict Horsley, of York, published a map of York. John Horsley, of Morpeth, a map of Northumberland. Again, to connect the Horsleys of York with the county of Northumberland, we have a Thomas Horsley living at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the reign of King James II., who gives to a daughter baptized in 1685, in the church of St. John in that town, the York name of *Benedicta*. This Thomas in all probability is the Thomas named in the will of William Horsley of York, or his son, and he will probably one day be ascertained to have been the father of the Horsley, whom all enquirers into Roman affairs in Britain hold in such high and deserved respect.

I shall add one notice more. The will of Thomas Lord Fairfax bears date November 11, 1671. "My will is that my executors shall have my books at Appleton, except those manuscripts of Mr. Dodsworth's collecting, and other manuscripts at Appleton aforesaid, which I give to the University of Oxford, to be kept in the University library there, the better to enable them, the executors, to pay the legacies and personal expences."

These manuscripts have been dealt with in the manner they deserve by the University to whom Lord Fairfax thus judiciously committed them, by whom they have been most carefully preserved, as indeed they well deserved to be, since they are a great depository of information respecting early history, especially of the counties of York and Lancaster, consisting not only of original facts collected by a long course of study in the public records of the realm and in the archives of private families (many of whom must now go to these notes for information

which their own lost family records once supplied them), but also deductions made by Dodsworth from such evidence, who had considerable sagacity in finding out the points of curiosity and interest which lay buried in masses of matter necessarily of a different character. There are also his notes of many objects of curiosity existing in his time, particularly the arms and monuments in many of the churches of Yorkshire.

The fate of the heraldrical papers, which it is evident were in the hands of the Horsleys, is involved in the deepest obscurity; with the exception of the will in which some of them are bequeathed, it is probable that no notice of them is anywhere to be found. Yet it is hard to suppose that things valued by the family and others should have wholly perished, and it would be one proof of the utility of the institution of this Society, if the present visit to York were to bring to light any portion of manuscripts so precious; or more generally, were it to induce the representatives of the ancient houses of Yorkshire to search the papers transmitted to them from their forefathers, for manuscripts of this class; that is, manuscripts not to be valued for their antiquity or for their beauty, or as presenting early texts of great authors, but those which present historical, biographical, and genealogical particulars, diaries, obituaries, and family or personal history. Of these, not a few exist in private hands, and much valuable assistance do they afford to all who are critical enquirers in the minuter departments of the history of this great nation.

Notes respecting Travelling and the Transmission of Treasure chiefly in the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, in the Reigns of Edward I., II., and III., or the former half of the Fourteenth Century.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

These Notes are taken immediately from various account rolls in the exchequer. No attempt is made at combination. The facts they disclose may serve to indicate

(1.) The course of the roads of England in the middle ages.

(2.) The rate of travelling.

(3.) The clumsy and expensive mode of transmitting money before the invention of bills of exchange.

(4.) The imperfect state of the police of the time.

(1.) In the 32nd of his reign, King Edward the First had occasion to transmit the sum of £4000 from York to Skamskynell in Scotland. The money was packed in eight barrels, made for the purpose out of three empty casks.

Five carters were engaged for the transit; twelve archers accompanied them; six men to watch the carriage. Beside these there went John le Convers and Walter de Gilling, who had the general oversight of the transaction.

Thus they set out from York on Monday the morrow of the Quindenes of Pasch, April 13, 1304, and that day proceeded no farther than to Esingwald. The next night they reached Darlington. The next night Chester-en-le-Street, and during this stage six esquires (scutiferi) on horseback were added to the escort, for whose services six shillings was paid. On Thursday night they reached Morpeth; on Friday Bamborough; on Saturday Berwick; on Sunday Dunbar; and on Monday Edinburgh. On Tuesday they arrived at Lynlisku; and on Wednesday at noon they placed the treasure in a barge of the king's at Blakenasse.

(2.) A king's messenger in the 6th of Edward the Second, sent from London to Lancaster, was ten days in going, and thirteen in returning. His route was St. Alban's, Stony-Stratford, Northampton, Welesford, Leicester, Loughborough, Derby, Wirksworth, Bakewell, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Stockford, Manchester, Windgat, Wigan, Lancaster. Then in returning, to Blakeburn, Hakeworth, Bingley, Halifax, Dewsbury, Wakefield, Doncaster, Blithe, Southwell, Nottingham, Loughborough, Leicester,

Welesford, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Dunstable, St. Alban's, Barnet, and Westminster.

(3.) A person sent from Berwick to London in the 7th Edward II., performed the journey in nine days, passing through Newcastle, Darlington, Poundsborough, Wetherby, Rouford, Leicester, Northampton, and Dunstable.

(4.) In July, 13 Edward II., the sum of 2050 marks was transmitted from London to York. Eight horsemen were employed to guard it on its way to Huntingdon. This journey was of two days, and the sum they received for the service was 16*s*. They were ten days in going from Huntingdon to York, during which time there was a guard of eleven horsemen, who received 54*s*. for the service. But beside these there were twelve archers, who were in attendance all the way from London to York.

But even this array was not thought sufficient: for at Huntingdon six score men were engaged to attend for five miles, on account of the thieves in those parts; and at Stamford nine score men were engaged to attend for twelve miles, on account of the same kind of danger. This is a curious confirmation of the representations of the state of society at the beginning of the thirteenth century, as exhibited in the Robin Hood Ballads. In some other accounts of 34th Edward I. an extraordinary guard was required for a party passing over Barnsdale, no doubt on account of the robbers with which the place was infested.

(5.) In the 18th of Edward the Second, the king was at Porchester, and 20,000 marks were sent to him from the Tower. For this service thirteen of the king's carts were required, each drawn by six horses. And they were on the road from the 25th of September to the 1st of October.

(6.) In the accounts of Walter de Weston, treasurer of the war in Scotland, 12th Edward III., are several entries of expenses incurred in the transmission of money. £200 was sent from York to Newcastle; the journey was performed on the 6th, 7th, and the 8th of December. The money was carried in panniers on a horse's back, and there were two men at arms and four archers to guard it.

£2000 was brought from London to Berwick: there were ten persons in charge of it. It was the depth of winter, and they were fourteen days on the journey.

£600 was brought from London to Dunbar; this was also in the depth of winter, and the journey was of fifteen days.

(7.) In the 2nd of Edward the Third two persons of rank, namely, Henry de Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln, the king's chief minister, and Sir Geffrey le Scrope, set out from York to be present at a parliament held at Edinburgh. The bishop left York on Wednesday the 2nd

of March, and reached North Allerton that night. On the next night he was at Sedgfield, and on the next at Newcastle. There he halted for a day, and on the next day, Sunday, removed to a grange near Alnwick, from whence he passed through Bamborough, Goldingham, and Hadington to Edinburgh. Scrope took a different route to Bamborough. His first day's journey was to Thirsk, from thence to Darlington, Durham, and Newcastle. On the Sunday he went to Warkworth, and thence to Bamborough, from which place he appears to have travelled in company of the bishop of Edinburgh, where they were in attendance on the parliament nine days, namely, from the 10th to the 19th of March.

Scrope returned to Newcastle by the way he went, and while there he caused writs to be issued to the sheriffs of Cumberland and Northumberland to proclaim the peace between the kings of England and Scotland. He left Newcastle on the 27th of March, and came by a circuitous route to York, passing by Durham, Auckland, Winston, Witton, to Clifton, in Richmondshire. There he remained one day on account of its being Good Friday. On Saturday he arrived at York, where he spent his Easter.

Both he and the bishop proceeded to join the king, who was at Stamford. The bishop came by Alnwick and Newminster to Newcastle, from whence he passed to a grange near Durham, and thence by Nesham, Topcliffe, Linton, to Riccal, where he was from Friday to Easter Sunday. He thus avoided York, and proceeded through Pontefract, Scrooby, Stow, Doddington, Lafford, Billefeld, to Stamford. Scrope's first day's journey from York was to Sherburn; the next night he was at Harworth, the next at Tuxford. He then passed through Long Bennington, Weston, and Casterton, to Stamford, where he and the bishop arrived on the same day.

Another distinguished person was present at the parliament at Edinburgh, William de Ayrmine, bishop of Norwich. He set out from York on the last day of February, and took a different route. He went first to Allerton Maleverer, from thence to Brimiston, then to Dornyngton, doubtless Darlington, and so to Durham and Newcastle. From thence he took the usual route to Edinburgh, and returned the same way. He arrived at Stamford on the same day with the bishop of Lincoln and Sir Geffrey le Scrope, having passed from Newcastle through Durham, Darlington, Birmiston, Miton, to Dighton, where he halted three days on account of Easter. He then passed through Freston, Doncaster, Tuxford, Navenby, Willoughby, and Radford, to Stamford.

William le Zouch, another of the commissioners, left York on the last day of February, and reached Easingwold that night. From thence to Thirsk, Lasingby, Sedgfield, and Durham, and so to Newcastle. Thence by Woodhouse, Warkworth, Bamborough, Fenham, Berwick, Tretheneth,

and Hadington, to Edinburgh. He returned by the same route to Newcastle; from thence to Auckland, Lesyngby, Shubton, where he was detained four days by floods; thence to Pontefract, Blithe, Newark, Londerthorpe, and Cotesmor, to Stamford, where he arrived on the same day.

(8.) The ransom of David Bruce was paid by instalments during several years, towards the close of the reign of Edward III. The instalments, usually 4000 or 6000 marks, were paid to the sheriff of Northumberland, who was to deliver it to the sheriff of Yorkshire, at the city of York. In the 48th Edward III., John Fenwick, the sheriff of Northumberland, received 4000 marks at Berwick, which he conveyed to York, going himself with it, and having a guard of seventeen men at arms and nineteen archers. He set out on June 23 or 24, and did not reach York till the 4th of July. Percyhay, then sheriff of Yorkshire, received it, and sent it forward to London under the charge of six esquires (armigeri) and eighteen mounted bowmen. They were ten days going and returning. This appears to have been in those days rapid travelling. The successive halting places for the night were Doncaster, Newark, Stamford, Caxton, Waltham, and London. He returned by Royston, Stamford, Tuxford, and Sherburn.

SEAL OF TRINITY PRIORY.

HISTORICAL DETAILS

OF THE ANCIENT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY OF SECULAR CANONS IN YORK PRIOR TO THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND, HAVING THE NAME OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, OTHERWISE CHRIST CHURCH, SHEWING ITS SUBSEQUENT CONVERSION INTO A PRIORY OF BENEDICTINE MONKS, SUBJECT TO THE ABBEY OF ST. MARTIN, NEAR TOURS, IN FRANCE, WHICH WAS KNOWN BY THE EPITHET OF THE GREATER MONASTERY, FROM ITS WEALTH AND PRE-EMINENCE, (WHENCE ITS MODERN NAME OF MARMOUTIER, EXPRESSIVE OF MAJUS MONASTERIUM;) WITH BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE FOUNDER RALPH PAYNELL, AND OF HIS DESCENDANTS, OF WHOM WILLIAM PAYNELL, HIS ELDEST SON, FOUNDED THE PRIORY OF DRAX.

THE earliest evidence of the existence of the church of the Holy Trinity, and of its endowment previous to the Conquest of England, is furnished by that invaluable record known as Domesday Book, which contains an account of the city of York, and where we read as follows. "Richard son of Erfast has three dwellings of these men, Alchemont and Gospatric and Bernulf, and the church of the Holy Trinity. In the demesne manors the earl had absolutely nothing, nor the king in the manors of the earl, except what belongs to the Court Christian, which belongs to the archbishop. In all the land of St. Peter of York, and of St. John, and of St. Wilfrid, and of St. Cuthbert, and of the Holy Trinity, in like manner the king has not there, nor the earl, nor any one else any custom." Below what relates to the city of York and the lands in its precinct, is a nomenclature of the lands of those proprietors in Yorkshire at the time of the survey, with numbers prefixed from 1 to 29. This list does not exactly correspond with the arrangement of the volume, and the land of the abbot of York, numbered 4, is not surveyed, and there is no number 14 in the text. On the other hand, the land of Goisfrid de la Wirce, omitted in the list, is number 18 in the survey, and that of Goisfrid Alselin, in the list No. 26, is No. 19 in the survey. The three next names are in the order preserved in the list, but differently numbered; and the land of Richard son of Erfast, numbered 25 in the list, is in the

survey No. 23, where the last number is 40. On folio 327 recto in the first column we read as follows:

"XXIII. Land of Richard son of Erfast.

"In Torp (Bishopthorp) of Christ's church, two carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to one plough and a half. Richard son of Erfast is the owner, and it is waste; nevertheless it renders eight shillings.

"In Mileburg (Bilbrough[a]), Christ's church, eight carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to four ploughs. Richard has there one plough, and there are six villains and two boors with two ploughs. Wood pasturable in places. The whole one league long and half a league broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth forty-four shillings. Now twenty-two shillings.

"In Monechetune (Moor Monkton) Christ's church, nine carucates subject to Danegeld. Land to as many ploughs. There Richard has now four villains and two boors with four ploughs, and six acres of meadow. Wood pasturable six furlongs long and four broad. The whole one league long and a half broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth forty shillings, now twenty shillings.

"Manor. In Esdesai (Hessay in the parish of Moor Monkton) Haldene, two carucates less two bovates subject to Danegeld. Land to two ploughs. There Richard has four boors and two ploughs. In the time of King Edward it was worth ten shillings and eightpence, now five shillings and four pence.

"In Cnapetone (Knapton in the parish of Acomb) Christ's church, three carucates subject to Danegeld. There is land to three ploughs. There Richard has four villains with two ploughs. In the time of King Edward it was worth sixteen shillings, now the same.

"In Christ's church, near the city of York, half a carucate of land and three tofts subject to Danegeld. Richard is the

[a] The church of Bilborough is said to have been a chapel in the parish of Askham Richard, but in 1291, on occasion of the ecclesiastical taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., the church of Bilburgh in the deanery of Aynsty and archdeaconry of York, appropriated to the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, is put down at twelve pounds, as if it were then a distinct parish. Its conversion into a free chapel by the patrons of the church is of subsequent date, as appears by an extent taken of the lands of this priory in the third year of Richard the Second, 1379, and hence this supposition is erroneous. The church, dedicated to St. James, is a perpetual curacy, and had attached to it a chapel of St. Saviour's at the east end.

owner and cultivator. From the church and the land he has thirty shillings."

The inference to be drawn from this last entry is conclusive that Richard son of Erfast was at its date the possessor of the church of Christ or of the Holy Trinity, from which the secular canons had been compelled to withdraw during the wars which afflicted this city in the previous years of the reign of William the Conqueror, and caused the destruction of its castles, and the death of its governor, William Malet[b]. The successor of William Malet and sheriff of the county was Hugh son of Baldric, by whom the castle of York was constructed, and divers mansions constructed in its precincts.

At the time of this survey Ralph Pagenel was a tenant in chief in Yorkshire; and of the land belonging to the canons of the cathedral, mentioned in the description of the city of York, he had obtained possession of three carucates in Sandburn, a hamlet in the township and parish of Stockton-on-the-Forest, as we learn from this entry; "In *Sambura* are three carucates, where may be one plough and a half. It is waste. Ralph Pagenel is the owner. The canons say that they had it in the time of King Edward. The Saxon predecessor of Ralph Pagenel had name Merlesuen, of whom we have this mention in Domesday. These had soke and sac and tol and thaim and all customs in the time of King Edward, Earl Harold, Merlesuen, Ulffennisc, Turgod Lageman, Tochi son of Otta, Edwin and Morcar upon the land of Ingold only, Gamel son of Osbert upon Cottingham only, Copsi upon Coxwold only, and Cnut. Of these he who committed forfeiture made amends to no one except to the king and the earl." The Black book of Peterborough, now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, preserves several charters both of Edward the Confessor and King William the Conqueror, attested by Merlesuein; one of the date of 1060. In charters of both reigns he signs *Merlesuein Vicecomes*. The Saxon Chronicle says he accompanied Edgar Atheling to the court of Scotland in 1067. From this entry it is probable that he was sheriff of Lincolnshire, being so described in Domesday

[b] Under the heading Land of Robert Malet in Domesday is also this entry. "Manor. In Thorp (Bishop-thorp), the Church of Christ, Gamel one carucate of land subject to Danegeld. Land to half a plough. Robert now has it and it is waste. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings, now three shillings."

under the heading Claims in the Westriding of Lindsey. "In the time of King Edward, Grinchel had over his land sac and soke; but in the year in which the same king died he was a delinquent, and gave that privilege to Merlesuen the sheriff, in satisfaction of his treason against the king, and made him the heir of himself." Hence the forfeiture of this Anglo-Saxon was probably subsequent to the battle of Hastings, and there is every reason to suppose that his successor was not present at that battle, and that he was enfeoffed at a later period. At the time of the compilation of Domesday, Ralph Pagenel held these manors of Merlesuen in the west of England; namely, the two parishes of Stockland and East Quantockshead, East Bagborough in the parish of West Bagborough, Hewish in the parish of Crewkerne, and Newhall in the parish of Holford, in Somersetshire[e]; also the parishes of

[e] In the Exon Domesday under the heading Lands of the French Thanes in Summerseteshire, we read as follows; "Ralph Paganellus has one manor, which is called Stochelanda, which Merlesuan held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for three hides. Five ploughs can plough these. Now Ralph du Rouelle holds it of Ralph Pagenel. Thereof Ralph has two hides and a half in his demesne and two ploughs, and the villains half a hide and three ploughs. He has there seven villains and four boors and four bondmen and six beasts and twenty swine and forty sheep and fifty acres of meadow and eighty acres of pasturage; and is worth by the year one hundred shillings, and it had been worth as much when Pagenel received it. Ralph has one manor, which is called Cantocheheua, which Merlesuan held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for seven hides. Twenty ploughs can plough these. Now Ralph du Rouelle holds this manor of Ralph Paganel. Thereof Ralph has five hides and one fourth in demesne, and two ploughs, and the villains have two hides less one fourth and seven ploughs. There Ralph has thirteen villains and seven boors and five bondmen and four swine; one mill, which renders yearly seven shillings and sixpence; and fifty acres of wood and twenty acres of meadow and two leagues of pasture in length and one in breadth; and it is worth yearly eight pounds, and when Ralph received it, it was worth eleven pounds. Ralph Paganel has one manor, which is called Hewis, which Merlesuan held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for one hide and a half. Six ploughs can plough these. Ralph du Rouelle holds this of Ralph. The same Ralph has three roods in demesne and two ploughs, and the villains three ploughs and three roods, and eight villains and six boors and five bondmen and two beasts and one palfrey and one swine and thirty sheep and one mill, which renders annually four shillings, and twelve acres of meadow and one hundred acres of pasture; and it is worth yearly sixty shillings, and when he received it, it was worth as much. Ralph Paganel has one manor, which is called Neuuiahalla, which Merlesoæn held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for one rood. Two ploughs can plough this. Robert son of Roscelin holds this of Ralph. Robert has two boors and half a league of wood, and it is worth yearly ten shillings, and it was worth as much when he received it. Ralph Paganel has one manor which is called Bagaberga, which Merleseon held on the day on

Dunchideock, Carswell Abbot's, Hatherleigh, Throwley, Chagford, Ilsington, Hempstone, Thorverton, Washfield, and Willand, in Devonshire[d]. All the lands in Somersetshire, except New-

which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for one hide. Four ploughs can plough this. Now Ralph holds it of Ralph Paganel, and has there half a hide and half a plough in demesne, and the villains have half a hide and two ploughs and a half. There Ralph five villains and five boors and three bondmen and three acres of meadow and sixty acres of pasture, and is worth yearly fifty shillings, and when Roger (*lege* Ralph) received it, it was worth as much."

[d] In the Exon Domesday under the heading Lands of the French Knights in Devonshire, we read as follows; "Ralph Paganus has one manor, which is called Donsedoc, which Merlesuein held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for one hide. Five ploughs can plough this. Thereof Ralph has half a hide and one plough in demesne, and the villains half a hide and four ploughs. There Ralph has eight villains and four boors and two bondmen and twenty acres of wood and two acres of meadow. This renders one hundred shillings, and when Ralph received it, it was worth three pounds. Ralph Paganel has one manor, which is called Carseuilla, which Merlesoan held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for two hides. Eight ploughs can plough these. And Gonher holds it of Ralph. Thereof Gonher has in demesne half a hide and one plough, and the villains one hide and a half and two ploughs and a half. There Gonher has eight villains and five boors and four bondmen and five beasts and twenty-eight sheep and fifteen she-goats and one mill, which renders five shillings, and thirty acres of wood and ten of meadow and one hundred of pasture; and it is worth yearly sixty shillings, and when he received it, it was worth forty shillings. Ralph Paganus has one manor, which is called Alra, which Merlesoan had held on that day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for one hide. Ten ploughs can plough this. Thereof Ralph has in demesne one rood and one plough, and the villains three roods and seven ploughs. There Ralph has fourteen villains and nine boors and five bondmen and one beast and sixty-six sheep and twenty acres of wood and twenty acres of meadow and fifty of pasture, and is worth annually five pounds, and when he received it, it was worth sixty shillings. Ralph has one manor, which is called Trula, which Merlosuin held on that day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for one hide. Eight ploughs can plough this. Thereof Ralph has one rood and two ploughs, and the villains have six ploughs. There Ralph has ten villains and one boor and three bondmen and four beasts and thirty-two sheep and twelve acres of wood and eight acres of meadow and half a league of pasture in length and four acres in breadth, and renders four pounds. Ralph Paganel has one manor, which is called Cagefort, which Merlosuan held on that day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for half a hide. Four ploughs can plough this. Thereof Ralph has the third part of a hide in demesne and one plough, and the villains have three ploughs. There Ralph has six villains and three bondmen and ten swine and thirty sheep and six acres of wood and eight acres of meadow and four acres of pasture, and is worth yearly three pounds, and when Ralph received it, it was worth as much. Ralph Paganus has one manor, which is called Ilestintona, which Merlesuen held on that day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for two hides. Twelve ploughs can plough these. Thereof Ralph has half a hide and one plough in demesne, and the villains one hide and a half and seven ploughs. There Ralph has twenty-two villains and six boors and seven bondmen and five beasts and forty sheep and twenty-three she-goats and two hundred and ten acres of wood and one acre of meadow and two leagues of pasture and eight furlongs between length and breadth. This renders nine pounds, and when Ralph received

hall, were held of him by Ralph du Rouelle, of which Robert son of Roscelin was the mesne-tenant. In Devonshire his mesne-tenants were Gonther in Carswell, and Gerard in Thorverton and Washfield. In Gloucestershire the land of Merlesuen in Tarlton in the parish of Coats was held of Ralph Pagenel by the mesne-tenant first named. In Yorkshire we read as follows:

"XVII. Land of Ralph Pagenel. East Riding.

"Manor. In Turgisbi (Thorganby) Merlesuan had three carucates of land subject to Danegeld. There is land to two ploughs.

it as much. And one house in Exeter, which renders ten shillings. The same Ralph has one manor, which is called Ainechesdona, which Merlesuen held on that day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for two hides. Nine ploughs can plough these. Thereof Ralph has half a hide and two ploughs in demesne, and the villains one hide and a half and five ploughs. There Ralph has twenty villains and eight boors and five bondmen and one palfrey and three beasts and one hundred sheep and seventy acres of wood and one acre of meadow and four acres of pasture. This renders nine pounds, and when Ralph received it as much. Ralph Paganus has one manor, which is called Touretoua, which Merlesoan held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for one rood. Two ploughs can plough this. And Girard holds it of Ralph. There Girard has four villains and one bondman and two acres of meadow, and is worth thirty shillings a year, and when Ralph received it, it was worth forty. The aforesaid Ralph has one manor, which is called Wasfelta, which Merlesoan held on that day on which Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for one rood. Two ploughs can plough this. And Girard holds it of Ralph. Thereof Girard has in demesne half a rood, and the villain half a rood and one plough. There Girard has one villain and three boors and one acre of meadow and one of wood, and it is worth twenty shillings, and when Ralph received it, it was worth ten shillings. Ralph Paganus has one manor, which is called Willa, which Merlesuen held on that day on which King Edward was alive and dead, and rendered Danegeld for two hides. Five ploughs can plough these. Thereof Ralph has one hide and two ploughs in demesne, and the villains one hide and four ploughs. There Ralph has sixteen villains and two boors and seven bondmen and one beast and ten swine and six sheep and fifty-six acres of wood and twelve acres of meadow and thirty-two acres of pasture. This renders one hundred and five shillings, and when Ralph received it six pounds."

In the Book of Domesday these places are written down as follows: Land of Ralph Pagenel. Dunsedoc, Carsewelle, Alre, Trule, Cageford, Lestintone, Ainechesdone, Tovretone, Wasfelte, and Wille. As to the names, they are written Merlesuain, Gonther, and Girard. In the hundred of Silverton, now Hayridge, Ralph Paganel had one rood in Thorverton, and for half a hide, which he held in the same, the King had not his Danegeld.

In Gloucestershire the land of Ralph Pagenel is thus surveyed: "xliiii. Land of Ralph Pagenel. In Cirecestre (Cirencester) hundred. Ralph Paganel holds Torentune, and Ralph of him. There four hides and a half subject to Danegeld. Merlesuen held it. In demesne there are three ploughs and ten villains and one boor with three ploughs. There ten bondmen. It was worth ten pounds, now one hundred shillings. In Langetrewes (Longtrees) hundred, Roger de Ivry held one rood of land and a half of Ralph Paganel, and which they have both abandoned."

In Northamptonshire the land of Ralph Pagenel is thus surveyed; "xxx. Land of Ralph Pagenel. In Stoc hundred. Ralph Pagenel holds of the King two hides, and Roger of him. There is land to four ploughs. In the

Now Ralph Pagenel has there one plough and four villains with one plough and eight fisheries of four shillings. Wood pasturable one league long and half a league broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings, now twelve shillings.

"Berewick. In Cotinuui (West Cottingwith in the parish of Thorganby) Berewick of Thorganby ten bovates of land subject to Danegeld. There is land to one plough. It is waste.

"Manor. In Bardulby (Barlby in the parish of Hemingbrough) Merlesuen had one carucate of land subject to Danegeld. There is land to half a plough. Ralph has it and it is waste. There five acres of meadow. Wood pasturable four furlongs long and two broad.

"Manor. In Neuuetone (Newton in the parish of Wintringham) Merlesuan had eighteen carucates of land subject to Danegeld. There is land to nine ploughs. Ralph has it and it is waste. There ten acres of meadow. It is one league and a half long and one broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth four pounds.

"Manor. In Rodestan (Rudstone) Merlesuen had eight carucates subject to Danegeld. There is land to four ploughs. Ralph has it and it is waste. In the time of King Edward it was worth sixty shillings.

"North Riding.

"In Nonningtune (Nunnington) Merlesuen had six carucates of land subject to Danegeld. There is land to three ploughs. Ralph has it and it is waste. In the time of King Edward it was worth forty shillings.

"To this manor this soke is annexed; Wichum (Wycomb) six bovates; Steingrif (Stonegrave) five carucates and two bovates; Nesse (West Nesse) three carucates; Holme (North Holme) one carucate. Together subject to Danegeld ten carucates of land, in which there might be five ploughs. Ralph has now there one plough and seven villains with four ploughs. There a church and a priest and one mill of three shillings and ten acres of meadow. One league long and one broad. It is worth twenty shillings.

"Manor and Berewick. In Neuutone and Toresbi (Newton-

demesne is one and four villains and three boors have one plough and a half. There two bondmen. It was worth five shillings, now ten shillings. Turchil freely held it."

upon-Ouse and Linton-upon-Ouse) Merlesuan had nine carucates subject to Danegeld. There is land to five carucates. Ralph has now there one plough and sixteen villains with four ploughs. Wood pasturable half a league long and three furlongs broad. The whole manor one league long and one broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth forty shillings; now twenty-six shillings and eightpence.

"West Riding.

"Manor and Berewicks. In Drac, Ermenie, Camelesford et Berlai (Drax, Little Armine, Camblesforth and Barlow) Merlesuan had five carucates of land and one bovate subject to Danegeld. There is land to three ploughs. Ralph has now there one plough and six villains and two sokemen with two ploughs. There a church and a priest. Wood pasturable in places five leagues long and four furlongs broad. The whole manor five leagues long and one league and a half broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth forty shillings, now twenty shillings.

"Manor. In Ripestan (Great Ribstone) Merlesuan had four carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to two ploughs. Ralph has it and it is waste. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings.

"In Godenesburgd (Goldsborough) Merlesuan had eight carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to four ploughs. Now Hubert, the vassal of Ralph, has there one plough and seven villains with two ploughs and a moiety of a fishery rendering five shillings and fourpence. Wood pasturable twelve furlongs long and four broad. The whole manor one league long and one broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth four pounds, now forty shillings.

"Manor. In Ripeleia (Ripley) Merlesuan had four carucates and a half subject to Danegeld. Land to three ploughs. Ralph has it and it is waste. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings.

"Manor. In Distone (Kirk Deighton) Merlesuan had twelve carucates of land subject to Danegeld. There is land to six ploughs. Ralph has it now. A church is there. Wood pasturable half a league long and half broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth sixty shillings, now four shillings.

"Soke. In Tuadestorp (Thorpe Green) is soke of Neuuetone (Newton-upon-Ouse) one carucate of land and a half subject to geld. There is land to one plough. Wood pasturable

half a league long and four furlongs broad. Ralph has it and it is waste. There four acres of meadow[e]."

"In the city of Lincoln Ralph Pagenel had one mansion, which was that of Merlesuen, quit of all custom, nor did he give Danegeld of that one mansion." Below we read, "here are noted those who had soc and sac and tol and thiam in Lincolnshire, the bishop of Lincoln, Queen Edith, the abbot of Burgh, the abbot of Ramsey, the abbot of Croyland, Earl Harold, Earl Morcar, Earl Waltheof, Earl Ralph, Ulffenisc, Merlesuen," &c.

"XXXV. The land of Ralph Pagenel.

"Manor. In Bertone (Burton-upon-Stather) Merlosuen had ten carucates of land and six bovates subject to Danegeld. Land of twelve ploughs. There Ralph Pagenel has two ploughs and twenty-nine sokemen of five carucates and three bovates of this land and thirty-four villains and eight boors

[e] Under the heading Claims of Yorkshire, we have these entries in Domesday. "In Nort Treding. In Maneshou wapentake Ralph Pagenel claims six bovates of land in Stonegrave of the land of Ulf; but the men who swore declare them to be of St. Peter of York.

"In West Treding. The men of Borchescire wapentake testify to the use of Ralph Pagenel four bovates of land in Monechetone (Moor Monkton) of the land of Merlesuen, which Osbern de Arcis holds."

At folio 379 of Domesday is a summary of lands in Yorkshire, commencing "West Reding. In the Danegeld of the city of York are eighty-four carucates of land, which in the time of King Edward paid each as much Danegeld as one mansion in the city. Of these the Archbishop has six carucates in the ferm of his demesne. In Osboldeuuic (Osbaldwick) the Archbishop six carucates. In Mortune (Morton) four carucates. In Stochetun the Archbishop three carucates. There three carucates. In Sambure (Sandburn) three carucates, &c.

"Barcheston wapentac. In Drac, Ermenia, Camelesford and Berlai, Ralph Pagenel five carucates and one bovate.

"Annesti wapentac. In Torp Xpicerce Richard son of Erfast two carucates. In the same place Robert Malet one carucate. In Mileburg Xpicerce Richard son of Erfast eight carucates. In Monechetone Xpicerce Richard son of Erfast nine carucates. In Esdesai Richard son of Erfast one carucate and six bovates. In Cnapetone Xpicerce Richard son of Erfast three carucates. In Xpicerce near the city Richard son of Erfast half a carucate and three crofts.

"Bargescire wapentac. In Tuadestorp Ralph Pagenel one carucate. In Godesburg Ralph Pagenel eight carucates. In Ripestain Ralph Pagenel four carucates. In Ripelie Ralph Pagenel four carucates and a half. In Distone Ralph Pagenel twelve carucates.

"Nort reding. Maneshou wapentac. In another Wich (Wycomb in the parish of Old Malton) Ralph Pagenel six bovates. In Nonnintune Ralph Pagenel six carucates. In Steinegrif Ralph Pagenel five carucates and two bovates. In Neisse Ralph Pagenel three carucates. In Holm Ralph Pagenel one carucate.

"Bolesford wapentac. Ralph Pagenel in Neuton and Toresbi nine carucates.

"Est reding. Hoveden hundret.

"In Cotinuui Ralph Pagenel one carucate and two bovates. In Turgisbi Ralph Pagenel three carucates.

"Burton hundret. In Rodestain Ralph Pagenel eight carucate."

with thirteen ploughs. There a church and a priest, and one mill of two shillings and two hundred and forty acres of meadow and two leagues long of brushwood and one broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth ten pounds, now seven. But in the year last past it was worth ten pounds.

"Manor. Grinchel had in the same seven bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of one plough. There Ralph has one plough and five rent-paying tenants with one plough and ten acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth forty shillings, now . . . .

"Manor. In Duneham (Dunholme) Merlesuen had two carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of two ploughs. There a certain knight of Ralph has half a plough and four sokemen of one carucate of this land and four villains with one plough and a half and seventeen acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth ten shillings, now sixteen. Tallage four shillings.

"Manor. In Roxebi (Roxby) Merlosuen had five carucates of land and two bovates. Land of six ploughs. There Ralph has two carucates and two bovates in plough and twenty-three sokemen of twenty-one bovates of this land and eight villains and four boors with six ploughs and forty-eight acres of meadow and six acres of brushwood. In the time of King Edward it was worth six pounds, now four pounds. Tallage twenty shillings. Herbert holds it.

"Berewic. In Wintritone (Winterton) two bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of two bovates. There two villains have two bovates in plough.

"Manor. In Rase (West Rasen) Merlosuen had six carucates of land and six bovates subject to Danegeld. Land of nine ploughs. There Ralph has four ploughs in demesne and thirty-seven sokemen of four carucates and seven bovates of this land and fifteen villains with nine ploughs and one mill of two shillings and three hundred acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth sixteen pounds, now ten pounds. Tallage six pounds.

"Soke. In another Rase (Middle Rasen) fourteen bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of three ploughs. Soke of this manor. There sixteen sokemen have two ploughs and a half and one hundred and sixty acres of meadow.

"Soke. In Wiuilingeham (North Willingham) nine bovates

of land subject to Danegeld. Land to eighteen oxen. There nineteen sokemen have two ploughs.

"Manor. In Tavelesbi (Tealby) Merlosuen had fourteen bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of two ploughs and a half. There Ralph has five sokemen of three bovates and ten villains with one plough and three mills of twelve shillings and eighty-nine acres of meadow and three sites of mills. In the time of King Edward it was worth twelve pounds, now fifty shillings. Tallage nine shillings.

"Soke in Tavelesbi. In Osgotesbi (Osgodby) one bovate of land subject to Danegeld. Land of two bovates. There two sokemen have half a plough.

"Manor. In Witham (North Witham) Merlosuen had one carucate of land subject to Danegeld. Land of one plough. There Hacun, a vassal of Ralph, has two bovates in plough and four villains and one boor with one plough and ten acres of meadow and eighty-four acres of wood. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings, now ten shillings and eightpence.

"Soke. In Suinhamstede (Swinstead) Merlosuen had five carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of five ploughs. There had been one thane, whom King Edward gave to Merlosuen, as the men of the hundred testify. There Ralph has twenty-two sokemen and four villains with six ploughs and eighteen acres of meadow and two hundred acres of brushwood.

"Manor. In Bertune (Burton Coggles) Earl Morcar had six bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to six oxen. There Ogerus, the vassal of Ralph, has one plough and five villains with half a plough and twelve acres of meadow. Forest seven furlongs long and five furlongs and a half broad. Besides this also two hundred and eighty acres of wood pasturable in places. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings, now thirty shillings.

"Manor. In Gerneham (Irnham) Merlosuen had seven carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of seven ploughs. There Ralph has three ploughs and a half and seven sokemen of two carucates of this land and twenty-nine villains and nine boors with seven ploughs. There a church and a priest and fifty acres of meadow. Wood pasturable one league long and ten furlongs broad. Besides this also two hundred acres of wood pasturable in places. In the time of King Edward it was worth twelve pounds, now ten. Tallage forty shillings.

"Manor. In Aschebi (West Ashby, in Horncastle soke) Merlosuen had six carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of six ploughs. There Ralph has two ploughs and seventeen sokemen, and two villains, and two boors with eight ploughs and fifty acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward, it was worth four pounds; now one hundred shillings.

"Manor. In Scalebi et Stratone (Scawby and Sturton) Grinchel had three carucates of land and two bovates subject to Danegeld. Land of five ploughs. There Ralph has two ploughs, and five sokemen of four bovates of this land and seven villains and three boors with two ploughs. In the time of King Edward it was worth sixty shillings, now forty. Tallage ten shillings.

"In Snardesforde (Snarford) three bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land of two bovates. There four sokemen have half a plough and twelve acres of meadow. Soke in Resne (Rischolm)[f]."

In the same record we have this entry in Yorkshire under the heading, Land of Ilbert de Lacy. "West Riding. Siraches wapentac. Manor. In Stretun (Sturton Grange, a township in the parish of Aberford), Grimchil had five carucates subject to Danegeld, and three ploughs may be there. Now Ralph has it of Ilbert. There five ploughs and five villains and three boors with one plough; three acres of meadow. The whole manor half a league long and a half broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth thirty shillings, now forty shillings.

"In Ledes (Leeds) ten carucates of land and six bovates subject to Danegeld. Land to six ploughs. Seven thanes held it in the time of King Edward for seven manors. There now twenty-seven villains and four sokemen and four boors have fourteen ploughs. There a priest and a church and a mill of

[f] Under the heading Claims which are in the West Riding of Lincolnshire, and their settlement by the men who swore, we read in Domesday as follows; "In Tedulbi (Tealby) hundred Ralph Pagenel claims one toft. The wapentake say that he ought to have it and the king the soke in Chirchetone (Kirton Lindsey). Claims in Chetsteven. Six bovates of land of the land of Morcar in Bertone (Burton Coggles) Ralph Pagenel has; but Merlesuen had it not in the time of King Edward. Land of six bovates Ralph Pagenel claims in Hechintune (Heckington) upon Colsuen, which had been the land of Ælger the Deacon. The wapentake say the Merlesuen the predecessor of Ralph had it not. Ralph Pagenel claims sac and soke upon the land of Aluric, which Guy de Credun has in Osbernebi (Osbernby). The wapentake say that the same Ralph ought to have from this land one horse, when he sets out on an expedition."

four shillings, and ten acres of meadow. It was worth six pounds, now seven pounds.

"In Hedingeleia (Heddingley, in the parish of Leeds) seven carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to three ploughs and a half. Two thanes held it for two manors. There are two villains with one plough. It was worth forty shillings, now four shillings."

The Ralph here named was Ralph Paynel, who was mesne-tenant of this manor of Sturton, and subsequently of the parish of Leeds, under Ilbert de Lacy, whose barony had the burgh of Pontefract with its castle for the capital seat; and the service due for these lands was reckoned at one knight's fief and a half. In a charter of King Henry the Second, addressed to Savaricus, abbot of St. Mary, of York, deceased April 3, 1161, is this recital; "Ralph Painel gave six carucates of land and one bovate in Millington, and in Huggate the church and its tythe, and the glebe of the church and seven bovates of land in Huggate-Wold." Huggate is a parish in the wapentake of Harthill, in the East Riding, Wilton Beacon division, with its church dedicated to St. Mary, and Millington is an adjoining chapelry in the parish of Great Givendale, and at the time of the compilation of Domesday the king held in Hughete eight carucates and a half, and in Millington fifteen carucates, under the heading, Wartre hundred; and their acquisition by Ralph Paynell will have been of subsequent date, during the reign of King William Rufus, in whose time this abbey was founded.

Among the mesne-tenants of Robert, count of Mortain, in Yorkshire, mention is made of Richard de Surdeval, who will have had this surname from the *commune* of Sourdeval-la-Barre, *chef-lieu* of a *canton* in the *arrondissement* of Mortain, *departement* of La Manche. At the time of the survey recorded in Domesday Book, Richard de Surdeval had in York the two dwellings, which had been these of Turchil and Ravechil. Of the count of Mortain, he held in the North Riding, in Langbargh wapentake, the manors of Aislaby in the parish of Whitby, Seaton Hall with Rousby its soke in that of Hinderwell, Stainton, Skelton, Great and Little Moorsome, Kilton and Brotton in the same parish, with soke of ten carucates in Marske, Tockets in the parish of Guisborough, Eston in the parish of Ormesby, and Barnby in the parish of Lythe; and in Rydale wapentake, anciently Maneshou, the manor of Barton-le-Street, *alias* in

Rydale, and in Birdforth wapentake, a manor of eleven carucates in Kilvington, Upsale, and Hundulftorp. In the East Riding, in Harthill wapentake, the manors of Middleton and Kiplincoates in the parish of Middleton; and in Dickering wapentake, the manors of Bridlington, Buckton, Speeton, Sewerby in the parish of Bridlington, Fraisthorpe in the parish of Carnaby, Brigham in the parish of Foston, Boynton, and Bempton, all entirely waste. In the West Riding, in the wapentake of Skyrack, the manors of Addle, Arthington, Cookridge, Burdonhead, and Eccup in the parish of Addle; in the wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill, anciently Barkston, a manor in Hooton and Bilham, those of Todwick, Great Houghton in the parish of Darfield, Thurnscoe with lands in the same parish and in Deightonby and in Clayton in the now parish of Frickley and in Stotfold soke of Shippen in the parish of Hooton, Whiston and soke in Handsworth, Treeton, Aughton and Aston in the parish of Aston, Ulley in the parishes of Treeton and Aston, Brampton-en-le-Morthen in the parish of Treeton, and Wales. In Staincross wapentake, the manor of Tankersley, and that of Wortley in the parish of Tankersley. In Claro wapentake, a manor in Hunsingore with soke in Gelsthorpe. It is certain that several manors of this mesne-tenant, vested in Ralph Paynell in the following reign, apparently in right of his wife, Matilda, who will have been daughter and co-heiress of this Richard de Surdeval, if not sole heiress. Hence of those, of which positive proof can be adduced of such possession, a copy of the survey in Domesday is now inserted, as they appear under the heading, Land of the Count of Mortain.

"In Bartone (Barton) subject to Danegeld, eight carucates and there may be four ploughs. There Waltef had one manor. Now Richard has it of the count. In demesne one plough and eight villains with three ploughs and a church. The whole manor one league long and a half broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings; now ten shillings.

"In West Reding. In Hardinctone (Arthington) Aluuard had one manor of three carucates and two bovates and a half subject to Danegeld, where may now be three ploughs. Richard has it of the count. There is one villain with two oxen ploughing, and there are two acres of meadow. Wood pasturable two furlongs long and one broad. The whole manor one league long and four furlongs broad. In the time

of King Edward it was worth thirty shillings; now five shillings.

"In Adele (Addle) the same Aluuard had one manor of one carucate and a half subject to Danegeld, where two ploughs may be. Richard has it, and it is waste. Wood pasturable one league long and one broad. The whole manor one league and a half broad and one league wide. In the time of King Edward ten shillings.

"In Cucheric (Cookridge) the same Aluuard had one manor of three carucates subject to Danegeld, where two ploughs may now be. Richard has it. Wood pasturable three furlongs long and as many wide. The whole manor half a league long and three furlongs wide. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings; now it is waste.

"In Burghedurum (Burdonhead) the same Aluuard had one manor without a demesne of two carucates subject to Danegeld, and there may now be two ploughs. Richard has it. Three acres of meadow and brush wood. The whole manor four furlongs long and as many broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings; now it is waste.

"In Echope (Eccup) the same Aluuard had one manor without a demesne of one carucate subject to Danegeld, which one plough may till. Richard has there three acres of meadow. Wood, not pasturable, three furlongs long and two broad. The whole manor one league long and a half broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth ten shillings; now it is waste.

"In Hotone and Bileham (Hooton and Bilham) Earl Edwin had one manor of ten carucates subject to Danegeld, and ten ploughs may be there. Richard has now in demesne three ploughs and twelve villains with six ploughs and one mill of four shillings. Wood pasturable half a league long and three furlongs broad. The whole ten furlongs long and eight broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth eight pounds; now worth one hundred shillings.

"In Ternusc (Thurnscoe) Ligulf had one manor without a demesne of seven bovates subject to Danegeld. In the same vill is soke of eight bovates subject to Danegeld belonging to Sceptone, (Shippen,) and in Dictenebi (Deightonby) two carucates and five acres and a half and in Claiton one carucate and Stotfold one carucate, soke likewise belonging to Sceptone. There may be there four ploughs. Richard has

now there three sokemen and one boor with two ploughs and six acres of meadow. Wood pasturable half a league long and three furlongs broad. The whole manor one league long and a half broad. In the time of King Edward worth sixty shillings, now thirty shillings[s]."

This acquisition of the property above specified, was effected in the reign of King William Rufus, as we learn from this charter. "In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. After our Lord Jesus Christ, having overcome death, sat as a conqueror on the right hand of the Father, and by His unmerited death abolished the discord, which had crept in between God and men, by the guilt of the first transgression, the door is open to all piously seeking the entrance of the heavenly kingdom, whosoever, having been folded within the womb of the holy and universal Church, aim at heavenly things by faith or good works. For he is truly said to aim at heavenly things, who restraining the vices of his flesh under the guidance of continence, and loving his neighbour as himself, is not divided from the unity of the Church by the pest of any heresy; but who rather strives with all the forces in his power to exalt it and of his own effects to endow it, as the spouse of Christ. Many examples of this conduct are furnished to all, instructed by which, they may treasure up celestial riches to themselves in future. For Moses, warned by divine revelation, constructed in the desert the tabernacle of witness, in which was the ark of the testimony, and cherubims shading the mercy-seat of glory, in order that the people of Israel might constantly offer in it sacrifices to the Lord according to the law, so as to be accustomed to carnal sacrifices; and, lest by the worship of many false gods they should be led away, as it were bound with a chain, they might learn in time to seek spiritual things, through which they might reach, hereafter at least, to the salvation which is in Christ, when the veil of the law had been cast down. But David, to whom the Lord swore that He would

[s] At folio 379 the tenure of the count of Mortain in Siraches wapentake is thus inscribed in Domesday. "In Ardinton the count of Mortain three carucates and two bovates and a half. In Cucheric the count of Mortain three carucates. In Burgedurun the count of Mortain two carucates. In Echope the count of Mortain one carucate. And in Barcheston wapentac, in Hoton the count of Mortain ten carucates. In Ternusch Claitone, Dictenebi, and Stofald, the count of Mortain six carucates and five acres and a half. And in Maneshou wapentac in Bartun the count of Mortain eight carucates."

place one of the fruit of his bowels upon his own throne, because he had not accomplished the building of a temple to the Lord, by reason that he had heard from the Lord through a prophet, that he should shed much blood, bequeathed to his son Solomon immense stores, of gold and silver, iron and metal. He ordained ministers of the Levitical race to praise the Lord of Israel; through the Holy Spirit he composed Davidical Psalms, which they might sing day and night in the temple of the Lord, and what now, in the time of revealed grace, is spiritually performed by the sons of Holy Mother Church, he then endeavoured to reveal by typical sayings and doings. But the peaceful Solomon, the Lord commanding, as David had desired, constructed the temple of the Lord with wonderful workmanship; which afterwards being by the Assyrians, in punishment of crying sins, burnt and overthrown, the Sons of the Transmigration of Juda restored it with much labour. And which when again afterwards contaminated by Antiochus, the Gentile king, by whom the altar of Machabeus was destroyed and prophaned, they, blessing the Lord, made and dedicated another of squared stones; that by these things the present and those to come may know how much of devotion or what quantity of labour they ought to employ about the worship of God and of His Church. For if the ancients placed under the burden of the law have been so fervent in the construction and reparation of His temple, in which they offered the carcases of bulls, goats and rams, how much the more ought those under the race, who are reborn in Christ, to be more fervent about the construction and renovation of the churches of God, in which the body and blood of Christ and the chrism and holy oil are consecrated. The great numbers by this and many other examples, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, inflamed, whilst they strive faithfully to serve God and to redeem their sins by alms, and to construct churches, and to restore them to a better state, and to endow them out of their rents, at what else do they aim, save at the palace of the heavenly kingdom by the right road?

"Wherefore I Ralph, surnamed Paynell, inflamed by the fire of divine love, desiring to treasure up in heaven what I can after this life receive hundredfold, having at the city of York of the fief of the King of the English a certain church constructed

in honour of the Holy Trinity, formerly adorned with canons and rents of farms and ecclesiastical ornaments, but now by sins, which cry for vengeance, almost reduced to nothing, in the desire of re-establishing in it the service of God, which has been abandoned, I have delivered it to Blessed Martin of Marmoutier and to his monks to be in their possession for ever for the soul of my Lord King William and of his wife Matilda, and for the redemption and good estate of the realm of his son William, who has also willingly authorized this gift, with the assent of my wife Matilda, and my sons, William, Jordan, Elias and Alexander, in order that the abbot of Marmoutier may have free faculty of ordaining the establishment of the said church, and the distribution of the endowment of the same church, and the introduction of monks serving God in the aforesaid church hereafter; so that we may deserve to have in time to come a share of the Blessed Resurrection, through their assiduous prayers. These are what I Ralph Paynell have bestowed for my soul towards the support of the monks of the church of the Holy Trinity. The church itself of the Holy Trinity and the three crofts belonging to the same church, which lie adjacent to the western portion of that city. In this same city of York the church of St. Helen and whatsoever I have belonging to the said church; likewise in front of the same church the toft of one deacon. Moreover in Lincolnshire the church of Irnham and whatsoever belongs to it, as well in glebe as in tythes, and the tythes of the Lord's own demesne, and two parts of the tythes of the demesne of Ashby and of Scawby of the fief, which Odo de Tuscet holds. In like manner two parts of the tythe of the demesne of Tealby, of the fief, which Ralph du Rouellé holds. The church of Rasen and whatsoever belongs to it in all things, and the tythe of the demesne, and of the whole of the aforesaid vill. The church of Burton and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne. The church of Roxby and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne. In Yorkshire in the vill, which is called Drax, one fishery and the tythe of the rest of the fisheries, and in Barlby whatsoever Merlesuain had. The church of Newton and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne. In Monkton the church with its appurtenances. The church of Leeds and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne, and half a carucate of land, which Reginald

had held, in increase of the glebe which before belonged to the church. Also the whole tythe of the demesne of Sturton. The church of Hooton and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne. The church of St. Helen of Thurnscoe and whatsoever belongs to it. The church of St. John of Addle and one carucate of land, and the tythes of Arthington and of all the vills which belong to it, and the tythes of the demesne. Likewise half the church of Crambe and whatsoever belongs to it. The church of Barton in Ridale and whatsoever belongs to that church, and the tythes of the demesne; the tythes also of Fadmoor."

Although this endowment included lands and churches of the fiefs of Richard son of Erfast, of Ralph Paynell, and of Ilbert de Lacy, yet the assent of the wife of the founder is a strong proof that a part of the inheritance so given had descended to her from Richard de Surdeval, and was held in her right of William, count of Mortain and earl of Cornwall, by her husband. After the decease of William de St. Karileph, bishop of Durham, on the sixth day of January, 1095, King William Rufus sent his letters patent addressed to Thomas archbishop of York, Hugh Fitz Baldric sheriff of Yorkshire, and Ralph Paynell, and all his barons and liegemen, commanding them not to exact any Danegeld from those dwelling north of the Tees; and he was also a witness with the same archbishop and Geoffrey Baynard of the grant of King William Rufus to the Hospital of St. Peter at York, of the ancient frankalmoign, which had belonged to it, namely one thrave of corn from each bovate in the diocese of York. Ralph Paynell also succeeded Hugh Fitz Baldric as sheriff of York in the time of King William Rufus, and we learn from a charter of his son that he had given to the abbey of Selby a site called Nesse or Rednesse on the bank of the river Air in his manor of Drax.

In the year 1100 King William Rufus was slain on the second day of August, and in that same year Gerard succeeded Thomas in the see of York. During his prelacy, which terminated in his decease at Southwell on the twenty-first day of May, 1108, King Henry the First confirmed by this charter the endowment of the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, in the lifetime of Ralph Paynell, of which a copy was made by Dom. Edmund Martenne, and inserted in his manuscript history of the abbey of Marmoutier, in the public library of Tours.

"Henry, king of the English, to G(erard) archbishop, Osbert (de Arches) sheriff, and to all his barons, greeting. I will it to be made known to you that I have conceded to the monks of Saint Martin of Marmoutier the endowment of Ralph Paynell, that is, whatsoever he gave to them in land and churches and tythes. But also I give and grant with stable ratification the church of the Holy Trinity of York free and quit, with all things, which the said monks have within and without the city appurtenant to the same church, and with all customs, which the church itself had and held freely, and its possessors, in the time of my father and before, to the same monks for my own soul and those of my parents. But these are the things, which the aforesaid Ralph Paynell bestowed on the church of the Holy Trinity for his soul towards the support of the monks; the church itself and three crofts belonging to that church which lie over against the western portion of that city. In this same city of York the church of St. Helen and whatsoever they have belonging to that church; in front of the same church likewise the toft of one deacon. In Lincolnshire also the church of Erneham, and whatsoever belongs to it, as well in land as in tythes, and the tythe of his own demesne, and two parts of the tythes of the demesnes of Asccleria and of Scaleberia of the fief, which Odo de Tuscet holds. In like manner two parts of the tythes of Tablesberiæ of the demesne of the fief, which Ralph du Rouellé holds. The church of Rasa and whatsoever belongs to it in all things, and the tythe of the demesne and of the whole vill aforesaid. The church of Bertona and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne. The church of Rochesberia and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne. In Yorkshire in the vill, which is called Drach, one fishery and the tythe of the rest of the fisheries, and in Bardulbeia whatsoever Merlesuen had. The church of Neutona and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne. In Monechetona the land of one plough. The church of Leddis and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne, and half a carucate of land, which Raganald had held, an increase to the land, which before belonged to the church. Also the whole tythe of the demesne of Stratona. The church of Hotona and whatsoever belongs to it, and the tythe of the demesne. The church of St. Helen of Ternesco and whatsoever belongs to it. The church of St. John of Adela, and one carucate of land, and

the tythe of Ardintona and of all the vills, which belong to it, and the tythe of the demesne. Likewise half the church of Cramban and whatsoever belongs to it, which is of my fief. The church of Bartona in Ridala, and whatsoever belongs to that church, and the tythe of the demesne. The tythe also of Fademora. Afterwards the same Ralph and his wife Mathildis, their sons consenting, gave the whole of Stratona, of which he had before given the tythe, namely, five carucates of land. This was done at York, these seeing and hearing, the same Ralph Paynell, Eudo the steward, William d'Aubigny and his brother Nigel, Ralph du Rouellé, Alan Fitz Fleald, Ranulf the Treasurer."

In the time of Archbishop Thomas the Second, consecrated on Sunday the twenty-seventh day of June, 1109, and deceased the sixteenth day of February, 1114, we have these two charters of this prelate and King Henry the First in the same manuscript.

"Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of York, to all the faithful of Holy Church greeting and benediction. Know ye that I grant and will that the brethren of the church of the Holy Trinity of York may hold in peace and honourably their church of Leeds, and whatsoever is belonging to it in every thing. I also grant that they may ordain in the same church the service of God, as they shall best be able and know. I likewise prohibit, on the part of God and on our own, lest any one should inflict injury upon them in any manner, nor may either archdeacon or other our ministers disturb them. But I am unwilling that they engage in suits as to any matter, which may relate to us, except in our presence."

"Henry, king of England, to the archbishops, and to all the barons, French and English, and to his liegemen of Yorkshire, greeting. Know ye that I have granted to the monks of Marmoutier serving God at York all the possessions, which Ralph Paynell and all other benefactors have given to them in frankalmoign in the borough and without, with soc and sac and tol and tem and infangtheof, and by name Sturton and the church of Leeds, and what belong to the same; and the other churches as well in Yorkshire as in Lincolnshire. And I strongly will and enjoin that they may hold them honourably and freely, so, lest any one should do to them injury or contumely, let him forfeit above ten pounds. Witness, Nigel d'Aubigny and Robert de Brus, at Woodstock."

The circuit of the ground belonging to the site of this priory is of great extent, being bounded by the street called Micklegate on the north, in which is the ancient gateway serving as the entrance into the precinct, on the east by Trinity-lane, on the west by the city walls, and on the south by its own wall, and is now called Trinity Gardens. The church of St. Helen was in Fishergate-street without the Bar, and continued to be a rectory in the patronage of the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity up to the time of its dissolution. The church of Irnham, dedicated to St. Andrew, in the deanery of Beltisloe, archdeaconry and diocese of Lincoln, continued to be a rectory attached to the manor, but the grant of it to this priory was not confirmed by the descendants of the founder. West Ashby, All Saints, is a chapel in the parish of Horncastle, in the deanery of that name. The church of Tealby, All Saints, was subject to an annual pension of one pound to the priory of the Holy Trinity, and is in the deanery of Walscroft, and both are in the same archdeaconry. Scawby, St. Hibald, is a parish in the deanery of Manlake, as were also the parishes of Burton-upon-Stather, St. Andrew, and of Roxby, St. Mary, which deanery is in the archdeaconry of Stow. The church of West Rasen, All Saints, continued to be a rectory, but subject to a pension to the prior of the Holy Trinity of York from the same of £6. 13s. 10d., and is in the abovementioned deanery of Walscroft. The church of Newton-upon-Ouse in the deanery of Bulmer, archdeaconry of Cleveland, in the diocese of York, was subsequently appropriated to the Hospital of St. Leonard at York, but a portion of the tythes of the prior of the Holy Trinity of York in Linton-upon-Ouse in this parish was taxed at 16s. in 1292. The church of Moor Monkton, All Saints, in the deanery of New Ainsty, archdeaconry of York, continued to be a rectory. The church of Leeds, St. Peter, in the deanery of Old Ainsty, was appropriated to the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, which house presented a clerk to the third part of the tithe and altarage belonging to the church of Leeds, who was accountable for the other two thirds. In 1292 the church of Leeds, with the pension of ten pounds, which the prior of the Holy Trinity of York received from the vicarage of the same by reason of the same church, was taxed at eighty pounds, and the vicarage itself at £13. 6s. 8d. The church of Addle in the same deanery, St. John Baptist, continued to be a

rectory, and in 1292 was taxed at £10. 13s. 4d. over and above the pension of the prior of the Holy Trinity in the same, taxed at £6. 13s. 4d. The church of Hooton Pagnell, All Saints, in the deanery of Doncaster, in 1292 was taxed at £10. 13s. 4d. for the portion of the prior of the Holy Trinity in the same, and the vicarage of the same at five pounds. The church of Thurnscoe, St. Helen, continued to be a rectory, and was then taxed at £5. 6s. 8d. The church of Crambe, St. Michael, in the same deanery of Bulmer, was in moieties at the time of the compilation of Domesday, as we learn from these entries under the headings Land of the King and Land of the Count of Mortain.

"Manor. In Cranbone. Summerlede four carucates subject to Danegeld. Land to two ploughs. Now in the demesne five villains with two ploughs and half the church. It is worth two shillings.

"In Crambom, Waltef had one manor of four carucates subject to Danegeld and two ploughs may be there. The count has now five villains with two ploughs and one priest and the church. In the demesne one carucate. In the time of King Edward ten shillings, now twenty shillings."

In the summary of lands in the several wapentakes under Bolesford wapentac we read, "In Cranbon four carucates. Count of Mortain. In the same place four carucates. The King."

Under the heading This is the fief of Robert de Bruis, which was given after the Book of Winchester had been written, we read "In Nortreding in Crambun four carucates."

The moiety of the church so given was doubtless that which had been of the fief of the count of Mortain; and the following extract from Dodsworth's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. vii. p. 198, is of importance as proving the identity of the church of Christ with that of the priory of the Holy Trinity. Philip, prior and convent of the church of Christ of York, granted to the church of Kirkham and to the canons there serving God the moiety of the church of Cramburn; and this agreement we will cause to be confirmed to them by the chapter of Marmoutier; in the time of Archbishop Roger. Philip was prior of the Holy Trinity in 1175.

The church of Barton in Rydale, St. Michael, in the deanery of Rydale, in the same archdeaconry, continued to be a rectory. Fadmoor is a hamlet of the parish of Kirkby Moorside, and

in Domesday it is thus surveyed among the land of the count of Mortain immediately below the entry concerning Barton in Rydale, *alias* le-Street.

"In Fademora subject to Danegeld five carucates and three ploughs may be there. There Waltef had one manor. Now Count Robert has it and it is waste. Wood pasturable and field ten leagues long and a half broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth ten shillings."

Sturton, a hamlet in the parish of Aberford, is by this charter of King Henry the First proved to be identical with the manor held by Ralph of Ilbert de Lacy at the time of the survey; and which from its having been the estate of this priory has now acquired the affix of Grange, a certain indication of an ecclesiastical possession. Its population in our times numbers seventy-four inhabitants. The name of Aberford does not occur in Domesday, unless we suppose it to be identical with Cudford, where Ilbert de Lacy had two carucates of land, inasmuch as the name of the river, on which it was situate, is the Cock.

The catalogue of tenants of lands in the several wapentakes of the three Ridings of the parts of Lindsey, Lincolnshire, (compiled early in the reign of Henry the First, as appears by the name of Count Odo of Champagne, father of Stephen, count of Mortain, whose decease must have taken place in 1108,) affords evidence of an increased extent of territory in the possession of Ralph Paynell in those parts, as compared with what he held in the reign of William the Conqueror. In the West Riding in Maneli (Manley) wapentake Ralph Painell held in Bertuna (Burton-upon-Stather) eleven carucates and five bovates, and in Cheistorp (Castlethorp) three bovates[h],

[h] Castlethorp is a hamlet of Broughton, a parish in the deanery of Manley, and at the time of the Domesday survey it was the land of Durand Malet, where is this entry. "Manor. In Bertone (Broughton) and Mannebi (Manby) and Castorp (Castlethorpe) Edwin had three bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to one plough. It is waste, there ten acres of meadow and ten acres of brushwood. In the time of King Edward it was worth ten shillings, now four shillings." In the catalogue referred to in the text these three bovates are thus mentioned; "William Mischin in Scallabi (Scawby) one carucate, which Alured de Lactuna (Laughton) holds and in Cheistorp (Castlethorpe) three bovates." Manby is another hamlet of Broughton. Other three bovates in Castlethorpe, belonged to Ralph Paynell, and descended to his younger son Alexander, who enfeoffed Robert de Haute-Rive in the vill of Manby, whose son William de Haute-Rive founded a Cistercian nunnery, on a site called Gokewell in the immediate vicinity of Manby before 1185. In Michaelmas term, in the fourth year of the reign of King Edward the Second, 1310, Ralph Paynell brought a suit against William de Haute-Rive, be-

and in Rochesbi (Roxby) five carucates, and in Scallebi (Scawby) three carucates, six bovates and a half, and in Wintrington (Winterton) three bovates. In Aslocahou (Aslacoe) wapentake Ralph Paganellus held in Glentworda (Glentworth) five bovates, which had been the land of Martin in 1080. In Lagolfris (Lauress) wapentake Ralph Paganellus held in Duneham (Dunholme) two carucates, of which Goslinus, his steward, was the mesne-tenant. In the North Riding in Walescroft (Walshcroft) Ralph Painellus held in Teflesbi (Tealby) one carucate and six bovates, and in Wiflingham (North Willingham) one carucate, and in Rasa (West Rasen) seven carucates and two bovates, and two parts of one bovate, and in another Rasa (Middle Rasen) one carucate and six bovates, and in Osgotebi (Orgodby) one bovate, and in Osoluebi (Usselby) half a bovate beyond the beck. In Hawardeshou (Haverstoc) wapentake Ralph Paganellus held two bovates in Rodwella (Rothwell), of which Goslinus was the mesne-tenant. In Cheiretre (Gartree) wapentake Ralph Paganellus held in Strettuna (Sturton Magna) and Randebi (Randby) and in Steintuna (Market Stainton) five carucates and two parts of one bovate, which lands had been held by Ilbert de Lacy, as mesne-tenant of Odo, bishop of Bayeux. In the South Riding in Wraghehow (Wraggoe) wapentake Ralph Paganellus holds between Heintuna (Hainton) and Barcworda (Barkwith) and Strubi (Strubby) and Fuderebi (Fulnetby) two carucates and five bovates, which lands had been held by Ilbert de Lacy of the same bishop. In Ludesc (Louthesk) wapentake Ralph Paganellus holds in Sumercotis (North Somercotes) two bovates and half a bovate, and in Welletuna (Welton) four bovates in litigation, and in Sumercotes (South Somercotes) two parts of one bovate, and in Scitebroc (Skidbrook) half a bovate in litigation. In Hornecastra (Horncastle) wapentake Ralph Paganellus holds in Chirchebi (East Kirby) one carucate and two bovates, of which Alberic was the mesne tenant; also parcel of the tenure of Ilbert de Lacy under the bishop of Bayeux. The time of the decease of this founder of the Holy Trinity of York will

cause he had taken cattle into his hands. Ralph said that the same William holds of him seventeen messuages and four carucates of land in Maundby and Burghton by homage, and a rent of four shillings yearly, and by suit of court from three weeks to three weeks. William said that Alexander Paynell, ancestor of the aforesaid Ralph, whose heir he is, was seized of the whole vill of Maundby, whereof he and his heirs are now the tenants of the same Alexander and of his heirs by the service of half a knight's fief, through the charter of Alexander Paynell.—Com. Linc. fol. 12. ro. 113.

have occurred soon after the date of these entries, in the reign of King Henry the First, and he was probably interred in the church of Christ, which he had so largely endowed.

William Paynell, as well as his brother Jordan Paynell, were benefactors to the church of the Holy Trinity of York, as we learn from this charter of Turstin, archbishop of York, elected on the day of the Assumption of St. Mary, 15 Aug. 1114; but not consecrated until the year 1119, during the council of Rheims, which sat from the 19th to the 30th day of October.

"Turstin, by the grace of God archbishop, to all the parishioners of St. Peter of York, clerks and laity, greeting and God's blessing. We grant and by the present charter confirm whatsoever Ralph Paynell and William and Jordan, his sons, and their vassals and other benefactors have given to the monastery of the Trinity of York, as well in tythes as in other possessions; and by name the church of Leeds with all things belonging to it. We also prohibit, lest any one, either a hermit or any one else, should presume to construct a chapel or any sort of oratory within the territory of the church of the same parish without the permission or spontaneous free will of the prior and chapter of the aforesaid monastery, nor may any one receive the parishioners of the same church or their benefactions. Of this our concession are witnesses William de Beverley, who is archdeacon, Master Walter, Serlo the canon, Auffridus the priest, Letoldus, William de Sainte Barbe, Robert the priest of the hospital."

William de Beverley was archdeacon of York from 1118 to 1130. Upon the same occasion (Hugh) the dean of York and the chapter confirmed this grant of the church of Leeds in similar terms, to whom William de Sainte Barbe succeeded in 1138. Bernard de Sainte Venance was abbot of Marmoutier from 1084 to 1100, dying on Saturday in Easter week, the seventh day of April. His successor was Hulgodius, previously bishop of Soissons, in that same year, who proceeding to England acquired thirty marks of silver, which was annually received from the king and queen of the English, and many more benefactions. During his abbacy of four years the priory of Allerton was founded by Richard Mauleverer and his wife Emma in the diocese of York; and its gift placed upon the altar in the presence of Abbot Hulgodius. Of this first donation the chief witness was Hermarus, then prior of the Holy Trinity of York, which cell was subject to Marmoutier. From the

following charter, preserved by Dom. Martenne, it is evident that this priory was to have been a cell to the priory of the Holy Trinity of York; but made independent by the abbot of Marmoutier.

"Be it known to all sons of Holy Church as well present as to come, that I Richard Mauleverer, for the repose of my soul and that of my wife Emma, and for the redemption of all my kindred, give to God and to the church of the Holy Trinity of York, and to the monks of Marmoutier there serving God, freely and quit my chapel of Allerton, and one carucate of land in the same vill, in pure frankalmoign, to hold by perpetual right, with the tythes and oblations and rents and customs, derived from the lands of my inheritance, which lie in other parishes; and I, making peace with the priests of the same churches, grant to them in my demesne the thraves of corn and other things, lest they should any longer injure my chapel. This endowment, therefore, being made, assenting Robert de Brus, my lord, and his heirs, and at length having returned from Santiago, and being received as a guest at Marmoutier, Hulgodius abbot of that monastery being present, I placed the aforesaid gifts upon the altar of St. Martin. And monks having been placed in Allerton by the precept of the abbot of Marmoutier, I, afterwards, in increase of the endowment gave to them in Grafton seven carucates of land and a half, and my pond, which is in Allerton, and all my tythes. And with these above-rehearsed gifts in alms, Allerton is made a mother church, and is confirmed by Archbishop Thomas of the church of York, reigning King Henry. Of which donation have been witnesses of monks, Acarius, Cavallonius, Raimund, Enold, Walter, Marcher. But of laics, Serlo, Helto Mauleverers, Hugh, Ralph de Barforth (Bucheford), Walter, Wiard, Luved, Acus, and Ketel of Knapton, (Neptuna)."

The mention of Thomas, archbishop of York, consecrated to that see 26th day of June, 1109, and deceased 16th Feb., 1114, fixes the date of this establishment of a priory at Allerton, which has now the appellation of Mauleverer from this family, to this interval. In the original survey recorded in Domesday Book, under Land of the King, we read as follows in regard to the sites of Allerton and Grafton. "Two manors. In Aluretone, Turgrim, Chetel, Turbern, Gunre, Lesing, four carucates subject to Danegeld. Land to three ploughs. In the time of King Edward it was worth thirty shillings. Land

of Gospatric. West Riding. In Cadretone Gospatric has half a carucate of land subject to Danegeld. In Alvertone in like manner half a carucate of land subject to Danegeld. In these, land to one plough. Land of the thanes of the king. West Riding. Manor. In Alvertone Ulchil had one carucate and a half subject to Danegeld. He has there half a plough, and it is worth ten shillings. Land of the king. Two manors. In Graftone, Orm and Suneman three carucates subject to Danegeld. Land to two ploughs. Value twenty shillings. In the same vill of the king there is one carucate subject to Danegeld. Land to half a plough. Value ten shillings." Under the heading "This is the fief of Robert de Brus, which was given after the Book of Winchester was written," we read as follows; "In the West Riding the same Robert holds in Aluretona six carucates of land. In Graftone four carucates and six bovates." The chapel of Allerton, thus converted into a parish church, was dedicated to St. Martin, and served as the conventual church of the priory, to which it was appropriated; but no vicarage was ever endowed, as the cure was undertaken by the monks. Grafton is in the adjoining parish of Marton, which church was subject to a pension of one mark, belonging to the priory of Allerton Mauleverer, due from the tythes so given by its founder.

The second prior of the Holy Trinity at York had name Martin, and was deceased before the 17th day of October, 1122, being that of the decease of Vitalis, first abbot of Savigny in the diocese of Avranches, on which occasion a precatory roll was sent round to the several abbeys and priories under the dominion of King Henry the First. The inscription on this roll, of which the Latin name is titulus, on the part of the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, was as follows; "May the soul of the Lord Abbot Vitalis, and the souls of all faithful departed, rest in peace. Amen. Pray for our brethren as we pray for yours. Pray for the Lord Martin, Ralph Paynell, David, Turstin, Ralph, Solomon, our monks." The prior of the Holy Trinity in succession to Martin was Robert, who was living in 1130.

After the consecration of Turstin *alias* Thurstan to the see of York at the council of Rheims, William Paynell confirmed a grant of land in Drax to the abbey of Selby, in the time of Abbot Durand, elected in 1122, and deceased in 1135, as recorded by this charter in the cartulary of Selby, fol. 155,

under this heading, Charter of William Paynell, of land within the vill of Drax, in the place which is called Nesse, upon the bank of the Air.

"Be it known to all who read or hear these letters, that I, William Paynell, firmly grant and confirm the donation and frankalmoign, which my father Ralph granted and gave to the church of St. German of Selby. Which donation, as I have said above, I firmly grant and place upon the altar of St. German, namely, the land and meadow, the wood and water, which are situate and placed opposite Rawcliffe, on the other side of Air, according to the boundaries, which I myself set out, in the land and in the water, before many witnesses of my vassals, and those of the monks and the Abbot Durand. At which donation the Abbot Durand and many monks were present. These are witnesses of this donation, Warine de St. Patrick, knight, Robert de Lascels."

Drax is situated at the eastern extremity of the wapentake of Barkston Ash, in the neck of land enclosed by the rivers Ouse and Air, and bounded on the west by the parishes of Snaith and Birkin, and on the north by Brayton; but owing to the river Ouse having changed its course, the farm-house of New Hay is on its east bank. It was also the site of a castle, lying south of the parish church, St. Peter; and within its limits William Paynell, by the admonition and advice of Archbishop Turstin, founded on a site north of the village near the Ouse, a priory of black canons of the order of St. Augustine, as we learn from this charter.

"To all sons of Holy Mother Church present and to come, William Paynell, greeting. Every one of you shall know that I have given, granted, and by this my present charter, confirmed to God and St. Nicholas, and to the canons serving God and St. Nicholas in the territory of Drax, the island, which is called Helmholm and Middleholm, where the church of the priory of St. Nicholas of Drax is founded, and the land of Horm and the land of Hadde with those vassals, and from the land of the just-mentioned Horm the entire land, with wood and marsh and meadow, as far as to the further side of the new trench; together with the draught of nets in the Ouse. And the parish church of Drax, and the church of Bingley, and the church of Roxby, and the church of Middle Rasen, and the church of Irnham, and the church of Swinestead, and the church of Saltby, with all their appurtenances and privileges;

and two carucates of land in Snitterton, and thirty bushels of unground corn, or from the mill of Hunslet, and half a carucate of land in Beeston, and one bovate of land in Faucather, and one bovate of land in Barlow, and Aldethcroft together with the meadow, and the water of Air, and one mark of silver from Little Armine, and the mill of Drax with all its soke, and the tythe of all the mills of Leeds, and twelve bovates of land in the territory of Roxby, partly of my own demesne, partly of the lands of the rusticks, with seven tofts in the same vill, and common of pasture in the marsh, and the mill of Roxby with all the soke of the same vill, and all the sites of the mills of the territory of the same vill, and two carucates of land in the territory of Saltby, with five tofts, and all the tythe of my table, of flour and malt, and of the slaughter of my sheep and swine, wheresoever that shall be done, and of all things, which appertain to the kitchen, in pure and perpetual frankalmoign, absolutely free and quit from all secular service and exaction and custom.

"All these things I have given to God and the church of St. Nicholas and to the canons there serving God by the admonition and advice of the Lord Turstin, archbishop of York, with sock and sack, and toll and team and infangenthef, with all liberties and easements and commons, in ways, in paths, in meadows, in pastures, in wood, in plain, in marshes, with all free egresses and ingresses in all places every where, for my redemption, and for the souls of my father and mother and for the souls of my ancestors and successors, as pure frankalmoign, which I and my heirs will warrant and defend against all men from murderfines, from Danegeld, from teamantale, from the service of kings, from the aid of sheriffs and their retainers. These witnesses, Ralph Paynell[1], Peter

[1] This witness Ralph Paynell was probably the son of Fulk Paynell, the founder of the priory of Tykeford, or Tickford priory, near Newport Painell, in Buckinghamshire, and which was also a cell of the abbey of Marmoutier. From the following charter it appears to have also had the name of St. Mary of Newport, and which is taken from the manuscript of Dom. Martenne.

"To all the faithful to whom the present writing shall come, Robert by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln, eternal greeting in the Lord. We wish it to come to the knowledge of you all that we through the prompting of the divine mercy have granted to the monastery of St. Mary of Newport and to the monks of Marmoutier there serving God their churches and chapels, namely, the church of Newport and the chapel of Linford with all their appurtenances, and the chapel of Little Crawley with all its appurtenances, and the chapel and the church of Boddington with all its appurtenances, and the church of Chichely with all its appurtenances, and the chapel and the church of Est-

son of Essolf, Adam and Thomas, his sons, Warine de St. Patrick, William de Stonegrave, William de Hauterive, Simon de Stonegrave, William de Baliol, Hugh del Bois, Robert de Roxby, Robert son of Silvester and Achard le Marescal."

Bingley is a parish in the wapentake of Skyrack, containing an area of 13,180 acres, with a church dedicated to All Saints. At the time of the Domesday survey it was land of Erneis or Ernegis de Burun, and is thus described; "Manor. In Bingheleia Gospatric had four carucates of land subject to Danegeld. There is land to two ploughs. Ernegis de Burunt has it and it is waste. In the time of King Edward it was worth

wood (Astwood) with all its appurtenances, and the church of Bernack with all its appurtenances, which Fulcodius Paynell, and Ralph his son, and Gervase, son of Ralph, bestowed canonically upon them. Moreover the church of Sherrington with all its appurtenances of the gift of William de Sherrington, lord of the fief, and the chapel of Bradwell with all its appurtenances of the gift of Robert de Bradwell and William de Bavis, lords of the fief, and the church of Willien with all its appurtenances of the gift of Philip de Cahaines, lord of the fief, and the chapel of Petresho with all its appurtenances of the gift of Osbert the steward, and Michael his son, lords of the fief, and a moiety of the church of Great Crawley with its appurtenances, the church of Broughton with all its appurtenances of the gift of Robert de Broughton, and William his son, lords of the fief, and all the vassals, lands and woods, which Ralph Mansel and his wife Cecilia and their heirs gave to the aforesaid monastery of Newport in frankalmoign of the gift of the same, and the tythe of Walter Mansell of his demesne of Sulbury, and two parts of the tythes of the demesne of Robert de Casterton of the gift of the same in Casterton, and two parts of the tythe of the demesne of Ralph de Bernack of the gift of the same in Bernack, and the tythe of two roods of land in Lukerton (Loughton) of the gift of Bertram de Lukerton. But we desirous to provide usefully for you and your church, we grant you by episcopal authority that it may be lawful for you to retain these churches in your hands and reserve their benefices to your own uses for the maintenance of your brethren and guests and the poor, vicars being elected there and presented to the bishop of Lincoln, so indeed that vicars and priests, who minister in them may obtain the vicarage ordained in them. Also all these churches and chapels and tythes and vassals and lands by the episcopal authority, with which we are vested, we grant, confirm and ratify by the attestation of our seal to you and your successors in perpetual frankalmoign, saving episcopal rights and the dignity of the church of Lincoln, that they may honourably hold what is just named without the impeachment of any one in the peace of God and his holy Church. But we prohibit every one from inflicting or doing to them in any manner contumely or annoyance in respect of their property. Which if it shall happen to be done, we will inflict on our behalf the same sentence as the Lord Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the apostolic see, inflicts by his letters on the dispoilers of his church. Fare ye well."

Next in the same manuscript is a charter of Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, confirming to the priory of St. Mary of Newport several of the donations of his predecessor, and also the church of Tyrringham with its appurtenances.

Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the apostolic see, was consecrated May 27, 1162, and Robert, bishop of Lincoln, was deceased, Jan. 26, 1168.

four pounds. Wood pasturable two leagues long and one broad. The whole manor four leagues long and two broad. Within this boundary is contained this soke: Beldune (Baildon) two carucates. Cotingelei (Cottingley) two carucates. Helguic (Helwick) one carucate. Muceltuoit (Micklethwaite) one carucate. Mardelei (Marley) one carucate. Hateltun (Harden) one carucate. Together subject to Danegeld eight carucates. There is land to four ploughs. They are all waste." According to the history of the abbey of Selby, Ernisius de Burun was sheriff of Yorkshire in the time of Benedict the first abbot, and had a son named Hugh, a minor, subject to epilepsy, who was cured of this disease through the merits of St. German, patron of that abbey. It is nevertheless probable that it was by reason of the extinction of his issue, that this manor reverted to the crown, as an escheat, and was by King Henry the First given to William Paynell. The two carucates of land in Snitterton are apparently identical with a township in Bingley, which by reason of this donation acquired the name of Priestthorpe, and where canons from Drax occasionally resided. It is thus mentioned in Domesday as land of Ilbert de Lacy. "Four manors. In Snitertun, Nivelin, Maban, Morfare, Uctred had eight carucates of land subject to Danegeld, and six ploughs may be there. Now Ilbert has it and it is waste. In the time of King Edward it was worth sixty shillings. Two acres of meadow are there." In the enumeration of the number of carucates in Skyrack wapentake the King is put down as having four carucates in Morton, a township in Bingley; and next is the entry of the eight carucates in Snitterton, belonging to Ilbert de Lacy. Fawcather upon Rumblesmoor is also a hamlet in the township and parish of Bingley. The churches of Roxby and Irnham in Lincolnshire have been mentioned above as having been given to the priory of the Holy Trinity. In the territory of Middle Rasen there were two parishes, with churches respectively dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul and to St. Peter; and owing to the former having been given by this charter to the priory of Drax, one parish has the name of Middle Rasen Drax, and the latter to the abbey of Tupholme by Gilbert de Nevill, this other parish has the name of Middle Rasen Tupholme. They are situate in the deanery of Walshcroft, archdeaconry of Lincoln. The church of Swinestead in the deanery of Beltisloe, dedicated to St. Mary, was appropriated to the priory

of Drax, and made subject to a pension of twenty shillings. In 1291 the church of Roxby was in medieties, and the portion of one rector was taxed at £8.; and that of the other rector at the same, the priories of the Holy Trinity of York and of Drax being then patrons of these advowsons. Subsequently, Robert, prior, and the convent of the Holy Trinity of York, gave their mediety to the prior and convent of Drax, who thus had the advowson entire. The church of Saltby, dedicated to St. Peter, is in the same diocese, archdeaconry of Leicester, and deanery of Framland. This manor was of the land of Roger de Bully, and is thus described in Domesday Book.

"Ledecestrescire. Land of Roger de Busli. In Franlunda Wapentac. Roger himself holds Saltebi (Saltby). Two hides and three carucates of land are there. In the time of King Edward there were twenty-eight carucates there. In the demesne there are six ploughs, and sixteen serfs and twenty-four villains and twenty-three sokemen with fourteen boors have twenty ploughs. There two mills of eight shillings and forty acres of meadow. It was worth nine pounds. Now ten pounds. Morcar held it."

Roger de Bully sold to Rainer, abbot of the Holy Trinity at Rouen, the tythe of Bully-en-Brai of his inheritance; and in 1088 founded the priory of St. Mary at Blythe in Nottinghamshire, as a cell to that monastery, endowing it in Saltby and in Garthorp and in Bescoby with two parts of the tythe of the demesne in lands, and in essarts, and in all small tythes. Owing to the treason of his grandson, William, Count of Eu, in the time of William Rufus, his fief escheated to the crown, and Saltby with Garthorp and Bescoby will have been given by King Henry the First to Ralph or William Paynell. In the Testa de Nevill, under Framelund, are these entries; "Of Sauteby twenty-one carucates and six bovates. Of Berscaldeby two carucates. Of Garthorp seven carucates and seven bovates." Hunslet and Beeston are chapelries in the parish of Leeds. Barlow is a chapelry in the parish of Brayton, adjacent to Drax.

On the Great Roll of the Exchequer, containing the payments made to the crown during the thirty-first regnal year of King Henry the First, (5 Aug. 1130. 4 Aug. 1131,) in Yorkshire is this entry; "William Paenell renders accompt of forty marks of silver of the same pleas. In the treasury

twenty marks of silver. And in remission by the King's brief to the same William ten marks of silver. And he owes ten marks of silver." The pleas referred to were those presided over by Geoffrey de Clinton and his associates at Blythe, or Tickhill, which castle was now a royal residence. In the same year William, son of Rannulph, the *vicomte* of the Bessin, renders accompt of twenty marks of silver of the same pleas, and by King Stephen he was made earl of Cambridge, as we learn from the following extract from a charter of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, in 1139 founding the nunnery of Haverholm, in the parish of Ruskington, of the order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham. "But this donation, which we have made to the aforesaid nuns, we have confirmed and do confirm by the assent and testimony of the chapter of our Holy Mother Church of Lincoln, and by the testimony of Rannulph, earl of Chester, and of William, earl of Cambridge, his brother, and by the testimony of my own seal." Rannulph, *vicomte* of the Bessin, by his wife Matildis, daughter of Richard, *vicomte* of the Avranchin, and sister of Hugh, earl of Chester, had three sons, Rannulph, who succeeded to his uncle as earl of Chester, William and Hugh. Both these elder brothers had the surname of Mischinus (Meschin), a word descriptive of a young man; and in Lincolnshire the latter had acquired an extensive barony early in the reign of Henry the First, of which Irby in the wapentake of Bradley was the chief manor. By his marriage with Cecilia, only daughter of Robert de Rumilly, he became lord of the extensive fief composing the honour of Skipton. Their issue were three daughters, of whom Avicia de Rumilly, who had after the decease of her parents the manor of Harewood in Yorkshire and Irby in Lincolnshire, the second daughter, was the wife of William Paynell. The only fruit of their union was a daughter named Alice, who was first the wife of Richard de Courcy, a younger brother of Robert de Courcy, baron of Courcy in Normandy. William Paynell apparently did not survive the accession of King Stephen, and will therefore have died in the lifetime of his father-in-law, as the husband of his daughter was in the possession of his barony in her right prior to the year 1138, the third year of his reign. The priory of his foundation near his castle of Drax was doubtless the place of interment of this illustrious baron.

Richard de Courcy is mentioned by the historian, Richard

of Hexham, in his narrative of the battle of the Standard, fought near North Allerton on the 24th day of August, 1138, in these terms. Having first stated that Archbishop Turstin of York had encouraged the English to engage with the Scots, he adds, "these were the chiefs of the English, who fought against the Scots in the battle of the Standard. Earl William de Aumale, Walter de Gaunt, Robert de Brus, Roger de Mowbray, Walter Espec, William de Percy, Bernard de Baliol, Richard de Courcy, William Fossard, Robert de Stuteville, Ilbert de Lacy. This same, and his father Robert de Lacy, King Henry banished from the kingdom of England. After the decease of the King, a certain knight of the honour of Pontefract killed William Maltravers, who of the gift of the King had the rule of that honour; and this Ilbert, is now possessed this honour, by right of patrimony. And William Peverel was present with his forces from Nottinghamshire and Robert de Ferrers from Derbyshire, and Geoffrey Halselin. Who all taking their course towards Allerton erected in a certain field of the fief of St. Cuthbert a standard, that is, the mast of a ship, suspending to it a banner of St. Peter and St. John of Beverly and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and placing above it the body of the Lord, that He might be their standard-bearer and leader of the battle." The invading army was routed with great slaughter, eleven thousand men having fallen in the action, and the rest, together with King David and Henry his son, put to flight. Also by reason of the fugitives throwing away their knapsacks, the field acquired the name of Baggage-moor, in ridicule of this ignominious defeat.

During the time that Richard de Courcy held the barony of his wife, Avicia de Romilly, her mother, contracted a second marriage with Robert de Courcy, the descendant of the junior branch of the family, lords of the honour of Stoke in Somersetshire, which has obtained from its possessors the affix of Courcy, and of Newnham Courtnay in Oxfordshire, held by Richard de Courcy at the time of the survey of England by William the Conqueror, grandfather of Richard and Robert. The issue of this marriage, which had been brought about through the previous alliance of her daughter, was a son, William de Courcy, one of the stewards of King Henry the Second, and heir to his mother's barony, derived from William Meschin, earl of Cambridge.

The following charters are evidence of this tenure of the barony of Paynell by Richard de Courcy.

"Richard de Courcy to all his friends and vassals French and English, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and by my present charter confirmed to God and St. Nicholas of Drax and to the canons there serving God whatsoever William Paynell gave to them in pure and perpetual frankalmoign, as well in churches as in lands and in all other possessions, as the charters of the same testify. Witness, Stephen de Meinhil and many others."

Stephen de Meisnill was lord of Whorlton in Cleaveland, and the ancestor of an illustrious line. The next charter refers to the property in Sturton Magna, which Ralph Paynell has been shewn to have possessed in Gartree wapentake in Lincolnshire.

"Richard de Courcy and Alice his spouse to Alexander bishop of Lincoln and to the entire chapter of St. Mary of Lincoln, greeting. Know ye that William de Sturton son of Grinchel granted and gave to the church of St. Mary of Kirkstead and to the monks there serving God in our presence seventy acres of his own inheritance, which he holds of us in Sturton, namely that land which is beyond the quicksand; and if any portion shall be wanting there, it shall be compleated to them out of land on the west side of Allof-gate, and the same road, which is too narrow, he will enlarge out of his own land, in fief and perpetual frankalmoign; and besides this, common of pasture in his land. Which concession and donation we, desiring to be made partakers of the benefices of so great a congregation, the same William humbly beseeching, granting and giving for the redemption of our souls, ourselves confirm the donation, because it is of our own inheritance. Witnesses, Maci de Courcy, Hugh Maleth, Symon de Sturton, Adam son of Alan son of Glaius."

The witnesses to the charter of William son of Grinchel were John, abbot of Bardney, Maci de Courcy, and Hugh Maleth; hence as John de Gaunt was consecrated and confirmed abbot of the monastery of Bardney in 1140, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, was deceased 20th July, 1147, the date of this charter is fixed to the intervening period of time.

The last charter relates to an enfeofment of the vill of Bescoby in the parish of Saltby in favour of one of his vassals, and is in the register of the priory of Tutbury in Staffordshire, a cell to the abbey of St. Pierre-sur-Dive in Normandy, fol.

85 b, and entitled Charter of Richard de Courcy for three parts of the vill of Bescoby.

"Richard de Courcy to all his vassals French and English and to all his friends, greeting. Let those present and to come know that I Richard de Courcy by the petition and concession of Alice, my wife, have given to Jordan de Fourches three parts of the vill of Bescoby in fief and inheritance, and to his heirs to hold of me and my heirs freely and quit by the service of the fief of one knight. But for this donation and concession the aforesaid Jordan gave to me ten marks and one horse valued seven marks by the hand of Helyas de Saltby, who is a parcener of the same fief. And the same Jordan for this concession gave to Alice, my wife, ten marks and one golden ring by the hand of Robert of the Cross of Bingham. But that this our donation may remain firm and stable we have affixed our seals to this present writing."

Fourches is a *commune* in the *canton* of Coulibœuf, *arrondissement* of Falaise, *departement* of Calvados in the vicinity of the castle and bourg of Courcy, and hence both this vassal, and Matthew, *alias* Maci de Courcy, will have come into England in the retinue of Richard de Courcy. The union between this baron and Alice Paynell was but of short duration; and it is certain that prior to the decease of Eustace, eldest son of King Stephen, on the 10th day of August, 1152, his widow was the wife of a second husband, Robert de Gaunt, brother of Gilbert de Gaunt, earl of Lincoln, as evidenced by this charter proving him to have been then in possession of the barony of Paynell in her right.

"To his reverend lords the abbot of Fountains and the abbot of Vaudey and to all the sons of Holy Church, Robert de Gaunt, greeting in the Lord. Be it known to you all that William Paynell gave the church of Swinestead to God and St. Nicholas of Drax and to the canons there serving God for the redemption of his own soul and those of his parents, and confirmed it by his charter many years ago, before I possessed the territory with the daughter of William Paynell. And as this act was unknown to me, at the request of Eustace, son of King Stephen, I granted the aforesaid church to Guy, a clerk, which I could give neither to him nor to any one else, whereof I am greatly penitent that I acted so rashly. Wherefore, down on my bended knees, I supplicate your holinesses, that you be careful to afford advice and assistance to the aforesaid

canons lest they be any longer unjustly deprived of the church above written through your default. Fare ye well[k]."

By William, count of Aumale, a convent of monks from Fountains had been seated in the vicinity of his castle of Bitham in Lincolnshire; but being found to be an inconvenient dwelling-place, Gilbert de Gaunt, earl of Lincoln, at the request of Pope Eugenius III., of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, granted to the abbot Warine and his brethren another site, called Bracthuait, in the parish of Edenham of his fief, in the same county, to which they were translated on the 23rd day of May, 1147, the fifteenth year after the foundation of the abbey of Fountains. Thereupon the new name of the Valley of God was adopted for this abbey, otherwise Vaudey, which from that time continued to be of the patronage of the family of Gaunt.

The following charter proves that Avicia de Rumilly was possessed of Saltby in right of her dower, and of which the original is in the College of Arms.

"To Robert by the grace of God, bishop of Lincoln, and to Hugh, archdeacon of Leicester, and to all the sons of Holy Church as well present as to come Avicia de Romeilli, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and given to God and to the church of St. Nicholas of Drax and to the canons of the same place and their successors there serving God the plenary advowson of the church of Saltby during the life of

[k] This Guy, surnamed Rufus, was dean of Waltham from 1167 to 1177, and subsequent to his resignation of this office, Pope Alexander the Third issued this bull:

"Alexander Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved sons the prior and convent of Drax, greeting and apostolical benediction. We have understood from the letters of our beloved sons the abbots of Fountains and of Vaudey that when they at our command received to an audience the cause, which was moved between you and Guy, late dean of Waltham, in regard of the church of Swinstead, and appeal being taken away, to terminate it by a due conclusion, the same judges, having heard your reasons and allegations and those of the attornies of the aforesaid Guy, having his letters of ratification, because it was evident to them that the above written church had been granted to you by the lord of the fief, the authority of the diocesan bishop intervening, they have adjudged it to you, and inducted you into corporal possession. Wherefore in as much as those things, which are established by concord or judgment especially at our command, ought to remain firm and unshaken, and, lest by the rashness of any one they should chance to be altered, ought to be fortified by apostolical strength, we, having this sentence ratified, confirm it, as it was reasonably decided by apostolical authority, ordaining that no man shall in any case be allowed to infringe this page of our confirmation or act contrary to it in any wise. But if any one shall presume to attempt this, he shall know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God and the blessed Peter and Paul his apostles. Given," &c.

Achard, parson of the same church; and after his decease, I grant to them to possess in free and perpetual frankalmoign the aforesaid church with all things belonging to it. I have made this concession for the soul of William Paynell, my husband, and for my own soul, and for the souls of all my predecessors, by the assent of the Lord Robert de Gaunt and of Alice, my daughter, wife of the same Robert. Wherefore I supplicate your lordship to the end that you may have this donation ratified, and that you may corroborate it by your authority for the love of God. Of this donation and concession Robert de Gaunt himself is witness and Alice Paynell, his wife, and Alice, sister of Robert de Gaunt, and Ralph de Chaam, Jordan, Chaplain, William, Clerk, William de London, William, Chaplain, William de Laci, Adam Fitz Peter, Adam de Munbugun, Thomas Fitz Peter, Richard Butler, William Daneis, Robert Goldsmith, Stephen Harper, Walter Fitz Jordan, Achard le Marechal, Stephen, Clerk, Maurice, Clerk, Robert de Juvenni, Herbert de Percy."

Robert, bishop of Lincoln, was consecrated on Sunday 21st of September, 1147, 12th Stephen, and was deceased on Friday 26th Jan., 1168, and Hugh was archdeacon of Leicester in 1151 and had a successor before 1158; so that this and the following charters will have been compiled in the interval.

"Robert de Gaunt to all the sons of Holy Mother Church as well present as to come, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and given to God and the church of St. Nicholas of Drax and to the canons there serving God for ever the advowson of the church of Saltby, in the lifetime of Achard parson of the same church; and after his decease I grant it to them in free and perpetual frankalmoign with all its appurtenances, and all the tythe of my house in all gain and in all malt and in the slaughter of swine, wheresoever it shall be effected, as William Paynell testifies to have given to them by his charter in perpetual frankalmoign. Moreover know ye that I have added to the aforesaid canons in perpetual frankalmoign for the redemption of me and of my wife and of my predecessors, all the tythe of my house in the purchase of corn and malt and bread and beer and cheese and butter and in all things which belong to the kitchen. The witnesses of this donation are Jordan, Chaplain of Drax, William de Baliol, William de Plaiz, Acard le Marechal, Thomas Fitz

Peter, William Clerk, Roger the Provost, Hugh the Chamberlain, Richard de Fougeres, Alan the Forester, Alured the Huntsman, Godard, Henry de Hic."

"Alice Paynell to all the sons of Holy Mother Church as well present as to come, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and given to God and St. Nicholas of Drax and the canons there serving God, the church of Saltby in the lifetime of Acard, parson of the same church, and after his decease I grant to them the aforesaid church with all its appurtenances in free and perpetual frankalmoign. And I have granted this for the soul of William Paynell, my father, for my own soul, and for the souls of all my predecessors. Of this concession and donation are witnesses, Jordan, chaplain of Drax," &c.

"To the bishop of Lincoln and to the whole chapter of St. Mary of Lincoln Robert de Gaunt, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and by the apposition of my seal confirmed to God and to the church of St. Nicholas of Drax, and to the canons there serving God one carucate of land, which William Paynell had given them, and three tofts in Saltby. Moreover know ye that I have granted and given to them in perpetual frankalmoign one carucate of land of my own demesne in the aforesaid manor and two tofts next the three, which they have, absolutely quit and free from all secular service for the redemption of my own soul and that of my wife and for the redemption of those of my predecessors. Of this concession and donation are witnesses Walter de Scoteney," &c.

This witness was also a benefactor to the priory of Drax, as we learn from this charter. "The chapter of the church of St. Mary of Lincoln to all sons of Holy Mother Church, greeting. What has been done in our presence and canonically, lest it be in any degree altered by the lapse of time, we have considered our duty and canonical to confirm by the testimony of our letters. Therefore all of you shall know that Walter de Scotenni, in our presence for the redemption of his soul and those of his father and mother and of all his ancestors, gave and granted and by his charter ratified a donation to God and St. Nicholas of Drax, and to the canons of the same place of six bovates of the land of the rusticks in Roxby, which were formerly subjected to Utware, by the assent of Robert de Gaunt, and of Alice his wife, and of his demesne one culture in North-pitesers and two acres near their culture of Haliwell,

and all the culture which lies between his own house and Byrepit, in pure and perpetual frankalmoign quit and free from Danegeld, and from all aid of sheriffs and their retainers and from all Utware, as well as from all exaction and secular service."

The following charters prove the ratification of the grants made to the priory of Drax, in the diocese of Lincoln, by Bishop Robert de Cheney, and the sainted Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

"The chapter of the church of St. Mary of Lincoln to all sons of Holy Mother Church, greeting. Know ye, beloved, that the venerable father our lord, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, by his authority has confirmed and granted to our beloved brethren the canons regulars of Drax, whatsoever William Paynell and Richard de Courcy and Robert de Gaunt and Walter de Scoteni have given to them and confirmed by their charters in pure and perpetual frankalmoign in the diocese of Lincoln, as well in churches as in lands and in all other possessions, as their charters testify. This we have attested by our seal."

"Thomas, by the grace of God humble minister of the church of Canterbury, to all the faithful of Holy Mother Church, greeting. It is just and reasonable that what has been deservedly established by our venerable brother Robert, bishop of Lincoln, should be confirmed by the bulwark of our authority. Therefore for this reason we confirm and by the attestation of our seal ratify to the canons regulars of Drax, whom the fame of their religion much commends to us, the church of Saltby with the two chapels of Bescoby and of Garthorp, and the church of Swinstead with all appurtenances canonically obtained, and two carucates of land in Saltby, and the land of Roxby reasonably acquired, as the charters of the donors and those of the bishop of Lincoln and the chapter of Lincoln testify."

The following charters of Robert de Gaunt to the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, and to the priory of Drax, may also be ascribed to the reign of King Stephen.

"To the bishop of Lincoln and chapter of Blessed Mary of Lincoln and to all the faithful of Holy Church Robert de Gaunt, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and given by the counsel and assent of Alice Paynell my wife to God and to the church of the Holy Trinity of York and to the monks

of Marmoutier for ever serving God in the same church all the church of Rasen with all its appurtenances in free and perpetual frankalmoign, so that they may place a vicar in the aforesaid church, whom they shall select. Witnesses of this act are Robert, bishop of Lincoln, Robert de Burneham, Master Mauger, Gillebert Fitz Fulk, Robert de Abnei, Richard de Scrop, and many others."

Robert de Cheney, bishop of Lincoln, confirmed the donation of the church of Great Rasen so made by Robert de Gaunt to Philip, prior, and the convent of the Holy Trinity of York. In 1291 the priory of the Holy Trinity of York had a pension out of the church of West Rasen, by which name the parish is now known, of £6. 13s. 4d.; which was then a rectory of the value of £20. besides this pension, and hence we may infer that this house had the advowson.

"To all sons of Holy Mother Church as well present as to come, Robert de Gaunt, greeting. The whole of you shall know that I have granted and by this present charter confirmed to God and the church of St. Nicholas of Drax and to the canons there serving God whatsoever William Paynell and Avicia, his wife, had given to them in pure and perpetual frankalmoign, namely in churches, in lands, tythes, fisheries, store-ponds, mills, meadows, pastures, woods, plains and in all other things. But I have granted and given all these things to the same canons with sok and sak and tol and theam and infangenthef and with all other liberties and acquittances, with which I ever better and more freely have held them. But this aforesaid frankalmoign I and my heirs will warrant to the aforesaid canons against all men. These witnesses," &c.

The following letter of Robert de Gaunt is copied in the Cartulary of the abbey of Rufford, com. Notts, founded by his brother Gilbert, earl of Lincoln.

"Robert de Gaunt to the justiciaries of the lord the king, to the sheriff and all ministers of the king of Nottinghamshire, greeting. Know ye that I being present saw and heard that Earl Gilbert, my brother, recovered in his court his whole demesne of Eykering with all its appurtenances in woods and grass free from purpresture for himself, and gave the whole of the aforesaid demesne to the abbey of Rufford in the same court in honour of Blessed Mary in perpetual frankalmoign. Of this donation I am witness, and am ready to do every where

in regard thereof what a lawful witness ought to do, and many others, who had been with me. Fare ye well."

In 1185 inquisition was made of the givers of lands and of the assised rents through England by Geoffrey Fitz Stephen, when he received the bailiwick of England belonging to the Templars, in which is this memorandum; "Of the donation of Robert de Gaunt the mill of Saltby, which Roger de Saltby holds for fourteen shillings." From a charter of Richard I. we learn that in the territory of Saltby, of the gift of Avicia de Rumilly, and of the confirmation of Robert de Gaunt, and Alice Paynell, his wife, the abbey of Vaudey had one carucate of land with meadow and pasture to five hundred sheep and a mill. Of the gift of Simon de Rocheford, and Emma his wife, one carucate of land with its appurtenances in the same territory. Of the gift of Helias de Saltby, one carucate of land and one acre with its appurtenances. Of the gift of Oger, his son, one bovate of land, and one acre and one selion and one mill with its appurtenances. In the territory of Irnham the same abbey had eighty acres of land less half an acre, with pasture to three hundred sheep, and the open wood which is called Ostiche, with the land upon which it is situate, which Robert de Gaunt and Alice Paynell, his wife, had given them; and four acres in the territory of Bulby, which Robert de Langton gave to them; and in the territory of Swinestead, what Henry de Stonegrave gave to them in land, meadow and pasture, and all appurtenances; and one bovate of land, which Gozelinus, his vassal, had given to them in the same territory with its appurtenances.

In 1154 King Stephen besieged many castles and won them and cast down many of them, among which the castle of Drax was almost the last, and soon after died and was buried in the abbey of Feversham. This account is in Roger of Howden; and in like manner Walter of Coventry mentions King Stephen as having destroyed the castle of Drax near York. William of Neuborough is yet more explicit, who writes as follows; "but King Stephen coming into the province of York found a certain Philip de Colevill, who it was supposed had burnt his fortress at Drax or had delivered it up to be burnt, in rebellion, relying, to wit, on the strength of the same fortress and on the mighty prowess of his comrades in arms and on a copious supply of food and arms. Nevertheless the king having assembled an army from the nearest pro-

vinces, laid siege to the fortress, though almost inaccessible from the intervening rivers, forests and marshes, and having bravely stormed it, in a short time won it." Philip de Coleville was the mesne-tenant of Robert de Gaunt, and this conduct of the vassal was avenged upon his lord by the forfeiture of the demesne of Drax; and not only it, but also the manors of Castlethorpe, Burton-on-Stather, and West-Rasen, in Lincolnshire, Garthorp in Leicestershire, and Bingham in Nottinghamshire were belonging to Fulk Paynell, a descendant of one branch of this family in Normandy, and second son of William Paynell, lord of Moutiers-Hubert and Hambie in that province, in the following reign. The whole barony of William Paynell had in fact been in the hands of the crown by reason of this rebellion at the time of the accession of Henry the Second to the throne of England, as we learn from this important charter of Robert de Gaunt in favour of the abbey of Kirkstall.

"Be it known to all the sons of Holy Mother Church as well present as to come that I Robert de Gaunt, for the redemption of my soul and of that of my wife Alice Paynell and of those of my heirs and all my kindred, grant and by this my charter confirm in perpetual frankalmoign to God and St. Mary and to the monks of Kirkstall all the land, which they hold of the barony of William Paynell, which I hold of the donation of the Lord King Henry, namely two carucates of land in Keighley (Kikeleia) with all their appurtenances and liberties and commonings in wood and in plain, in meadows and pastures, in moors and marshes, in broken up grounds and essarts, in waters and mills, in ways and paths in the vill and without the vill, and in all places, which belong to the same land without retention. This land with all its appurtenances and liberties I grant to them and by this my charter confirm to hold in perpetual frankalmoign free and quit from all terrene services and secular exactions and suits and claims and summonses and works and from all services, which belong to me or to my heirs, saving free foreign service, as much as is appurtenant to the same land. Witnesses many."

Keighley is a parish adjacent to Bingley, and was of the ancient demesne of the crown at the general survey. After its acquisition by William Paynell it was subinfeuded to Peter, son of Essolf, whose son, Adam Fitz Peter of Birkin, gave to the nuns, canons, and brothers serving God and St. Mary at

Haverholm, one carucate of land in the vill of Horsford, and whatsoever he had in the town of Keighley, namely, two carucates of land with all their appurtenances, and mills, and other necessaries in wood and plain, waters, meadows, and pastures; which two carucates were held of the barony of William Paynell by the service of an eighth part of one knight's fief. The donor declares to have given this to the aforesaid convent of Haverholm, with his daughter Juliana and his niece Maud, for the redemption of all his kindred as well living as deceased. By Gilbert, first founder of the order of Sempringham and of the aforesaid convent of Haverholm, the land so given was transferred to the abbey of Kirkstall, and the contract between the parties confirmed by the donor, with this reservation, that if it shall happen that the aforesaid Adam or his heirs shall deliver to the house of Haverholm the church of Birkin, and that part of the church of Brayton, which belongs to his fee, the monks shall quit the aforesaid tenures free and peaceable to the house of Haverholm without any claim.

In the seventh year of Henry the Second, 1161, Robert de Gaunt rendered accompt in Yorkshire of thirty marks, under the heading 'New pleas and new conventions,' probably the fine due for the restitution of the barony of his wife; and in the thirteenth year a sum of ten pounds, owing by him to the crown, was remitted by the king's brief. In the following year, 1168, of the aid to marry the king's daughter, on each fief one mark, he rendered accompt of £11. 6s. 8d.; which sum, save £3. due from fiefs of the new feoffment, he had delivered into the treasury. Of the same date is this charter of Robert de Gaunt.

"Be it known that this is the feoffment of Robert de Gaunt. Twelve knight's fiefs and a half. Four knights and a half of the fief of Matthew de Courcy. Robert de Rudeston holds the fief of one knight. William de Vescy the fief of one knight. Robert de Cambort the fief of half a knight. Walter son of Asketill half a fief of a knight. Robert de Stainegrave half a knight. Alan de Capeton half a knight. Avicia, mother of William de Courcy, holds the fiefs of two knights. And of my own demesne I myself Robert de Gaunt hold two knights and a half of the old feofment. And I have these knights holding of me of the new feofment. William de Colevill the fief of one knight. Robert de Langton half a fief of a knight. William de Vescy half a knight. William de

Bailloill the fourth part of a knight. Hugh de Gant the fourth part of one knight. Hugh de Grainesbi holds of me the fief of one knight with the aforesaid other knights. And this barony was of the acquisition of Ralph Paynell."

In the charter of Henry de Lacy of the same date, Robert de Gaunt is named among those knights, whom he and his ancestors had enfeoffed and owed service with their lord paramount, as tenant of one knight's fief and a half, in which the great manor of Leeds and that of Sturton will have been comprised. Of the same date is the charter of William de Courcy the king's steward, the son of Avicia de Romilly, and eventually her heir, who was it seems already in possession of the barony of William Meschin, as on behalf of his mother he specifies the knights' fiefs held of her. Robert de Courcy, the second husband of Avicia de Rumilly, was the younger brother of William de Courcy, and eventually his successor in the ancient inheritance of the family in Oxfordshire, of which Newnham was the chief seat. On the roll of the exchequer of the 31st year of Henry the First for Sussex, in the return made of those exempted by the king's brief from Danegeld, Robert de Courcy had remission of 18s., thus evincing that he was tenant in that county of two knights' fiefs. Subsequent evidence identifies them with the manors of North and South Stoke in the rape of Arundel and hundred of Avisford, held of the honour of Arundel, and thus described in the charter of the earl of Arundel in 1168 as Stokes, two knights. Of the inheritance of his mother Emma, daughter and heiress of William de Falaise, he had an extensive fief in the hundred of Cannington, in the county of Somerset, of which another manor of the name of Stoke was the chief seat, and the site of a castle, known in later times by the affix of Courcy from its having been the residence of this family. This Robert de Courcy about the year 1140, founded in his manor of Cannington a priory of Benedictine nuns, and granted a certain portion of his land there and in other places for its endowment, and also the church of St. Mary of the same vill. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and consisted of a prioress and twelve nuns at the Dissolution. In 1157 Robert de Courcy and Eustace Fitz-John were slain in the battle of Coleshill in Wales, owing to the cowardice of Henry de Essex, the bearer of the royal standard, who had cast it on the ground, and hence caused it to be believed that the king was

amongst those who had fallen. After his decease Avicia de Rumilly resided at the manor of Harewood in Yorkshire, which she had inherited from her mother, Cecilia de Rumilly; and in the charter of Roger du Pont l'Eveque, archbishop of York, for the endowment of the chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, commonly called St. Sepulchre's chapel, opening into the north aisle of the cathedral, near his palace, which he had founded before the year 1161, is a recital of her gift of the church of Harewood to this new college. Nevertheless this church so given continued to be a rectory, out of which certain payments were ordained to be made to the chapel of the Holy Angels[1]. From the following charter we further learn that the lady Avicia de Rumilly had a chapel in her mansion of Harewood.

"William de Courcy, steward of the king of England, to all the sons of Holy Mother Church, health. Know ye that I have granted and by this present charter confirmed that donation, which my mother, Avicia de Rumilly, gave to the nuns of Arthington, namely, the half part of the land of Helthwait free and quit in pure and perpetual frankalmoign, and in time of harvest to have the fattening of forty swine of their own free of charge in her wood of Swindon, and common pasture to their own animals in the aforesaid wood; upon the condition nevertheless that one nun, whom the lady Avicia shall place there, shall be always resident in the convent of Arthington. After the decease of my mother, I, her son and heir, and my heirs shall have for ever the same privilege in respect of the convent of Arthington. Of this donation these are witnesses, William, parson of Harewood, and William, chaplain of the mansion of the lady Avicia, and Gocelinus,

[1] On the Rolls of the Curia Regis of the second year of King John in Easter term is this entry. "Yorkshire. An assise came to make recognition what patron in time of peace presented the last parson, who is deceased to the church of Harewood, which is vacant, as is said, the advowson of which Warine Fitz-gerold claims against the canons and chaplains of the St. Mary and St. Sepulchre of York. The jurors say that William de Courcy brother of Alice, wife of Warine, who is his heir, presented the last parson, namely, William de Sainte-Mere Eglise, who is a bishop. Judgment that Warine have his presentation." Notwithstanding this trial there was another assise concerning the advowson of the church of Harewood between the same parties in Hillary term 10th of John, when the canons came and said that Avicia de Rumilly had given that church to the chapel of Blessed Mary of St. Michael and of All Angels for the support of the clerks, and thereof made proffer of the charter of the same Avicia, which testifies the same and the confirmation of Archbishop Roger.

Robert de Weeton, Hugh Rufus, Roger de Fawcather, Andrew Tirel."

During the episcopacy of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, deceased 26 Jan. 1168, the following charter of Robert de Gaunt and Alice his wife, was made in favour of the abbey of Bardney in contravention to the grants of her father and grandfather.

"To their venerable Lord Robert by the grace of God, bishop of Lincoln, Robert de Gaunt and Alice his wife, greeting. Be it known to our beloved that we have given to God and St. Oswald of Bardney and to the monks there serving God the church of Irnham for our souls and those of our predecessors in perpetual frankalmoign. Whereof we humbly supplicate your holiness that you may have this donation for ratified and may confirm it by your authority. Fare ye well. These witnesses Hugh de Gaunt, Geoffrey Luveth."

Prior to the 28th year of the reign of Henry the Second, 1182, Alice Paynell, the first wife of Robert de Gaunt, was deceased, leaving issue an only daughter, Avicia, whose wardship and marriage, when of age, was obtained by Robert son of Robert Fitz-Harding, and next brother of Maurice de Berkeley, ancestor of the illustrious family of that surname. On the Pipe Rolls of that and of the two following years, he appears as an accountant in Gloucestershire of fifty marks of silver and of a gold cup of the value of other forty marks, his fine to the king for this concession in his favour. Their union took place, but during her life he had no benefit of her inheritance, which continued with Robert de Gaunt, as tenant by the curtesy of England, and who survived his daughter. At this time Robert son of Robert Fitz-Harding was himself a widower, and father of an only daughter Eva, the offspring of his first marriage with Hawisia, daughter and heiress of Robert de Gurnay, already deceased in 1168, with whom he acquired nine knights' fiefs held of the honour of William, earl of Gloucester, and of which he was tenant by the curtesy of England. Of the lands belonging to his father, the manors of Beverstone, King's Weston, Northwick and Redwick in the parish of Henbury, Over in the parish of Almondbury, and Elburton and Purton in the parish of Lidney, in Gloucestershire[m], and those of Were and Pawlett in Somersetshire, had

[m] Maurice de Berkeley ratified to his brother Robert those grants which his father had made to him of the manors of Beverstone and King's Weston.

been settled upon him and the heirs of his body. From an occasional residence at Were he was sometimes described by the local surname of De Were. Of his wife's inheritance, he held the manors of Barrow and Inglishcombe, which were within the limits of the forests belonging to the earldom of Gloucester, and during the time of this honour being in the hands of Prince John, count of Mortain, he obtained from him a licence to have two parks at the places above named, with deer-leaps into them.

After the decease of Alice, his first wife, Robert de Gaunt contracted a second marriage with Gunnora, one of the sisters and co-heiresses of Ralph d'Aubigné, by whom he had issue four sons, as we learn from this charter, made in her widowhood.

"Gunnora de Gaunt to her friends and vassals, greeting. Know ye that I have given and granted to Stephen de Gaunt, my son, all the land, which belongs to me, of the inheritance which had been that of Ralph de Aubené, my brother, namely, the fourth part of a fief of fifteen knights in Binbrook and Awburn, to have and to hold to him and his heirs in fief, &c. These witnesses, Gilbert de Gaunt, my son, Geoffery and Reginald, his brothers, Walter de Braitoft, Walter de St. Lo, Elyas de Areinnes, Hugh de Fockingham, Peter de Meaux, Roger de Willoughby, Toti the clerk, Thomas de Hale, Henry le Norreis, William de Beche, Gilbert de Gaunt, the clerk, Ralph de Carlton, Robert de Withney."

The manors of Binbrook and Awburn are situated in Lincolnshire, and at the time of the general survey were held of Robert de Thosny, a younger brother of Ralph de Thosny, lord of Thosny, a *commune* in the *departement* of L'Eure, *arrondissement* of Louviers, *canton* of Gaillon, by Berenger de Thosny, his son. Under land of Robert de Todeni we read as follows in that record; "Manor. In Binnibroc Turgot Lag had eight carucates of land and four bovates and a half subject to Danegeld. Land to twenty-four ploughs. Now Robert de Todeni has it and Berenger of him. In the demesne four ploughs and six villains and four boors and forty-four sokemen with eight ploughs. There a church and a priest and two mills of twenty shillings and one hundred acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth seven pounds, now fifteen pounds. Tallage ten pounds. Of this land four carucates and four bovates and a half are in the hands of the sokemen.

Manor. In Aburne Turgot Lag had twelve carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to as many ploughs. There Berenger has of Robert in his demesne two ploughs and fourteen villains and four boors and one sokeman with four ploughs. There a church and a priest and one mill of twenty shillings and a fishery of one thousand eels and one hundred acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth five pounds; now six pounds. In Hadinctone three carucates of land and a half subject to Danegeld. Land to two ploughs. Berewick in Aburne. There two villains have half a plough and there are six acres of meadow and three acres of brushwood." In a charter of King William Rufus confirming the endowment of the abbey of St. Mary, at York, is this recital; "Berenger de Thosny gave in Lastingham one carucate of land; in Spaunton six carucates of land; in Kirkby-Misperton eight carucates of land and a half; in Dalby three carucates of land; in Scackleton six bovates; in Lindesey one carucate of land, and in Binbrook the church and eighty acres of land." The monastery of St. Mary was anciently without the walls of the city of York, in a place called Galmon, and the lands just named had been given to this abbey by Berenger de Thosny, prior to 1080, the date of the compilation of Domesday; and it is evident from the charter of King William Rufus above cited, witnessed by Alan earl of Richmond and Milo Crispin, that the former gave the church of St. Olave, in which the chief part of the abbey had been better constituted, and the burgh, in which that church was situate, from Galmon towards Clifton and towards the river; by reason of this gift of a new site the king styles him the beginner and institutor of this abbey, after me and my father. According to Roger de Howden, Siward, earl of Northumberland, deceased in 1155, at York, was buried in the monastery of Galmanho, which he had erected. The original endowment of this abbey by his father, is thus set forth by his son; "William, therefore, my father gave to the aforesaid abbey in Appleton four carucates of land, in Normanby three, in Spaunton two, in Lastingham three, in York the church of St. Michael and six dwellings, and what Hernegrin the monk, had held, that is, Paines Thorp and whatsoever he had in Kirkby and Uncleby, and in York two dwellings and the church of Saint Saviour." In the simple enumeration of the various tenures in each wapentake of Yorkshire, with which

the first volume of Domesday Book closes, we read under Dic wapentake, "In Lastingham the abbot two carucates, in Appleton the abbot two carucates." Under Maneshou wapentake "in Spaunton the king and the abbot of him one carucate. In Appleton the abbot of the king two carucates. In Normanby the abbot of the king three carucates." Subsequently Berenger de Thosny gave to the same abbey nine carucates and a half in Timber, and four carucates of land in Uncleby, and his tythe of Dalton, and near Chevermunt half a carucate of land. North Dalton and Naburn in the East Riding had been held of his father Robert de Thosny by Berenger at the time of the survey. It is certain from the catalogue of tenants of lands in Lindsey above cited, that the successor of Berenger de Thosny had name Robert de L'Isle, and who may have been identical with Robert de Thosny[a]. In the North Riding in Walshcroft wapentake Robert de L'Isle (de Insula) held in Thorganby one carucate, and in Croxby one carucate, and in Binbrook five carucates and seven bovates, and in Irford three carucates and five bovates and half a bovate, and William Turniant one carucate in Binbrook of him. He was living in 1131, as appears by this entry on the Pipe roll for Yorkshire; "Robert de L'Isle renders accompt of 33s. and 4d. for his land, which William Turniant held, and of fifty marks of silver of the pleas of Blythe. In the treasury £15. and he owes £20." Berenger and Robert left no issue, inasmuch as the lands so held of the honour of Belvoir reverted to the descendant of the eldest brother of Robert, who enfeoffed his brother Ralph d'Aubigné in the fifteen knight's fiefs, referred to in the charter of Gunnora de Gaunt. By his wife Cecilia, and not Matilda, as Dugdale falsely conjectured, William d'Aubigné the first, left issue William d'Aubigné the second,

[a] The following charter proves that Awburn was of the fief of Robert de Thosny, younger brother of William d'Aubigné, the first.

"Be it known to all as well present as to come that I Robert de Thosny grant to God and St. Mary of Belvoir and to the monks there serving God for the redemption of my own soul and those of my father and mother and of my brothers and the rest of my friends and for the souls of all my predecessors thirty sticks of eels in Awburne, my vill, of the rent of the eels of my mill which they shall receive annually on the day of St. Mathias. And this donation William d'Aubigné, my brother and lord, grants and confirms by his charter. And the witnesses of this donation are Geoffrey the clerk of Awburn, William d'Aubigné, Roger Bigot, with others."

This charter is of the time of Henry the First, as in the 31st year of his reign Adeliza, wife of Roger Bigot, owed £198 for the land of her father of Belvoir. A stick of eels numbered twenty of those fish.

and Ralph, and Eudo, and Geoffery, all witnesses to a charter with their father and mother made by Ralph de Raines and Walter and William his brothers, of four bovates of land in Stathorn in Leicestershire, to the priory of Belvoir, which they held of that honour. In 1168 we have a charter of William d'Aubigné the second, setting forth the knights enfeoffed of his barony, which his father had held and he after him, of whom the first-named is Ralph d'Aubigné his brother, then tenant of fifteen knight's fiefs, and again this charter is proof that their mother had name Cecilia.

"May all as well present as to come know that I William d'Aubigné, by the assent of William my son and heir, and of Matilda my wife, and of Cecilia, my mother, and likewise of Ralph d'Aubigné, my brother, and of my vassals, have granted and given to God and the church of St. Mary of Belvoir and to the monks there serving God for the redemption of my soul and likewise for the redemption of all my ancestors and of all my kinsmen the church of Redmill with all its appurtenances to be possessed by them perpetually and rightfully. I will, &c. Witnesses, Robert the chaplain, Thomas, priest of Wyberton, John, steward, Yeven d'Aubigné, constable, Geoffrey de Chauvigny, Osmund de Chauvigny, William des Vaux, Simon Fitz-William, Ralph Fitz-William, Alard de St. Hilaire, Ralph Fitz-Holdewi."

This Ralph d'Aubigné was the founder of a nunnery of the order of Premontré, dedicated to St. Mary, at Irford, a hamlet adjoining Binbrook, but now extraparochial, which site had been of the fief of Robert de L'Isle. On the roll of the 13th year of Henry the Second, 1167, under the heading 'New pleas and new conventions' in Yorkshire, is this entry. "Naburn. Ralph d'Aubigné renders accompt of half a mark. This sum he had delivered into the treasury and is quit." On the roll of the 28th year of the reign of the same king for Yorkshire, is this entry. "Ebrard de Ros. Ralph d'Aubigné for him rendered accompt of £16. 13s. 4d. for the fine of his land, which sum he had delivered into the treasury and he was quit." This young baron, lord of Helmsley, in Yorkshire, was the step-son of Ralph d'Aubigné, whose mother, Sibilla de Valognes, he had lately married, and as the former was deceased the same year, it was doubtless owing to his illness that he was unable to make payment in person. In the 26th of Henry the Second, under the heading Pleas before

William Basset and Robert de Vaux and Michael Belet in Yorkshire, the earl of Warwick rendered accompt of £53. 6s. 8d. in a suit against Sibilla de Valognes, in regard of land which he, and Josceline, brother of the queen, were holding; of which sum twenty marks had been paid into the treasury, and he continued to owe sixty marks. William de Newburgh, earl of Warwick, and Josceline of Louvain, brother of Queen Adeliza, second wife of King Henry the First, had married Maud and Agnes, daughters of William de Percy, and co-heiresses of Alan de Percy their brother. The entries on the successive Pipe rolls for Yorkshire, relative to this marriage of the 28th, 29th, and 30th years of Henry the Second, are as follows: "Ralph d'Aubigné rendered accompt of two hundred marks for marrying the mother of Ebrard de Ros, and owes £98. 6s. 8d., of which forty pounds ought to be rendered yearly by the hand of the sheriff from the lands, which the aforesaid Ralph had delivered to the sheriff to defray the aforesaid debt, which lands, after payment of the debt, ought to return into the king's hands with the heir of Ebrard." In the next year accompt was rendered of the sum due in the same form, and a further payment made of £43. 16s., leaving £54. 10s. 8d. due. Again, in the following year, Ralph d'Aubigné rendered accompt of £54. 10s. 8d. for marrying the mother of Ebrard de Ros. "In gifts by the king's briefs to Rannulph de Glanville £54. 10s. 8d. And he was quit." At this date the heir of Ebrard or Everard de Ros was in the custody of Rannulph de Glanville, as we learn from this entry respecting Rosa his widow, on the roll of ladies and boys and girls of Lincolnshire. "The wife of Everard de Ros, who was the daughter of William Trussebut, is of the donation of the lord the king, and of thirty-four years, and has two sons. The firstborn is of thirteen years and his land is in the custody of Ranulf de Glanville. The land of the said lady in Stroxton, which she has in dower, is worth annually £15., with the stock of two ploughs and a hundred sheep and three swine and one horse, nor can it be worth more."

Ralph d'Aubigné was deceased prior to the sixth year of Richard the First, 1198, leaving Sibilla de Valognes surviving, who rendered accompt of forty marks for licence to remain in England from the host of Normandy, which sum she had delivered into the treasury and was quit, an entry on the Pipe roll proving her to have been richly endowed of the lands of

her two husbands. In the 10th year of Richard the First she paid fifty marks for having exemption from marrying herself, and should she choose to marry, then to do it through the counsel of the king. "The lady Sibilla de Valognes gave to the brethren of the Hospital of Jerusalem the manor of the Holy Trinity of Beverley, with divers tenements in the same vill. She also gave to them the manor of North Burton, with divers lands and tenements in the same vill, and in North Dalton, in the year of the Lord 1201, and in the 3rd year of King John." North Burton, now called Cherry Burton, is in the East Riding, as well as North Dalton, mentioned above, which last will have been of her dower as widow of Ralph d'Aubigné. The manor of North Burton was in like manner of the dower derived from her first husband, Robert de Ros. One son, Ralph d'Aubigny, deceased without issue, and Gunnora, and other three sisters, were the offspring of her second match.

Gilbert de Gaunt, earl of Lincoln, the elder brother of Robert de Gaunt, was deceased in 1156, 2nd of Henry the Second, leaving by Rohais his wife, niece of Rannulph, earl of Chester, and apparently a daughter of Hugh, son of Rannulph, his brother, an only daughter and heiress Alice, whom, with the honour of her inheritance, Simon de Senlis, then a youth in the custody of the king, son and heir of Simon, earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, by Isabella, daughter of Robert, earl of Leicester, received of the gift of his guardian, inasmuch as he had been deprived of his own honour of Huntingdon by the descendants of David, king of Scotland, second husband of Maud his grandmother. In 1184, 30th of Henry the Second, earl Simon was deceased, leaving Alice his wife surviving, as we learn from the following pleading in Easter term, 7 John, 1206. "Lincolnshire. Robert de Edenham, attorney of Gilbert de Gaunt, sues against the prior of Sempringham for seven bovates of land with the appurtenances in Barton-upon-Humber, as the right of Gilbert de Gaunt, whereof Earl Gilbert was seized in the time of King Henry, father of the then king, as of his fief and inheritance, and in which the prior had no right of entrance except through Earl Simon and the Countess Alice, his wife, who could not and ought not to have given them. The prior comes and says that the Countess Alice gave that land to the house of Sempringham with her body and in her legitimate power and when she was seized of the barony after the decease of Earl

Simon, her husband, and he shews the charter, which testifies that she so gave seven bovates of land in pure and perpetual frankalmoign. Robert on the contrary says that she made that charter when in bed of the sickness of which she died, and whilst the barony was in the hands of the lord the king." The land of Earl Simon, of the honours of Huntingdon and of Gaunt, was in the king's hands in the 31st of Henry the Second, 1185; but it is certain that the land in Barton remained with the brethren and nuns of Sempringham, where the Countess Alice was interred, and where Gonnora, the only issue of this marriage, had previously been buried. The following entry on the Pipe roll of that year for Lincolnshire, is proof that the Countess Alice followed her husband to the grave prior to the close of the fiscal year, on the 29th day of September; "Robert de Gaunt owes £633. 6s. 8d. as a fine for his land, and that the lands, which he should recover, that Earl Simon had given away, might be in the hands of the king, if the king so willed them to be." For the payment of this sum he assigned by his charter to the king land to the value of one hundred marks yearly in Folkingham, Edenham, Heckington, and Barton-upon-Humber in Lincolnshire, to return to him again when the aforesaid sum should be paid, of which deed record is made on the roll.

During the time he was in possession of the patrimony of his father, Robert de Gaunt largely increased the gifts of his ancestors to the monasteries, of which he was the hereditary patron. Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Lincoln, elected August 10, and consecrated Sept. 21, 1186, confirmed to the abbot and monks of Bardney, "of the gift of Robert de Gaunt, the church of Irnham with its lands and tythes. In Aswardby two parts of the demesne. In Willoughby two parts of the demesne. In Stainton the whole tythe of the demesne. In Southrey all the land, which was that of Ivo, son of Schardman, with his essart, and the essart of William Fitz Hacon in the territory of the same vill, and the essart of William Bigot, with the land Gippolf in the same vill. In Sutton half a carucate of land with pastures and meadows adjacent, and a meadow in the territory of the Hoft. In Strubby two bovates and a half. In Woodthorp one bovate of land, and Thuait with the land appending, and the mill of Withern. Hertesholm, with lands and rents. The church of Boultham with its appendages. In Bracebridge of the gift of William, son of

Walter Winterhard, one bovate of land. In Edlesborough the church with its appurtenances. In Hale the church with its appurtenances. In Heckington the church with its appurtenances." To this charter of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, Hamon, dean of Lincoln, was a witness, who died in 1196. Gilbert de Gaunt, son of Robert de Gaunt, also confirmed these gifts, and also of the gift of his father one toft in Hunmanby on the western side of the vill, which had been of the essart of Walter de Gaunt, and from the same toft free egress and ingress from its western side to the road. King Richard the First, by his charter given by the hand of William de Longchamp, his chancellor, in the first year of his reign, 7th day of September, 1189, confirms to the abbey of St. Mary of Vaudey, of the gift of Robert de Gaunt and Gunnora his wife, one bovate of land in the territory of Edenham. To the priory of St. Mary of Bridlington these two charters are on record, copied in the cartulary of that religious house of black canons of the order of St. Augustine, which had been founded by Walter de Gaunt, and which are subsequent to the accession of Robert de Gaunt to the barony of Gaunt[o].

"Robert de Gaunt, son of Walter de Gaunt, to all sons of Holy Church greeting. Be it known to you that I have granted and given and by the testimony of the present charter confirmed to the church of St. Mary of Bridlington and to the canons there serving God in frank and perpetual almoign all the pasture and all the herbage in Swaledale, in length towards the west from Hertay as far as the further torrent, which is called Hawardesdalebec, and is close adjoining to the hill, which is named Blabergh; and in width from the river Swale upward towards the south as far as my land lasts, saving my

[o] "Robert de Gaunt to all men as well French as English present and to come, greeting. Know ye that I have given and granted and by this my present charter confirmed to Robert de Welle and his heirs in fief and inheritance eight acres of land in Salterhang, namely, on the north side of the road, which is called Schepegate, towards the wood of the aforesaid Robert de Welle, to hold of me and my heirs rendering to me and my heirs each year sixpence at the feast of St. Botolph for all service, which belongs to the aforesaid land. These witnesses, Symon de Kime, Philip de Tattershall, Henry de Gaunt, Walter de Scotney, Ivo de Barkwith, Walter de Welle, Symon de Cancy, Geoffrey de Gaunt, William de Gaunt, Helyas de Brand, Ernis de Beasby, Gilbert de Lekeburn, and many others." In the Testa de Nevill, under Wapentake of Calswath, is this entry; "Robert de Welle holds in Well, Alford, Mawthorp, Claxby, Sloothby, Saleby, Witherne, Strubby, Beesby, Maltby, Hellow *alias* Belleau, and Swaby three fiefs of knights and a half and a fourteenth part, except a fifth of one fief of a knight, of the honour of Gilbert de Gaunt."

wild beasts and my trees. I have also granted and confirmed by the testimony of the present charter in frank and perpetual almoign that it be allowed them to make hay in the same pasture, as much as they may choose; and to have from my wood, without cutting down of trees, sufficient timber to make houses and the folds of two cow-houses, as many as there shall be need of, and twigs sufficient to make the houses in the same cow-folds; one of which cow-folds is at Whallesheved and the other at Frithloc, and of my aforesaid wood they shall have as much as shall be necessary to burn in the same cow-folds. Also the same canons shall have at the aforesaid cow-folds four dogs unexpeditated, two at one and two at the other, free at night and tied up by day; who if they shall be found at large from the first hour of the day until evening, their keepers shall be subject to the lord's penalty and the dogs at his mercy. In case that the beasts of the canons should chance to stray beyond the bounds of the aforesaid pasture, they may be captured lawfully and in like manner released &c. Witnesses, Henry de Gaunt, my steward, Master Robert Le Escrop, Robert Constable, William de Thorp, Walter de Boynton, William de Buckton, William de Sewerby and Robert his son, and Gilbert de Speeton and Peter his son [p]."

[p] The pasture given by this charter is in the parish of Grinton, in Swaledale, of which the church had been given to the priory of Bridlington by Matilda, the mother of Robert de Gaunt, by this charter.

"To Thurstin by the grace of God archbishop of York and to all barons of Richmundshire and to all faithful of the Holy Church of God, Matilda, daughter of Count Stephen of Brittany, wife of Walter de Gaunt, greeting. Be it known to you that I have given in frankalmoign to the canons of St. Mary of Bridlington the church of St. Andrew of Swaledale with Grinton and all things adjacent to it by the consent of my lord Walter, of my marriage portion free and quit from all terrene service, as being the glebe of the church. These witnesses, Wimund the chaplain, William son of Gerold, Lambert the Planter, Ralph de Nevill, Rachmar son of Gilbert, and William, Walter de Grindal, Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert, Malger de Erghom, Odo."

Hertay is a lofty eminence opposite to the hamlet of Healough, and Hawardes-dalebec is now called Havordale Beck, and the hill near it has the name of Crackpot, all places on the south bank of the Swale. The name of Whallesheved survives in Nether Whitea, and Frithloc is now Stubble House. In the same parish of Grinton is the hamlet of Fremington in the township of Reeth, which as we learn from a charter of King John, dated at Carlisle 21st Feb., 1201, confirming to Henry Fitz-Hervey and to his heirs the donations made to them, had been given by Robert de Gaunt to this vassal, as appears by this recital; "and moreover we grant and confirm to them the reasonable donation which Robert de Gaunt made to them of Fremington with the appurtenances by the boundaries contained in the cyrograph between them made in the court of King Richard our brother, as that cyrograph has been reasonably made in that court."

"Robert de Gaunt, son of Walter de Gaunt, to all who shall see or hear these letters, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and by my charter confirmed to the church of St. Mary of Bridlington and to my canons there serving God in frank and perpetual almoign all the concessions and donations, which Walter de Gaunt my father and Gilbert de Gaunt earl of Lincoln, my brother, made to them in churches and lands and tenures and all their appurtenances with all liberties and free customs, as their charters to them testify, saving the service to me and my heirs from them and their successors. These witnesses, Ernisius, prior of Marton, Gilbert, canon of Marton, Geoffrey, canon of Kirkham, Henry de Gaunt, my steward, Master Robert Escrop, Robert Constable, Walter de Boynton, William de Thorp, William de Sewerby and Robert his son, Mauger de Reighton, Adam de Boynton, William Fitz-Adelard, Gilbert de Speeton, William de Flamborough and Richard his brother, Henry Silver and Robert his brother, William de Buckton, Mauger de Rudston, Ralph de Flamborough, Osbert de Sewerby."

To the same priory, Robert, son of Walter de Gaunt, gave twenty-six acres of land with a toft in the territory of Barton-upon-Humber, with the service of Gerard son of Ralph de Ferraby, and all his family, for lands that he had held of Earl Gilbert de Gaunt, his brother, and one bovate of land in the territory of Rudston. Robert de Gaunt also certified that he was present when Gilbert de Gaunt, earl of Lincoln, his brother, with his body, gave the vill of Burton Fleming to this priory.

In the second year of Richard the First we have these entries on the Pipe roll for Yorkshire; first, "on the part of John le Mareschal, sheriff of the county, who rendered accompt of £74. 10s. 7d. of the issue of the lands and chattels of those who had fled on account of the assault of the Jews in the city of York, whose names were noted down before in a roll, which the sheriff had delivered into the treasury; and moreover of £7. 19s. of the issue of Leeds, the land of Robert de Gaunt, whilst it had been in the king's hands: and of £6. 4s. 6d. of the mortgages and lands of the Jews. Sum £88. 14s. 1d. In the treasury nothing; and in liveries of twenty-five knights, who had the custody of seven castles of the lord the king throughout the county of York £150. during three terms of forty days through the chancellor by the king's

brief: and in the liveries of twenty serjeants with horses towards guarding the aforesaid castles £60 during the same term through the chancellor by the king's brief. Secondly, Robert de Gaunt owes 600 marks for the fine of his land, which had been in the king's hands." The following regnal year of King Richard the First, 1192, was that of his decease, as we learn from an entry on the Pipe roll of Lincolnshire to this effect; "Robert de Gaunt owes 600 marks for having right of the lands which Earl Simon had given away; but it was adjudged by the barons that his heir or any one for him ought not to answer thereof, until he should attain that age at which he might and ought to plead." According to an incorrect pedigree of Gaunt preserved at North Kyme, he died in 1162, and was buried at Vaudey; and Dugdale absurdly notes his death in that the ninth year of Henry the Second: but doubtless we should read 1192, the third year of Richard the First.

In the following year, 4 Ric. I., we have this entry on the Pipe roll for Yorkshire; "Robert son of Robert Fitz-Harding renders accompt of sixty marks for having the inheritance of Alice Paynell, who had been the first wife of Robert de Gaunt, whose daughter and heir he had to wife, and he will hold the aforesaid inheritance of his wife, to the use of the boys, whom he had begot of her. In the treasury £10., and he owes £30." Which debt he continued to discharge by successive payments in the fifth and sixth years of Richard the First, save the small sum of £1. 14s. 4d., which was not paid by reason of his decease. The sums left owing by the deceased Robert de Gaunt and his son-in-law continue to be inserted as owing on the Pipe rolls up to the ninth year of Richard the First, as regards the former, in which year William de Stuteville rendered accompt of one thousand marks for having the custody and marriage of Gilbert de Gaunt and of William Fitz-Randolf, and for having respite of six hundred marks of the fine of Robert de Gaunt, until his heir attained his age, but nothing was paid into the treasury. And as regards the latter, his debt is entered on the Pipe roll of the last year of Richard the First. Both these deceased barons left their sons and heirs under age, and hence this entry on the Pipe roll of Gloucestershire, 6 Ric. I., the year of the death of Robert; "William de Sainte-Mére-église renders accompt of five hundred marks for having the custody

of the heir of Robert the younger son of Robert Fitz-Harding, with all his inheritance and all its appurtenances and liberties, to wit, with the services of knights and the advowsons of churches and the marriages of women, and that he may marry him to one of his kinswomen, whom he shall have selected, and that all his land may freely revert to him when he shall attain his age. In the treasury 100 marks, and he owes 400 marks." In the following year he paid forty marks into the treasury, and into the king's Privy Chamber sixty marks by the king's brief, which he brought for having the said sixty marks accounted to him, leaving a debt of 200 marks. On the same roll under the heading of Fines of knights who remained in England from the host of Normandy through the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert son of Robert Fitz-Harding is put down as owing sixty marks for the same. In Dorset and Somerset these entries occur on the Pipe roll of the same year; under these headings; "New proffers through Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury. William Fitz-John of Harptree renders accompt of fifty marks for having the land of Barrow with five knights enfeoffed, which is the inheritance of the wife of his son, of the land, which had been that of Robert son of Robert Fitz-Harding. In the treasury 25 marks, and he owes 25 marks." "Escheats. William de Sainte-Mére-église renders accompt of 25 shillings of the ferm of Huish of Robert Fitz-Harding, of 30s. for the ferm of Quantockshead of the same Robert, of 30s. of the ferm of Stockland of the same Robert, and of 50s. of the ferm of Paulet of the same Robert due of the term of one fourth part of the year. This sum he delivered into the treasury in four tallies and was quit." In Leicestershire, Bescoby and Saltby, and in Lincolnshire, Irnham, land of Robert son of Robert Harding, are also noticed as escheats. On the roll of the ninth year of Richard the First for Lincolnshire, under the heading 'Of the debts of Aaron, the Jew of Lincoln,' is this entry; "Robert de Gaunt owed 26 pounds upon Irnham and Leeds. But because Irnham and Leeds are not of the inheritance of him Robert or of his heir, it was adjudged by the barons that no destraint ought to be made upon Irnham or Leeds for the aforesaid debt; but the aforesaid debt ought to be exacted from the heir of the said Robert."

In the 10th year of Richard the First, William de Sainte-Mére-église, who had this surname from the *commune* of

Sainte-Mére-église, in the *arrondissement* of Valognes and *departement* of La Manche in Normandy, rector of Harewood, in Yorkshire, a canon of York, and dean of St. Martin's, London, was elected bishop of London on the 16th day of September, 1198, and consecrated at Westminster by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, on the 23rd day of May, 1199. In the year last named King Richard the First died, on the 6th day of April, and prior to its close Gunnora de Gaunt had remarried Nicholas de Stuteville, brother of William de Stuteville, and eventually his heir, baron of Lyddal, a castle in the parish of Arthuret in Cumberland, as we learn from this entry on the roll of Oblates of the 1st year of the reign of King John, his successor. "Leicestershire. The bishop of London gives to the lord the king twenty marks for having a recognition from the feast of the Holy Trinity in eight days before the justiciaries at Westminster if Nicolas de Stuteville and Gunnora his wife have had entrance into the vill of Saltby with its appurtenances, which is the dower of the same Gunnora of the gift of Robert de Gaunt, late her husband, except by the same Robert, who, as is said, had no right in that vill except through Alice, the grandmother of Maurice, son of Robert the younger, whom the aforesaid Robert de Gaunt took to wife with her inheritance, which vill with the appurtenances the aforesaid Maurice, who is heir of the aforesaid Alice, claims against the aforesaid Nicholas and Gunnora. In Michaelmas term Nicholas de Stuteville and Gunnora his wife offered themselves on the fourth day by their essoigns against Maurice son of Robert the younger, and he did not come or essoign himself and he had been the claimant. Judgment that they go without day. In the same term William, the monk, as attorney of the abbot of Vaudey, offered himself on the fourth day against Maurice son of Robert the younger of a plea of land and wood in Irnham, and Maurice did not come nor essoign himself and he had been the claimant. Therefore the abbot to go without day &c. and the said Maurice in mercy." On the same roll of the king's court is this entry. "Yorkshire. Convention between the bishop of London and Thomas le Poitevin concerning the boundary of the wood of Leeds and Heddingley, concerning which there had been a suit, namely that it remain in that state in which it now is, until the legitimate age of Maurice son of Robert, who is in the custody of the aforesaid bishop,

of whose fief the vill of Leeds is, so that neither the bishop or his men nor the aforesaid Thomas or his men may take any thing in that boundary until the aforesaid term."

On the Fine roll of the 3rd year of King John is this entry. "London. The bishop of London undertook that he will answer for the land of Robert son of Robert Fitz Harding, whose heir he has in custody. And it was commanded Geoffrey Fitz Piers that he cause him to have his scutage of the knights holding the aforesaid land in chief, namely from one shield two marks." On the Pipe roll of the same year of King John we have these entries. "Warwickshire and Leicestershire. Maurice, son of Robert the younger, who is in the custody of the bishop of London, owes £20. for having a recognition, as is contained on the roll of the first year; and among those who had acquittance of scutage was the bishop of London. Gloucestershire. Robert son of Robert Fitz Harding sixty marks that he may remain from the host of Normandy. Among those who had acquittance of scutage was the bishop of London of the fief of Robert son of Robert Fitzharding. Lincolnshire. Tallage made by Philip elect of Durham and Hugh Bardolf. The vill of Irnham owes 17s. 4d. of tallage; and among those who had acquittance of scutage was the bishop of London. Also Nicolas de Stuteville owed a hundred marks and a palfrey for having respite of the suit, which Maurice son of Robert had moved. Dorset and Somerset. Among those who had acquittance of scutage was the bishop of London of the fief of Robert son of Robert. Yorkshire. Robert Fitz Harding owes 33s. 4d. for having the inheritance, as on the roll of the 9th year of King Richard; but these monies ought not to be exacted, because he had not the inheritance: and among those who had acquittance of scutage was the bishop of London." This first entry proves that his decease prior to payment of the whole of his fine had prevented his having seizin of the inheritance of his wife's mother to the use of his sons by her.

By reason of the appropriation of the church of St. Peter of Leeds to the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, the prior and convent presented a clerk to the third part of the tithe and altarage of the said church, who was accountable to them for the other two thirds. On the roll of the king's court containing the causes tried in Hillary term, in the 6th year of King John, 1205, a suit was brought on behalf of Maurice de

Gaunt, who had assumed the surname of his grandfather, against the prior of the Holy Trinity for this third part of the advowson of the church of Leeds, claiming an assize as to his right thereto, &c. The pleadings were to this effect: The prior says that an assize ought not to be taken because that third part was not vacant, because he and his convent are the parsons from ancient time, namely, from the time of Ralph Paynell, ancestor (*avi*) of the aforesaid Maurice, who had given it to them in pure frankalmoign to hold to their own uses, and had confirmed it by his charter, and William, his son, afterwards confirmed his donation by his charter, which charters he produced. The prior likewise produced the confirmations of the lord the king, and of Thomas late archbishop of York, and of Thurstin late archbishop of York, and of Roger late archbishop of York. And shews the letters patents of the Lord Archbishop Thomas testifying that he at the presentation of the aforesaid prior and convent had admitted Thomas, a clerk, to that third part without reclamation of any one, and those of the Lord Archbishop Roger for admission of Paulinus, a clerk, to the same third part at their presentation without reclamation of any one. Judgment was therefore given that the assize should not proceed, because Maurice had not contradicted the confirmation of William Paynell, his predecessor, to have been so made after the donation of Ralph Paynell, nor could he contradict that Roger, late archbishop of York, had instituted the aforesaid Paulinus at the presentation of the prior and convent, nor could he deny the confirmations of the king and of the three archbishops which the prior had produced.

On the roll of fines of the 7th year of King John is this entry. "Middlesex. William, bishop of London, ought to answer of the scutage of the land of Maurice son of Robert Fitz-Harding, who is in the custody of the same bishop, namely of the scutage of Normandy assessed at two marks each fief in the year of the lord the king seven." And on the Close roll of the same year is this entry. "The king to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, greeting. We command you that on account of no prohibition which you shall have from us, you omit to cause without delay the lord bishop of London to have his scutage in your bailiwick from the land of Maurice son of Robert Fitz Harding, who is in his custody. Because he will answer thereof at our exchequer. Witness myself at

Lambeth, fifth day of August, (1205)." This is enrolled among the fines. In like form it was written to the sheriff of Yorkshire for the same. The next record concerning Maurice is of importance, as it proves that he once assumed the name of his grandmother, and that at its date, Nov. 13, 1207, he was in possession of her barony and of full age. It has been printed by Dr. Whitaker in his Loidis and Elmete, from a copy written by some illiterate scribe, and contains the ordination and liberties of the burgh of Leeds, an epithet that would imply that a castle had been erected on this site. These liberties and free laws are declared to be the same as the burgesses of Robert de Lacy of Pontefract enjoyed, and are set forth at length, and have been by that eminent topographer paraphrased in an English translation. The following is the preamble and final clauses of this charter.

"May those present and to come know that I Maurice Paynell have given and granted and by this charter confirmed to my burgesses of Leeds and their heirs franchise and free burgage and their tofts, and with each toft half an acre of land for tillage, to hold them of me and my heirs in fief and inheritance freely, quit and honourably rendering annually to me and my heirs for each toft and half an acre of land sixteen pence at Pentecost and at Martinmas.

"Moreover I have given and granted to the same my burgesses of Leeds and their heirs acquittance from all toll and custom throughout all my land belonging to the burgh of Leeds. But the aforesaid burgesses shall customarily bake in my oven. Also when the lord the king shall levy his aid upon the towns of England, my aforesaid burgesses shall give to the lord the king aid according to reason.

"And that this my donation and concession may continue ratified and unshaken in aftertimes, I have placed my seal to the aforesaid charter. Witnesses, Adam de Reinvile, Ivo de Lindsey, William de Stapleton, Adam de Beeston, Hugh de Swillington, William le Poitevin, Ralph de Leeds, who wrote this charter, and many others. Given at Leeds on the morrow of blessed Martin in the 9th year of the coronation of King John."

In the 12th year of King John, 1210, a loan was made to the knights at the meadow under Kendles in Ireland, on Monday next after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, before William, earl of Salisbury, and Richard des Marais, one

of whom was Maurice de Gaunt, who received ten marks. And at Carrickfergus on the day of St. James the Apostle, he had other ten marks, and at Dublin on Saturday next after the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, before the earl of Ferrers and Richard de Marais, a loan of five pounds, thus proving him to have accompanied King John in his expedition into Ireland, who landed in that island on the 6th of June preceding, and returned to England on the 29th day of August following.

In the same year we have this entry on the roll of Fines. "Lincolnshire and Somersetshire. Maurice de Gaunt proffers one hundred marks for having several writs of *precipe*, and that the lord the king may aid him to have his rights, which he claims by those writs of *precipe*, and that the lord the king may do to him what shall be just in regard of his rights, which are in his hands, at the freewill of the same king." On the Pipe roll of the 10th year of King John for Lincolnshire, is this entry. "Maurice de Gaunt owes one hundred marks for having several writs of *precipe*, and that the king may aid him in having his right of those things, which he claims by those writs of *precipe*, and that the king may do to him what shall be just in regard of his rights, which are in his hands at the will of the king." In the 13th year of King John, upon occasion of the levy of the scutage of two marks on each fief for the host of Scotland, Maurice de Gaunt is entered on the Pipe roll of Yorkshire as holding twelve knight's fiefs and a half, the same number as had been certified by Robert de Gaunt in his charter, to be due from the barony of Paynell, of which Leeds was doubtless reckoned the capital seat.

On the rolls of the king's court of the 11th year of King John, 1210, among the pleas from Easter-Day to five weeks are these entries. "Leicestershire. Gunnora de Gaunt puts in her place Robert de Edenham *versus* Maurice son of Robert of a plea of land, to gain or lose. Nicholas de Stuteville *versus* Maurice son of Robert of a plea of land, through Walter son of Reginald, and is summoned to cross the channel. Day is given on the octaves of the Holy Trinity to be at Westminster through Ralph de Willoughby, and he shall have respite if he cross the channel. The same day is given to Robert de Edenham, attorney of Gunora, wife of Nicholas, on the octaves of the Holy Trinity to be present at

Westminster." On those of the 13th year of King John, 1212, Michaelmas term, we read. "Lincolnshire. A grand assise between Maurice de Gant, claimant, and William de Coleville, tenant, concerning the fief of one knight with the appurtenances in Swinestead is respited until from Sunday next after the feast of St. Michael to one month for default of recognizors. Lincolnshire. The grand assise between Maurice de Gaunt, claimant, and Ascelina de Waterville, tenant, of two bovates of land with the appurtenances in Burton and twenty acres of land with the appurtenances in the culture of Steinwath is respited to the same term for default of recognizors. At the appointed time a grand assise came to recognize whether William de Coleville, who is tenant, had a greater right of holding the fief of one knight with the appurtenances in Swinestead, than Maurice de Gaunt of having it in demesne. The jurors say that William has greater right of holding that land of the same Maurice, than Maurice of having that land in demesne. Judgment; that the land remain to William and his heirs quietly for ever and Maurice in mercy. In the same term Maurice de Gaunt claimed against Alexander de Pointon ten bovates of land with the appurtenances in Irnham, and he had called to warrant Gilbert de Gaunt, who came and warranted to him six bovates. And hence the suit remained without judgment because he was unwilling to warrant to him the other four bovates. And in the meantime Alexander made default, because the lord of the land had saved it to himself. And upon this came a certain youth, Henry de Gaunt, and said that the same Alexander had five bovates of those ten in custody with him, and therefore he could not plead in regard of that land. And Alexander acknowledged this and rendered seizin to him, and he is in mercy. And because this suit could not be continued without the aforesaid Gilbert, who had withdrawn without day after the aforesaid default, Gilbert de Gaunt was summoned to be present in the octaves of St. Hillary. The same day was given to the same Alexander and Maurice de Gaunt. Alexander also gives to the king three Norway falcons in atonement of the said default. The grand assise between Maurice de Gaunt, claimant, and Ascelina de Waterville, tenant, of two bovates of land with the appurtenances in Burton and of twenty acres with the appurtenances in the culture of Steinwath, was respited until the octaves of St. Hillary for default of recognizors." In Hillary

term following, we have these entries. "Lincolnshire. Day is given to Maurice de Gaunt, claimant, and to Alexander de Pointon, tenant, and to Gilbert de Gaunt, whom Alexander calls to warranty, in a suit for ten bovates of land in Irnham from Easter-Day to three weeks at the prayer of the parties. Be it known that the attorney of Gilbert warrants to Alexander four bovates, whereof there was contention between them, as those, which Robert de Gaunt, his father, gave to Alured de Pointon, his father, to make up to him one hundred shillings worth of land, according as is contained in the charter of the same Robert." In Easter term the grand assise between Maurice de Gaunt, claimant, and Ascelina de Waterville, tenant, was decided in her favour upon proof being adduced that William Paynel, great-grandfather of Maurice de Gaunt, had given these lands in Burton-Coggles and Steinwath to Ralph de Rouellé, her ancestor, for his service.

On the roll of charters of the 14th year of the reign of King John, 1212, is the following. "John by the grace of God King of England &c. to all &c. Know ye that we have granted and by our charter confirmed to Maurice de Gaunt that he may have a market at his manor of Bingley each week on Sunday, so nevertheless that that market be not to the injury of the neighbouring markets. Wherefore we will and strictly enjoin that the aforesaid Maurice and his heirs have the aforesaid market in the aforesaid manor of Bingley for ever, well and in peace, freely and quietly, with all liberties and free customs belonging to a market of this sort, as is abovesaid. Witnesses, the Lord Peter, bishop of Winchester, William earl of Salisbury, my brother, William earl of Arundel, William Briwerre, Hugh de Nevill, John Fitz Hugh. Given by the hand of Master Richard du Marais, archdeacon of Northumberland, at the Tower of London, 19th day of May, 14th year of our reign."

On the Fine roll of the 15th year of King John, this entry occurs in the month of June. "Maurice de Gaunt will come, himself the twentieth knight, from the octaves of St. John the Baptist in the 15th year of the reign of the lord the king (1st July) during one entire year at his own cost, wheresoever it shall please the lord the king, for having the daughter of Henry de Oilly to wife." This lady, named Matilda, was the only child of Henry d'Oilly, baron of Hooknorton in Oxfordshire, and his presumptive heiress, who gave to Maurice de Gaunt in frank-

marriage with her the manor of Weston, now Weston on the Green, in the same county. In the same year Thomas, eldest son of William Fitz-John of Harptree, in the county of Somerset, husband of Eva de Gurnay, half-sister of Maurice de Gaunt, as daughter of Robert, son of Robert Fitz-Harding, by his first wife Hawisia, daughter and heiress of Robert de Gurnay of Barrow in the same county, was deceased; and upon the above Fine roll is this entry. "Gloucestershire. Somerset. Maurice de Gaunt made fine with the lord the king in the place of Eve, his sister, for sixty marks for having the land, which hereditarily belongs to the same Eve, and for having the chattels of the same Eve and of Thomas son of William, late her husband, so also that she may not be distrained to marry herself; but if she shall choose to marry herself, this may be of the assent of the lord the king. And it is enjoined the sheriff and Gion de Canceaux, the person in charge of the honour of Gloucester, that they cause the same Maurice without delay to have plenary seizin of the aforesaid land with the appurtenances in their bailiwicks with the aforesaid chattels, because he made the lord the king secure of that fine being rendered, to wit, by William de Harcourt of 10 marks, by William de Percy of 10 marks, by William de Duston of 10 marks, by Thomas Fitz-Eustace of 10 marks, by Robert de Pixley of 10 marks, by Simon Fitz-Richard of 10 marks, saving the reasonable will of Thomas son of William, late the husband of the aforesaid Eve. Witness, William, earl of Ferrers, at York, 9th day of September." This important record affords direct evidence, that Eva de Gurnay was only half-sister of Maurice de Gaunt, as otherwise in his lifetime she could not have had any inheritance descend upon her; and convicts Dugdale and the author of the House of Ivery of the grossest genealogical errors in their statements, that she was his sister of the whole blood. Hence the erroneous descent of the family of Percival from the line of Gaunt is simply a fabrication of an ignorant compiler.

Preparations were making by the king towards the close of this year for an expedition across the channel, and the list of persons under the heading, Scutages of Poitou, entered on the Close roll of the year 1214, includes that of Maurice de Gaunt. Also on the Fine roll is an entry with the king's teste at the Tower of London, 29th Dec. 1213, of its having been written to this baron to this purport. "Of the twenty knights, which

Maurice de Gaunt ought to maintain in the service of the lord the king, the lord the king is willing, if it be the wish of the same Maurice, that in this present year he find ten knights, and in the second year ten knights, so that the aforesaid knights may therefore be better equipped, and that the aforesaid Maurice may be in part relieved; so nevertheless that the agreement, which he ought to make for this year according to the fine he made with the lord the king, may not remain. And it is enjoined the same Maurice that all business being postponed he send the aforesaid ten knights as far as Winchester, so that they be there on the day of St. Hilary, well equipped with horses and arms, to cross the channel in the service of the lord the king with himself in person." On the second day of February, 1214, King John embarked with his queen and troops at Portsmouth, and after a stay of one week at Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, he crossed the channel and landed at La Rochelle on Saturday, the 16th day of February. In his company was Maurice de Gaunt with his knights, and during the expedition he obtained from his sovereign these charters.

"John by the grace of God king of England &c. Know ye that we have granted and by this charter confirmed to Maurice de Gaunt the manor of Barrow with all its appurtenances to hold during his life of the concession of Eva de Gornay, his sister, as the charter of the same Eve, which he has thereof, duly testifies. Wherefore we will and strictly enjoin that the aforesaid Maurice have and hold the aforesaid manor freely, peaceably, entirely, with its appurtenances, as is said above. Witnesses, William earl of Ferrers, Reginald des Ponts, John Fitz-Robert, Robert de Vieuxpont, Brien de L'Isle, Hugh de Bernevall. Given by the hand of Ralph de Nevill at Boutteville, 28th day of July, 16th year of our reign."

On the 31st day of July following he was a witness to a charter of King John, in favour of Godfrey Spigornell, serjeant of the king's chapel, given at Montignac; and in the following month he was again benefited by the king's grant.

"John by the grace of God &c. to all archbishops &c. Know ye that I have granted and by this our charter confirmed to Maurice de Gaunt that he and his heirs have a market at his manor of Irnham each week on Wednesday, so &c. Wherefore we will &c. Witnesses, William earl of Ferrers,

Robert de Roppesley, William de Huntingfield, Thomas de Multon, Philip de Kyme, Brien de l'Isle. Given by the hand of Ralph de Nevill at Niort, 24th day of August, in the 16th year of our reign."

Maurice de Gaunt was again a witness to two charters of his sovereign in favour of Nicholas de Verdon, and Norman d'Arcy, given at Niort, 22nd day of September following; and to another in favour of Stephen Harengod, given at La Rochelle on the 2nd day of October. From this port the king sailed on the following day, and arrived at Dartmouth on the 15th day of the same month, accompanied by the forces who had been in the expedition. In the course of the next year the discontented barons resolved to obtain from the king a new charter, ratifying all those liberties which had been conceded by King Henry the First; and with a view of enforcing their demands, they assembled in Easter week (19—25 of April, 1215), at Stamford with horses and arms to the number of two thousand knights, besides cavalry and infantry and servants, all variously accoutred with weapons. But the principal instigators of this insurrection had been Robert Fitz-Walter, Nicolas de Stuteville, Gilbert de Gaunt, Maurice de Gaunt, Alexander de Pointon, his vassal, and many others; who all, confederate and sworn to one another, had Stephen archbishop of Canterbury a consenting party to their project. On Monday the 27th of April they reassembled at Brackley in Northamptonshire, where they appointed Robert Fitz-Walter the chief of their forces, calling him the marshal of the army of God and of the Holy Church. Their first act of rebellion was the siege of Northampton, which was continued for fifteen days without success, so that they withdrew from before it, and proceeded to Bedford, where they were received by William de Beauchamp. There messengers arrived from London informing them, that if they wished to have entrance into the city, they should come there in haste. Marching through Ware, they entered the city of London on the 24th of May, the Sunday before the Ascension of the Lord. The result of this success was the meeting at Runnimede, a meadow situate between Staines and Windsor, on the 15th day of June, where *Magna Charta* and the charter of the Forest were granted by King John. In the month of October King John besieged and took the castle of Rochester, and during his stay in that city he wrote as follows to the sheriff

of Gloucestershire, as we learn from the roll of Letters Close of the 17th year of his reign.

Lands given. "The king to the sheriff of Gloucestershire, greeting. Know thou that we have given to Roger de Hodeng the manor of Weston, which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt. We have also given to Ivo Fitz-Warine the manor of Beverston, which had been that of the same Maurice. And therefore we command thee that thou cause them to have thereof plenary seizin without delay. Witness myself at Rochester, 22nd day of October."

It is enjoined the sheriff of Gloucestershire that he cause Philip d'Aubigné to have all the land with its appurtenances, which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt, except the manors of Weston and Beverston. The same injunction was also given to the sheriffs of Somerset and Oxfordshire. At Rochester, 21st day of November.

Pursuant to letters of Pope Innocent the Third, addressed to Hugh abbot of Abingdon, to William archdeacon of Poitiers, and to Master Robert, official of the church of Norwich, dated at the Lateran, 16th December in the 18th year of his pontificate, authorizing them to excommunicate the barons opposed to the king, they, as soon as they had received the same rescript early in the following year, by their letters to all the churches, cathedral or conventual, denounced, not only those mentioned in the rescript of the pope, but also Maurice de Gaunt, Alexander de Pointon, William de Coleville and Robert his son, his vassals. Prior to this excommunication we have these entries on the Patent rolls proving that an attempt was made by the king to win Maurice de Gaunt again to his allegiance. Maurice de Gaunt has letters of safe conduct lasting from the day of the Circumcision of the Lord in the year of the reign of the lord the king seventeen for eight days following. Witness the king at Hodsock 31st day of December. Two days' later date is this entry. It is enjoined the good men of Leeds that they be obedient to Philip d'Aubigné as their lord, because the lord the king had committed to him the land, which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt in Leeds, with the appurtenances, as long as it shall please him. Witness myself at Doncaster 2nd day of January, year of our reign seventeen (1216.) Below this entry we read as follows. The lord the king gave to Maurice de Gaunt and his vassals his safe conduct throughout his whole dominion from the day of the Epiphany

in the year of his reign seventeen during eight days following complete. At Allerton 6th day of January, 17th year of our reign. That no reconciliation took place between the sovereign and his insurgent baron appears by these entries on the roll of Letters Close of this same year. It is enjoined the sheriff of Yorkshire that he cause Philip d'Aubigné to have seizin of the whole land, which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt in his bailiwick. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne 27th day of January. Lands. The lord the king granted to Philip d'Aubigné all the lands and all the fiefs, which are of the fief, which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt, whose land the same Philip has of the gift of the lord the king, namely, the fiefs of those, who are with the enemies of the lord the king, which the lord the king had not before given to others. And it is enjoined the sheriffs of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Leicestershire, that they cause the same Philip to have the aforesaid fiefs without delay. At Odiham 15th day of April. The king to Nicholaa de Haya, greeting. Know ye that we have granted as long as it shall please us to our beloved and faithful Philip d'Aubigné the manor of Tealby with all its appurtenances, which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt, who is our enemy. We have also restored to the same Philip the manor of Ingoldsby with all its appurtenances, as his right. And therefore we enjoin you that you cause the same Philip to have full seizin of the aforesaid lands without delay. Witness myself at Lincoln 28th day of September, in the year of our reign eighteen.

On the Patent rolls of the 17th and 18th years of King John's reign are these entries. "Of land given. It is commanded to the knights and free tenants of the fief of Maurice de Gaunt in Bingeley that they be in all things obedient and answerable to Philip d'Aubigné, to whom he gave the land, which had been his, with all its appurtenances. At Yarm, 31st day of January, 17th year of our reign. The king to all the free tenants and others of the vill of Saltby, who are of the fief of Maurice de Gaunt, greeting. Know ye that we have committed to our beloved and faithful Philip d'Aubigné the land which was that of Maurice de Gaunt, with all its appurtenances. And therefore we command you, that you be obedient and answerable to the same Philip and his bailiffs. And in testimony &c. Witness myself at Louth 4th day of October, in the year of our reign eighteen.

Upon the invitation of the barons, Prince Lewis, eldest son of the king of France, landed in the island of Thanet on the 21st of May, to claim the crown of England in right of his wife Blanche, daughter of Elianora, queen of Castile, sister of King John, and of Alphonso the Eighth, who had ceded to them their rights to this throne. His progress was rapid during the short interval between his arrival and the decease of King John, at the castle of Newark, on the night between the 18th and 19th days of October, 1216. On the 28th day of October following, his son Henry the Third was crowned at Gloucester, and Prince Lewis, having withdrawn from the siege of Dover, continued his progress northwards, and besieged and took the castles of Hertford and Berkhamstead; from which last place he returned to London, when a truce was agreed upon between the contending parties up to one month from Easter. In Lent of the year 1217, Prince Lewis crossed the channel, and during his absence several of his adherents among the barons deserted and joined the earl of Pembroke, who acted as regent for the young king, then in the eleventh year of his age. Previous to the expiration of the truce, Prince Lewis returned back to London, from which he moved with an army of six hundred knights, and twenty thousand armed men, on the 30th day of April, taking the direction of St. Alban's. In the meantime Gilbert de Gaunt and Maurice de Gaunt with other barons were engaged in besieging the castle of Lincoln, where they were joined by Prince Lewis and his army. Thereupon the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Chester, and the leaders of the royal army, advanced to Stow, eight miles from Lincoln, on the 19th of May; and on the following morning was fought the battle, called the Fair of Lincoln, which ended in a complete victory over Prince Lewis and the English barons who continued steadfast to his cause, among whom Saier de Quincy earl of Winchester, Henry de Bohun earl of Hereford, Gilbert de Gaunt, whom the Prince had lately made earl of Lincoln, and three hundred knights, were made prisoners. Maurice de Gaunt was also a captive in the hands of Rannulph, earl of Chester, to whom he ceded for his ransom the capital manors of Leeds and Bingley in Yorkshire[q]. This victory was fol-

[q] Rannulph, earl of Chester and Lincoln, was deceased at Wallingford in Berkshire, on the 28th day of October, in the seventeenth year of King Henry the Third, 1232, without issue; whereupon Hugh de Albini, earl of

lowed by a sea-fight, in which the French admiral was slain, and the fleet dispersed, thus leaving Prince Lewis without hope of succour, who had himself returned to London previously to the battle of Lincoln. This city was forthwith besieged by the earl of Pembroke; and Prince Lewis was compelled in his distress to sue for peace to the papal legate and this ruler of England. At a meeting between these parties at Lameth near Staines, close to the bank of the river Thames, on the 11th day of September, a treaty of peace was drawn up, which contained this article; all prisoners, who had ransomed themselves before the provisions of this peace, and had already paid part of the price to their creditors, were not to have what was so paid returned to them; but all that was remaining unpaid was to be absolutely remitted to the debtors.

On the roll of Letters Close of the second year of the reign of Henry the Third, is this one addressed by the king to the sheriff of Lincolnshire; "Know thou that Maurice de Gaunt came to our fealty and service, and therefore we enjoin thee that thou make to him without delay such seizin of all his lands in thy bailiwick, as he had thereof on the day, on which he withdrew from the fealty and service of the lord King John, our father, whereof he had been disseized by our

Arundel, his nephew, had livery of the manor of Leeds, in right of his descent from his mother, Mabel, one of the four sisters of the same earl, as part of his inheritance, according to Dugdale, who cites the Close roll of the 18th year of Henry the Third. But it was after his decease without issue transferred to Margaret, daughter and heiress of Robert de Quincy, eldest son of Saier earl of Winchester, and of Hawysia of Chester, another of the sisters of Rannulph earl of Lincoln and Chester, countess of Lincoln by a grant made to her by her brother in his lifetime, wife, first of John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln in her right, and secondly of Walter Marshal, earl Marshal and of Pembroke. Her son and successor, Edmund de Lacy, married Alice daughter to the marquis of Saluces in Italy, and was deceased on the 22nd day of July, in the 42nd year of Henry the Third, 1257; whereupon Alice, his widow, had for her dower the manors of Rothwell, Leeds, Berwick in Elmet, Snaith with the soke, Slaidburn in Bolland, Grindleton and Bradford in Yorkshire. In the fourth year of the reign of King Edward the Second (1310—1311) Alice de Lacy quitclaimed to the house of the Holy Trinity of York, and to the prior and monks there serving God, all her interest and title to the advowson of the church of Leeds. Through the marriage of Alice, daughter and heiress of Henry de Lacy earl of Lincoln and Salisbury, son of the above, with Thomas earl of Lancaster, this manor came to be annexed to the duchy of Lancaster.

In the fourteenth year of the reign of Henry the Third, William de Cantilupe received a confirmation from the crown of the vill and manor of Bingley of the gift and feoffment of Rannulph earl of Chester and Lincoln, to be held of him by the service of half a fief of one knight.

precept. Witness the earl, at Westminster, 3rd day of November." In same manner was it written for the same Maurice to the sheriffs of Leicestershire, Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire. But as to the scutage of two marks, which had been imposed by the common council of the kingdom upon the fiefs of the barons, its collection was assigned to Philip d'Aubigné named above, as we learn from this Letter Close.

"The king to the sheriff of York, greeting. We enjoin thee that thou permit our beloved and faithful Philip d'Aubigné to collect the scutages of the fiefs of knights, who hold of Maurice de Gaunt, whereof the same Philip will answer through his hand at our exchequer, and do not omit to do this, although the same Maurice may have seizin of his lands. And as we have no seal, we have caused these letters be sealed with the seal of our faithful Earl William Marshal. Witness the earl at Sturminster, 22nd day of February."

On the same Close roll is this entry. "Of the manor of Were. It is enjoined the sheriff of Somersetshire that he cause Maurice de Gaunt to have a market each week on Friday at his manor of Were, unless the market be of injury to the neighbouring markets. Witness the earl at Winchester, 25th day of August."

Maurice de Gaunt and Matilda his wife confirmed to the abbey of Selby the land in the parish of Drax, called Ness, which William Paynell, his ancestor, had given; and to the priory of Bridlington, Maurice de Gaunt, as suzerain, confirmed the gift of Sir Malger de Rudston, knight, his vassal, of one carucate of land and two tofts in Rudston. He was also a benefactor to the nunnery of Clerkenwell in London, as we learn from this extract from the register of that house, entitled, Of the gift of Maurice de Gaunt of Dursley.

"To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Maurice de Gaunt, greeting. You shall know that I for the redemption of my own soul and that of Matildis my wife and of all my ancestors and successors have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to God and Blessed Mary and to the nuns of Clerkenwell there serving God in pure and perpetual alms, all my rent, which I have in the manor of Dursley, namely, that which I bought of Margaret, my father's sister, who had been the wife of Otho Fitz William, retaining nevertheless in my own hand my wood,

which I have there and the custody of the same wood, so to wit that I fully make up in a certain rent elsewhere in my lands the aforesaid rent, as much as belongs to the custody of the aforesaid wood, to the above-written nuns. And I and my heirs will warrant &c." These witnesses, Robert Fitz Walter, Saer de Quincy, earl of Winchester, Henry de Boun.

In Dodsworth's Manuscript in the Bodleian Library is this entry; Maurice de Gaunt has the manor of Weston in frank marriage with Matilda, his wife, daughter of Henry de Oily, for which manor the aforesaid Henry gave one thousand two hundred marks, it having been purchased by him of the abbey of Oseney, which held it of the gift of his ancestors. Upon the decease of Matilda, her father claimed the restoration of this manor to him, and on the roll of the *curia Regis*, in the fourth year of the reign of Henry the Third, 1219, in Michaelmas term, is this entry. "Still of the morrow of St. Martin, Oxfordshire. Henry de Oylly by his attorney claims *versus* Maurice de Gaunt five carucates of land with the appurtenances in Weston, as his right &c., and as those in which the same Maurice had not entrance except through Matilda his wife, daughter of him, Henry, with whom he gave that land to the same Maurice in marriage; and because Matilda died without heir of her body, he claims that the land may be restored to him, as that which ought to revert to him for default of heirs.

Maurice comes, and defends the right of him, Henry, as he alleges; but, in truth, he well knows that the said land was the inheritance of him, Henry, and that it was given to him in marriage with the aforesaid Matilda; but it was given upon this condition, that whatsoever should happen in regard of Matilda, that land ought to remain to him, Maurice and his heirs, until the same Maurice should render to the lord the king one thousand and two hundred marks; and thereof makes proffer of the charter of him, Henry, which testifies that the same Henry gave and granted &c. to Maurice de Gaunt in frank marriage with Matilda, his daughter, the whole manor of Weston with all its appurtenances and the fiefs of several knights to have and to hold of him Henry and his heirs to the aforesaid Maurice and Matilda and to the heirs of the same Matilda freely as frank marriage. And if it should chance that Matilda should die before she had an heir of Maurice, the aforesaid Maurice shall hold the aforesaid land of

Weston with all its appurtenances, until he should have received therefrom whatsoever at the death of the aforesaid Matilda was to be paid of the debt of one thousand two hundred marks. Wherefore the aforesaid Maurice says that through this convention he ought to hold that land, until he should have paid those monies, because he had entered into their payment at the exchequer; and begs that that convention be upheld.

Henry by his attorney says that that convention ought not to be hurtful to him, because in truth the same Maurice ought to acquit him against the lord the king of one thousand and two hundred marks within twelve years; of which eight years are now past and more, and he had not acquitted him. And now he proffers the charter of him, Maurice, which testifies that he owed Henry de Oyly one thousand and two hundred marks for the marriage of Matilda, his daughter, whatsoever should happen of her in the way of mortality, and of which one thousand and two hundred marks the aforesaid Henry ought to acquit the lord King John, by paying each year at his exchequer one hundred marks, until the aforesaid one thousand and two hundred marks were paid. And if it should chance that the same Maurice be deceased before the one thousand and two hundred marks were paid, the heirs of him, Maurice, were to pay the aforesaid debt at the appointed terms. But if it should happen by any casualty that the aforesaid Henry should be released of the aforesaid debt, either of the whole or of part, they then may pay to him the aforesaid monies at the appointed terms. But for the aforesaid debt Maurice gave and demised to the aforesaid Henry de Oyly one hundred and twenty marks of rents assized in his two manors, namely, in Irnham and Leeds, to be received annually and to hold to him, or to whom he shall wish to assign them, until from the rents aforesaid the aforesaid one thousand and two hundred marks should have been paid, or until the aforesaid Henry shall have been acquitted against the lord the king of the aforesaid debt. And if perchance the aforesaid Henry, or he to whom he shall assign the aforesaid rents of one hundred and twenty marks, should receive any portion in payment of the aforesaid one thousand and two hundred marks, it ought to be accounted to the same Maurice. And as quickly as the aforesaid Henry de Oyly shall have acquittance of the aforesaid debt against the lord the king, the aforesaid Maurice shall

receive free and quit his rent, and this his present charter and the charters of his pledges, from the aforesaid Henry or from his assign, &c. Wherefore he says that he had not rendered to the lord the king those monies, whereby he is distrained to render them; and thereof he suffers loss and has damage to the value of sixty marks, and thereof he will have suit. And it is contained in that charter that the convention was made at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in the fifteenth year of the reign of King John, (24 June, 1213).

And Maurice comes and says that that charter ought not to be hurtful to him, because the same charter ought to be broken and annihilated by the other convention made between them by the charter of him, Henry, which he proffers; and which testifies that Henry de Oyly received from Maurice de Gaunt for the debt which he owed him, namely, one thousand and two hundred marks, in Irnham and Leeds six times twenty marks of rents assised to be received annually until he should be quit against him of the aforesaid one thousand and two hundred marks, or until the lord John the king should acquit him; and then he to restore quit to him his rents aforesaid and his charter and the charters of his pledges. Day is given them to hear their judgment from the day of St. Hillary until one month (13 Jan.—13 Feb. 1220). At the judgment. From the day of the Purification of Blessed Mary until fifteen days, in the year of the reign of the lord the king eight, (2 Feb.—17 Feb. 1224), it was adjudged that Maurice may hold this manor up to the term of twelve years complete; and it is recognised and by these presents conceded that that term will be past from the day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next following up to one year. Then Maurice will acquit him, Henry, of the aforesaid debt of one thousand two hundred marks to the king according to the aforesaid convention; and at that term the same Henry may have his seizin."

The second wife of Maurice de Gaunt had name Margaret, whose lineage is unknown; but she was the widow of Ralph de Sumery, who had succeeded to the barony of Dudley, co. Worcester, anciently the estate of Gervase Paynell, brother of his mother Hawysia, wife first of John de Sumery, and afterwards of Roger de Berkeley, who died in 1195[r]. On the

[r] In this fourth year Robert de Berkeley, eldest son of Maurice de Berkeley, was deceased without issue, as we learn from this entry on the Fine

Pipe roll of the 12th year of King John for Berkshire, Margaret de Sumeri is entered as having given a fine of three hundred marks to have an assignation of her dower, which was apportioned to her in that county and in Surrey, where in her right lands were held by Maurice de Gaunt. By her first husband she had issue two sons, William, *alias* Perceval, de Sumery, who in the time of King John was in the custody of William earl of Salisbury, with his barony, comprising ten fiefs and three parts of one fief, and was deceased in the 6th year of Henry the Third, leaving an only son, Nicholas de Sumery, whose wardship was given to Rannulph, earl of Chester; and Roger de Sumery, who on the decease of his nephew in the thirteenth year of Henry the Third, 1229, succeeded to the Barony. The date of this second marriage was prior to the fifth year of Henry the Third, when Maurice de Gaunt paid the scutage of Byham for the manor of Bradfield in Berkshire to Percival de Sumery.

The castle of Byham in Lincolnshire was of the inheritance of William de Fors, count of Aumale, and lord of Holderness, who in this year rebelled against his sovereign, who went in person to besiege it with an army on the 6th day of February, and having won it, caused it to be demolished, together with the castles of Skipsea in Holderness, Skipton in Craven and Cockermouth, belonging to the same count. On this occasion the amount of scutage was fixed at 10s. each shield; and Maurice de Gaunt and William de Sumery were by the king authorized to levy it from the knights' fees, which they held of him in chief, for the army of Byham, in which they were with the king by his command.

On the roll of Letters Patents of the third year of the reign of King Henry the Third is this entry; Gloucestershire. Maurice de Gaunt gives to the lord the king one hundred shillings for having one market until the coming of age of the lord the king each week upon Tuesday at his manor of Red-

roll of that year. "Wiltshire, Oxfordshire and Somersetshire. Thomas de Berkeley brother and heir of Robert de Berkeley, owes to the lord the king one hundred pounds for his relief of the lands which had been those of the aforesaid Robert, and made the lord the king secure at Oxford of his aforesaid relief through Maurice de Gaunt, William the Fat the elder, Geoffrey de L'Isle, and Henry de Braiboef." This Thomas de Berkeley married Joanna, daughter of Ralph de Sumery by his wife Margaret, and consequently stepdaughter of Maurice de Gaunt, his first cousin.

wike and that he have until the coming of age of the lord the king one fair there to last for two days, namely on the vigil of St. Luke the evangelist and on that day, if such market and such fair be not of injury to the neighbouring markets. And it is enjoined the sheriff of Gloucestershire that he take &c. Witness, Hubert de Burgh, at Westminster, 6th day of December, (1218.) By the same. On the roll of Letters Close of the sixth year of Henry the Third is this entry as to the market at Redwick, a hamlet in the parish and hundred of Henbury, Gloucestershire, near the Severn, nine miles from Bristol, under the heading; "Of a market to be removed. The king to the sheriff of Gloucestershire, greeting. We enjoin thee that thou do not permit that a market be held for the future at the manor of Maurice de Gaunt of Redwick, which is to the detriment of our town and market of Bristol and of other neighbouring markets, as we have learnt for certain. Do thou also cause to be removed without delay the houses there erected by occasion of the aforesaid market; so that neither vessels may come there nor a market be kept up there, otherwise than may have been wont to be done in the time of the lord King John our father. Witness Hubert de Burgh &c. at Westminster, 13th day of June, (1222) through the same and the council of the lord the king."

In the 7th year of Henry the Third a scutage of two marks from each shield for the host of Wales was levied, and writs were sent to the sheriffs of Yorkshire, Berkshire, Lincolnshire, Somersetshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Gloucestershire, and Leicestershire, for Maurice de Gaunt to cause him to have his scutage from his fiefs in those counties. Witness Hubert de Burg &c. at Westminster, 27th day of August (1223.)

On the roll of Letters Close of the 8th year of Henry the Third is the following one, headed; "Of the market of Were. It is enjoined the sheriff of Somersetshire. Know thou that we have granted to our beloved and faithful Maurice de Gaunt, that the market, which was wont to be held at his manor of Were upon Friday, be for the future held there on Tuesday, so that it be not to the injury of the neighbouring markets. And therefore we enjoin thee that thou cause the aforesaid market to be proclaimed and held the aforesaid day and place, as is above-said. Witness the king at Bedford, 23rd day of

June, in the year of his reign eight (1224). Before the justiciaries."

On the roll of Letters Close of the 9th year of Henry the Third, is the following for Maurice de Gaunt. "Because Maurice de Gaunt is in Wales with the people of earl William Marshal by the command of the lord the king to fortify a certain castle there, it is enjoined the sheriff of Somersetshire that he cause the assise of novel disseisin, which Philip de Columbers has arraigned before the justiciaries in eyre in the county of Somerset against the same Maurice of a tenement in Stockland to come before the justiciaries at Westminster within one month from the day of St. Michael. Witness the king at Westminster, 26th day of August" (1225).

As also this other. "Sumersetshire. It is enjoined the sheriff of Somersetshire that he cause the assise of novel disseisin, which William de Efton and Cecilia la Butillera have arraigned against Maurice de Gaunt, who is in Wales with the people of earl William Marshal by the command of the lord the king to fortify a certain castle there, to come before the justiciaries at Westminster within one month from the day of St. Michael, and that he have there this brief and the other brief. Witness the king at Reading, 5th day of September. Before the justiciaries, and earl William Marshal."

On the roll of Letters Close of the 10th year of Henry the Third, is the following for Maurice de Gaunt. "The king to his barons of the exchequer, greeting. Because it has been protested before us and our council that Maurice de Gaunt had with the lord John the king our father in his host, when he was last in Poitou from the day of the Purification of Blessed Mary down to the feast of Blessed Denis, both days reckoned, ten knights, whose several livery has been computed by day at two shillings, whereof the sum is two hundred and fifty pounds, we enjoin you forasmuch that in a demand of six hundred and seventy-three pounds, sixteen shillings and sixpence, which sum is exacted from him by summons of our exchequer of the debts of the Jews for Henry de Oylly, to compute to the same Maurice the aforesaid two hundred and fifty pounds. And as the same Maurice was with the same lord the king our father in the same host the aforesaid time, we enjoin you that, so far as the sum of twenty-five pounds,

which are exacted from him by summons of our exchequer in regard of the scutage of Poitou levied for the same expedition, you cause him to be quit. But because it has been protested before us and our council that Philip d'Aubigné had of our bailiwick the lands of the same Maurice, whilst he had been in the prison of Rannulph earl of Chester, by reason of his capture at the battle of Lincoln, when the scutage was first levied in our time to do us aid, namely, from each shield two marks, we enjoin you that to the extent of thirty-five marks, which are exacted from him by reason of the scutage aforesaid, you cause him in like manner to be quit. Witness myself at Westminster, 9th day of December, in the 10th year of our reign. By the justiciaries before the council of the lord the king."

From this important record we learn that he had been the prisoner of the earl of Chester for a year after the battle of Lincoln, and that the number of knights' fiefs held of his barony amounted to seventeen and a half. On the same roll is this entry. "Martin de Tackeley and Mabilia his wife attornies of Henry Butler in an assise of mort d'ancestor between the aforesaid Martin and Mabilia and Henry and Matilda his wife, claimants, and Maurice de Gaunt tenant of one hide of land in Dundry. To the justiciaries about to make the next eyre in Somersetshire" (1226).

On the roll of Letters Close of the 11th year of Henry the Third, are the following entries concerning Maurice de Gaunt. "For the bishop of Lincoln. It is enjoined Robert de Lexinton and his associates justiciaries, that they put the suit, which has been summoned before them between Maurice de Gaunt and Hugh bishop of Lincoln, in regard of common of pasture, which the same Maurice claims against the aforesaid bishop in the pastures of Irnham, Cuham, Juekesput and Juekesmoor, before the justiciaries at Westminster in one month from Easter-Day. Witness the king at Westminster, 11th day of February" (1227).

"For Maurice de Gaunt. The king to the sheriff of Berkshire, greeting. Maurice de Gaunt has shewn to us that when his men of your county in the time of Percevall de Sumery had rendered to the same Percevall his scutage for our host of Byham, Rannulph, earl of Chester and Lincoln, nevertheless exacts that scutage again from them. And therefore we enjoin you that you cause diligent enquiry to be made by honest and

law-worthy men of your county whether the aforesaid men rendered that scutage to the aforesaid Percevall in his life or not; and if by the inquisition thereof made it shall be certified to you that they have formerly paid that scutage, then cause the aforesaid men to have peace from the aforesaid scutage. Witness the king at Westminster, 17th day of February, 11th year of his reign."

On the same roll are these entries of the same date as the above Letter under the heading; "for the seneschals and bailiffs of Maurice de Gaunt. It is enjoined the sheriff of Lincolnshire that he send word to Hugh de Hummy, seneschal of our beloved and trusty Maurice de Gaunt in his bailiwick, so that he may not be put on assises or juries, until the lord the king shall order thereof otherwise. Witness as above."

In the same manner it is written to the sheriff of Oxfordshire for Jordan de Budiford, seneschal of the same Maurice.

In the same manner it is written to the sheriff of Gloucestershire for William the chamberlain, Gilbert de Sypton, knights, who are of the household of the same Maurice; and for William de la Hide, his bailiff. Witness as above.

In the same manner it is written to the sheriff of Somersetshire for Robert de Gurnay and Gilbert de Sypton, his knights, and for Hugh Trevet, his bailiff. Witness as above.

As also the following Letter Close; "for Maurice de Gaunt. The king to William de Putot, sheriff of Gloucestershire, greeting. Know ye that our beloved Maurice de Gaunt lately came to us at (Westminster), where he had discourse of his castle of Beverston, which he has fortified without our licence and assent, who, indeed, subjected that castle to us to do our will concerning it. And therefore we have deferred to communicate any thing or to execute any thing in respect thereof, until it be made fully clear to us of the fortification of the aforesaid castle and until we shall have deliberated on the course to be adopted in its regard. Therefore we enjoin you that in the meanwhile you move no question against him, nor inflict any annoyance upon him by occasion of the aforesaid castle. Witness myself at Westminster, 26th day of March, in the year of our reign eleven."

On the same roll of Letters Close is also this entry. "Justiciaries itinerant. In the form in which it is written to the justiciaries itinerant on the roll of the Letters Close of the

10th year of the reign of the lord the king, is it written to the justiciaries itinerant underwritten,

Thomas de Multon Robert de Lexinton Maurice de Gaunt Ralph Musard	in the counties of	Hereford Stafford and Salop Devon Southampton Berkshire

the first day at Hereford on the octave of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and in the other counties on the day and at the place which they shall appoint."

Upon the roll of Letters Patent of the 13th year of Henry the Third is the following for Maurice de Gaunt and his castle of Beverston.

"The king to all to whom these present letters shall reach, greeting. Know ye that we have granted for us and our heirs to our beloved and faithful Maurice de Gaunt and to his heirs that his castle, which he caused to be fortified at his manor of Beverston, may stand and remain for ever in the same state, as it is now fortified. In witness of which act we have caused these letters patent to be made. Witness the king at St. Neot, the 29th day of July, in the year of our reign, thirteen" (29 July, 1229).

Beverstone is a parish in the hundred of Berkeley, two miles from Tetbury, and at the time of the survey by William the Conqueror, recorded in Domesday Book, it was a member belonging to Berkeley, and is there described as a berewick containing ten hides. It was formerly a market-town, and has the remains of this castle, erected by Maurice de Gaunt; which was a square building moated on all sides, with a tower at each corner: one of these is still remaining, and a part of the castle is converted into a farm-house. The church is dedicated to St. Mary, and is a rectory, having Kingscot chapel, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, within the limits of the parish. An engraving of the ruins is inserted in the second volume of A Genealogical History of the House of Ivery, facing page 496, from which it appears to have been of considerable extent and closely adjoining the church.

In this regnal year the grandson of Margaret, the wife of Maurice de Gaunt, was deceased in his minority, as we learn from this entry on the Fine roll under the heading, "Of the land which had been that of Nicholas son of Percival. It is enjoined the sheriff of Worcestershire that he take into

the hand of the lord the king without delay all the land, which had been that of Nicholas, son of Perceval de Sumery, who is deceased, in his bailiwick, and that he keep it safely until the king shall command otherwise thereof, saving to Rannulph, earl of Chester and Lincoln, his goods and chattels found in the same land. Witness the king at Cirencester, 4th day of July." This decease of his nephew opened the succession of the barony of Dudley to the second son of Margaret, Roger de Sumery, who did homage the same year, and had livery of his lands. In the Testa de Nevill are these entries describing the tenures of Maurice de Gaunt. "Lincolnshire. Belteslau. Maurice de Gaunt holds Irnham in demesne of his barony. Manley. Maurice de Gaunt holds of the lord the king in Roxby the fief of one knight. William de Scotney and Thomas de Scotney hold it. In Burton and soke is contained the fief of one knight of the fief of Fulk Paynel. Adam Paynel holds it and ought to hold it of the heir of William Paynel. Counties of Somerset and Dorset. Hundred of Wootton. Maurice de Gaunt holds Quantockshead and Huish by the service of the fief of half a knight; Maurice de Gaunt holds Stockland of the lord the king by the service of the fourth part of one knight. Hundred of North Petherton. Maurice de Gaunt holds Pawlet of the lord the king by the service of half a fief of one knight and it had been anciently a member of the manor of North Petherton. And King Henry the Elder gave this member to Fulk d'Aunou. In the same county of Somerset Thomas de Welles, otherwise Wallys, granted the town of Axbridge with all its appurtenances to Maurice de Gaunt to have and to hold to him the said Maurice, his heirs and assigns, of the said Thomas and his heirs, as freely as Hugh, archdeacon of Wells, had granted it to the said Thomas de Welles by the service of rendering half a mark of silver annually. Not long after Maurice de Gaunt granted the said town to Joceline, bishop of Bath, his heirs and assigns, remitting to the said bishop all claim which he or his successors had or could have in the same in the said premises[s]."

[s] These particulars are taken from the History of the Transactions at the Abbey of Glastonbury, by Adam de Domerham, who recites a charter of King John, of which a copy is preserved on the roll of charters of the 5th year of his reign. By it a grant was made to Hugh de Welles, archdeacon of Wells, of the manors of Chedder and Axbridge with the hundreds of Winterstoke and Chedder and with all their appurtenances, to have and to hold at fee-farm to him and his heirs or to those to whom he shall grant them, in inheritance of the king and his heirs for ever, answering thereof to the king's

In the 14th year of Henry the Third, letters patent were issued in favour of those barons and knights who purposed to embark with the king, then about to set out on an expedition to France, in these terms. "The king to all to whom these present letters shall reach, greeting. Know ye that we have taken into our protection and defence the vassals, lands, rents and all possessions of our beloved and faithful Maurice de Gaunt, who has set out with us in our service to the parts beyond sea. And therefore we enjoin you that you maintain, protect and defend those vassals, lands, rents and all possessions, inflicting or permitting to be

exchequer by the year of twenty pounds by tale, namely at the exchequer of St. Michael of £10. by tale, and at the exchequer of Easter of £10. by tale, whereof it was wont to be answered at the exchequer by the sheriff in the body of the county of Somerset of £16. blanch by the year. Witnesses, the Lord Herbert, bishop of Salisbury, Geoffrey Fitz Piers, earl of Essex, William, earl of Salisbury, Hugh de Nevill, Robert de Vieuxpont, Peter de Stokes, William de Cantilupe, John de Stokes, Thomas de Sanford. Given by the hand of the lord Simon elect of Chichester at Woodstock 25th day of April in the 5th year of his reign. (25 April, 1204.) Under the heading, Of the manor of Axebridge confirmed to Josceline, bishop of Bath, this writer inserts a copy of a charter of King Henry the Third, containing a recital, first of the charter, by which the said Hugh de Welles, then bishop of Lincoln, had granted whilst archdeacon, the manor of Axbridge with all its appurtenances to Thomas de Welles, otherwise Walleys, his kinsman, to be held of him and his heirs by the annual payment of half a mark of silver. Secondly, of the charter of the above-named Thomas Walleys, which he made to Maurice de Gaunt of the said vill of Axbridge, which he gave and granted to the same Maurice with all its appurtenances to have and to hold to the same Maurice and heirs or to whom he should assign it of the said Thomas and his heirs, as freely as the said archdeacon had granted it to him Thomas, by the service of half a mark. Thirdly, of the charter of the aforesaid Maurice de Gaunt made to the venerable father the lord Joceline, bishop of Bath, of the same vill of Axebridge, in which the same Maurice protested that he had given, and granted and quit-claimed from himself and his heirs to the same bishop and to whomsoever he may wish to assign it all the right which he had in the same vill, and with all its appurtenances for ever, so that the same bishop and he to whom the same bishop should assign it might have the free disposal of the aforesaid vill for ever, with all its appurtenances, as of other his demesne manors, without any reclamation of the same Maurice or of his heirs. Fourthly, of the charter by which the same Thomas acknowledged that he, at the request of the aforesaid bishop, had quit-claimed Maurice de Gaunt and his heirs for ever from homages and all services, which they owed to the same Thomas and his heirs in regard of the said vill with its appurtenances. These witnesses, the lord Eustace of London, Richard of Salisbury, Thomas of Norwich, bishops, Richard abbot of Westminster, Nicholas abbot of Vaudey, Luke dean of St. Martin, Hubert de Burgh earl of Kent, our justiciary, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, William count of Aumale, Humphrey earl of Hereford, Richard de Argentan, our seneschal, William de Cantelupe, Thomas de Multon, Maurice de Gaunt, Stephen de Segrave, Hugh le Despenser, Henry de Braibroc and others. Given by the hand of the venerable father Ralph, bishop of Chichester and our chancellor, at Westminster, 16th day of February in the 11th year of our reign.

inflicted no annoyance, injury, loss or damage upon them. And if any transgression shall befall them, cause it to be amended in their favour without delay. In testimony of which matter, we have caused these letters patent to be made to endure as long as the same Maurice shall be with us in the parts beyond sea. Witness the king at Portsmouth, 20th day of April."

William de Beauchamp, a knight in the retinue of Maurice de Gaunt, and Richard de Clifford, one of the household of Maurice de Gaunt, had similar letters of protection on this occasion. Prior to their embarkation, Maurice de Gaunt, with a view to give effect to the provisions of his will, as having no issue of his body, and owing to the law of England, which excludes the sister of the half-blood and her heirs from the succession, it being the only way in which he could benefit his nephew, Robert de Gurnay, the son of his sister Eva de Gurnay, daughter of Robert, son of Robert Fitz-Harding by Hawisia de Gurnay his first wife, obtained licence to transfer his patrimony to the king, and accordingly, by deed bearing date at Portsmouth, he gave unto the king his lordships of King's Weston in the parish of Henbury, Beverston and Aylburton in the parish of Lidney. These manors were subsequently regranted to him in fee; and by his will he devised them, together with Northwick and Redwick in the same parish of Henbury, to his nephew Robert de Gurnay; and at the same time reconveyed the three hundreds of Portbury, Bedminster, and Harecliffe, to Thomas, lord Berkeley, his cousin and heir.

On the last day of April the king embarked at Portsmouth, and landed at St. Malo on the 6th day of May in the year of the Lord 1230. In this year, to borrow the words of the chronicle of blessed Mary of Overey in the borough of Southwark among the Cotton manuscripts, Faustina A. viii., "the lord Henry king of England, son of John, led an army into lesser Britain to contribute aid to the count of the said land, where he made stay so long, until a truce had been confirmed between the king of France and the same count. In the same year and in the same expedition died the lord Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, and Geoffrey de Say the younger, and Reymund de Burgh, and Nigel de Montbray, and Maurice de Gaunt, and many others of the nobles of England." The news of his decease reached

England prior to the date of this entry on the Fine roll of that year, under the heading, Of the land which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt. "It is enjoined the sheriff of Lincolnshire that he take without delay into the king's hand all the land, which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt in his bailiwick, and deliver it with the chattels and grain found on it by view of the coroners of the same county to Simon de Roppesly to be kept safely, so as to answer thereof to Ralph, bishop of Chichester, the king's chancellor, and to Stephen de Sedgrave, to whom the king had committed his escheats to be in their custody, as long as the king shall please, so that of the issues of the same land the same Simon may have one tally, and the aforesaid coroners another tally. Also the sheriff himself may cause to be drawn in writing all the things found in the same land, as well oxen, grain and stock, as all other chattels, with the rent of the same land immediately, so as he shall be able to deliver them to the same Simon to be by him redelivered to the aforesaid bishop and Stephen. Witness, Stephen de Sedgrave at Doncaster, 30th day of August."

On the 26th day of October the king landed at Portsmouth, and on the Fine roll of the 15th year of his reign, is this entry for Robert de Gurnay. "The king took the homage of Robert de Gurnay of the lands, which had been those of Maurice de Gaunt, and which belong to him Robert by hereditary right. And it is enjoined the sheriff of Somersetshire that having received security from him of one hundred pounds, by which he made fine with the king for his relief, he cause the same Robert to have full seizin of the lands, which the same Maurice had in his bailiwick, whereof the same Robert is his next heir, the manors of Pawlet and Were being retained in the king's hands, in regard of which contention has arisen, in the king's presence, who may be the nearest heir thereof. Witness the king at Westminster 6th day of November."

The lands, to which Robert de Gurnay was next heir, were such as had belonged to his mother Eva, of the inheritance of Hawisia de Gurnay, after the decease of Robert son of Robert Fitzharding, her father, and through whose grant Maurice de Gaunt was tenant of Barrow for his life. As to the manor of Inglishcombe, Eva had retained it in her own possession, and during the time of her second marriage with

Roger de Peauton, she confirmed the gift of the church of Inglishcombe to the monastery of Bermondsey; in regard of which there had been previous grants of Hawisia her grandmother, widow of Robert de Gurnay, and of Hawisia, her own mother. This manor, upon her decease without issue by her second husband, descended to her son Robert de Gurnay, prior to the fourth year of Henry the Third, during his minority; who, when of age, confirmed the advowson of Inglishcombe to the monks of Bermondsey by this charter, which fully disproves the assertions of Dugdale, Collins, and Anderson, that he was nephew and heir-at-law to Maurice de Gaunt, and descended of the marriage of Robert son of Robert Fitzharding with Avicia de Gaunt, whom they erroneously call Alice.

"All the sons of Holy Mother Church shall know that I Robert de Gurnay, son and heir of Eva de Gurnay, for the redemption of my soul and of Thomas, my father, and of Eva, my mother, and of Hawisia de Gurnay, my grandmother, and of all my ancestors and successors, have granted and by my present charter confirmed to God and the church of St. Saviour of Bermondsey the advowson of the church of Inglishcomb, free and quit from all secular service and with all liberties belonging to the same church, which Hawisia, my grandmother, bestowed upon them, and Eva, my mother, confirmed, as their charters, which they have thereof, attest. And thereof a chyrograph has been made between us at Ilchester before Sirs Thomas de Multon, Robert de Lexinton, Maurice de Gaunt, and Ralph Musard, justiciaries in eyre of the lord the king, in the eleventh year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John. Witnesses, William de Sumeri, Martin de Sandford, John Maudestor," &c.

According to Dugdale, who cites the Patent rolls of the time of the king's crossing the channel to Brittany, part 2. m. 3, Andrew Lutterell after the decease of Maurice de Gaunt came to the king and claimed as his inheritance divers lordships, viz. the manors of Quantockshead, Stockland, Huish, Pawlet and Weare, in the county of Somerset, as also Irnham in Lincolnshire, and offered him one hundred marks to have inquisition made of his title thereto, and that he might have livery of them, in case they should appear to be his right. His claim could only have reference to the several manors held by Maurice de Gaunt, as heir of his mother Avicia de Gaunt,

which had been those of William Paynell, eldest son of Ralph Paynell, and although Maurice de Gaunt had a brother Henry de Gaunt, who survived him, he had embraced a religious life; wherefore in the person of Maurice, the issue of William Paynell was extinct as to succession, and it was as the representative of a younger brother of William Paynell, that Andrew Lutterell was entitled to such manors as had belonged to Ralph Paynell, his father, whose heir he was. Accordingly as respects the manor of Pawlet we have this second entry on the Fine rolls of the 15th year of Henry the Third for Robert de Gurnay. "The king took the homage of Robert de Gurnay of the lands, which had been those of Maurice de Gaunt, his maternal uncle, which belong to him hereditarily. And it is enjoined the sheriff of Somersetshire that he cause him to have full seizin without delay of the manor of Pawlet. Witness the king at Westminster, 21st day of November." On the same roll is also this entry for Andrew Luterell. "Andrew Luterell made fine with the king in one hundred marks for having seizin of the manor of Irnham with the appurtenances, which had been that of Maurice de Gaunt, and which belongs to him by hereditary right. And it is enjoined the sheriff of Lincolnshire that having received security from the aforesaid Andrew of the aforesaid hundred marks to the king's use, he cause the same Andrew to have full seizin of the aforesaid manor with the appurtenances. Witness the king at Westminster, 17th day of April."

On the roll of Letters Close of the same year are these two entries; "The king granted to Walter de Envermeu the manors of Quantockshead and Huish with the appurtenances to have and to hold to the same Walter all his life, unless it should by chance happen that it behoves the king to restore those manors to the right heirs. And it is enjoined the sheriff of Somersetshire, that he cause the same Walter to have full seizin of the aforesaid manors, as is abovesaid. Witness the king at Oxford, 3rd day of May. For Margaret de Sumery. It is enjoined the sheriff of Somersetshire, that notwithstanding the precept of the king of making seizin to Walter de Envermeu of the manors of Quantockshead and Huish, he cause without delay Margaret de Sumery to have seizin of the aforesaid manors with the appurtenances, which have been assigned to her by precept of the king, in lieu of her dower, to support herself, until a certain dower be assigned to her of the lands,

which had been those of Maurice de Gaunt, late her husband. Witness the king at Gloucester, 15th day of May."

Maurice de Gaunt had in his lifetime erected a church dedicated to St. Mark on a site called Billeswick in the north-west suburb of the town of Bristol, near the abbey of St. Augustine's, and also a hospital for a master and three chaplains and one hundred poor people to be relieved every day. In the register of the dean and chapter of Wells is a copy of his charter of foundation, from which we learn that he had intended to give the manors of Pawlett and Stockland and other property to the canons of St. Augustine, and to have made this hospital entirely subject to their management and direction. His decease seems to have frustrated the full accomplishment of his purpose; but the two heirs of his lands *ex parte paterna et materna*, who claimed to have these two manors apportioned to them as their right, forthwith confirmed his endowment. The following document, which proves that the executors of the will of Maurice de Gaunt had thought it requisite to obtain such sanction even before Andrew Lutterell had seizin, occurs under the title of Convention between the executors of Maurice de Gaunt and Andrew Lutterell in the cartulary of this Hospital, which from the founder had the name of "Gaunt's Hospital."

"This is the convention made before the venerable fathers, Ralph of Chichester, chancellor of the lord the king, Joceline of Bath and William of Worcester, by the grace of God bishops, between Henry de Veyns and Jordan de Budiford, co-executors of Maurice de Gaunt of happy memory, on the one part, and Andrew Luterell on the other part, in regard of the manor of Stockland with its appurtenances; namely, that the said Andrew gave and granted and by his charter confirmed in free pure and perpetual frankalmoign to God and blessed Mary and to blessed Mark and to the master almoner of Billeswyk for the support of the said master and the chaplains there celebrating divine service for the faithful and towards the refection of the poor inmates, the whole of the said manor of Stockland with all its appurtenances without retaining any thing. So, nevertheless, that as quickly as he had seizin of the same manor through the lord the king, he will thereof make full seizin to the said executors without any impediment for forty marks, which the said executors shall be bound to give to the said Andrew, to wit, twenty marks, when he shall

make to them seizin thereof, and twenty marks at the feast of All Saints next following. And if there are any writings in the possession of the said Henry belonging to the said Andrew in respect of his inheritance, then at this last term he shall restore them to him Andrew without difficulty. And be it known that the said Henry committed one charter before the said Andrew to the lord bishop of Bath to have in his custody, which, when the said Andrew shall have fully satisfied the said executors of the seizin of the said manor, as is abovesaid, he shall deliver to him, Andrew, and who, if he shall withdraw himself from doing this, he shall deliver it to the said Henry, who had previously committed it to him. And if the Lady Margaret, who had been the wife of the said Maurice, shall wish to have dower out of the said manor, the said executors shall make dower to her thereof, to as much as one third of the said manor extends. And the said Henry and the said Andrew pledged themselves and their heirs to keep this convention faithfully and without guile, and mutually ratified the present writing with their seals. These witnesses, Sir Gilbert de Gaunt, Robert de Gurnay, John de Champfleury, William de Fen, then seneschal of the bishop of Bath, master Robert de Bretun, John of the Temple, clerk, Walter and Robert, clerks, Stephen the chamberlain, William Luterell, Thierry, clerk, and others."

The charter of Robert de Gurnay in confirmation of his uncle's charter was witnessed by Anselm, bishop elect of St. David, according to Tanner; but that containing the grant of the manor of Pawlett and of the mills of Were and Redwick, and four marks of rent in Bristol and of his houses of Billeswick, "for the redemption of the soul of Maurice de Gaunt of happy memory, my uncle, and for my own redemption and those of all my ancestors and successors, to God and blessed Mary and blessed Mark and to our almoner of Billeswick," when he should be in full seizin and power through the lord the king of all the lands and tenements hereditarily belonging to him from the said Maurice, is witnessed by Ralph bishop of Chichester, chancellor of the lord the king, Hubert de Burg, earl of Kent and justiciary of England, Joscelin bishop of Bath, William bishop of Worcester, Gilbert de Gaunt, John Le Mareschal, Jordan de La Warre, Gilbert de Shipton, Elias de Samford, and Thierri the clerk. As Anselm, bishop of St. David's, was elected in 1229 and consecrated in March 1230,

the first charter of Robert de Gurnay will have been made in the lifetime of Maurice de Gaunt. These two later acts of Andrew Luterell and Robert de Gurnay are evidently contemporaneous, and prior to the livery of seizin recorded above; but as to the first, its date is anterior to the first day of the month of November of the year 1230, that on which Maurice de Gaunt died. The first master almoner of this hospital was Henry de Gaunt, who calls himself clerk and brother of Maurice in his deed, confirming these same grants of Stockland and Paulet, and that of Urcot, now called Gaunts Urcot in Gloucestershire. He continued in office until the year 1268, and then resigned through weakness of body, which brought him to the grave soon afterwards; when his body was interred in the vestry of the church of St. Mark, under a flat stone. Another benefactor to this hospital was Margaret de Sumery, the widow of Maurice de Gaunt, who granted the tythe of the mill of Quantockshead and pasture there for six oxen, two cows and two heifers, in 1247; so that she will have survived her last husband full seventeen years. On the Fine roll of the 46th year of Henry the Third, 1261, one William de Kavereswell is stated to have paid twenty marks, due for a fine, into the king's wardrobe, to Master Henry de Gaunt, and to have had his acquittance, a proof that this ecclesiastick was an attendant upon the king. In the Testa de Nevill is this entry in the returns made from the county of Berkshire; "Margeret de Sumery holds the manor of Bradfield in her demesne in dower of the inheritance of Roger de Sumery, nor does she render scutage from it. The collectors, William de Syfrewast and William de Englefield, of the aid to marry Isabella the king's sister to the Roman emperor, in Berkshire, rendered accompt in 1235 of one mark of one fief of Margery de Sumery in Compton Beauchamp of the honour of Sumery, and of one mark of one fief of the same Margaret in Ilsley of the same honour. In Worcestershire Margaret de Sumery owed half a mark of half a fief in Warley, held of the barony of Dudley for the same aid."

As regards the manor of Saltby with its member Bescoby, in Leicestershire, a manuscript belonging to the abbey of Croxton, of the order of Premontré, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, founded by William de Blois, count of Boulogne and Mortain, and earl of Surrey, son of King Stephen, in the parish of Croxton Kerrial, in the hundred of Framland,

Leicestershire, who endowed it with the church of that parish, and with forty acres of land in Saltby[t], contains these memorials in Latin and French, respecting the progeny of William Paynell, the givers of Bescoby and Wlveswong, in the vill last named, adjacent to Croxton. "Be it remembered that there was a certain woman, who was called Avicia de Romely, lady of Bescoby, and had a husband William Paynel by name, and a certain son William de Courcy, and a daughter named Alice. And there was another knight by name Jordan, lord of the same vill. Afterwards a second Jordan came, who was styed on his seal Count of Fourges. And after that second Jordan, came a certain knight or baron, Robert de Gaunt, who had a wife by name Alice and a daughter by name Avicia. All these gave to us of their lands in the territory of Bescoby, namely, Avicia de Romely two bovates of land and all her demesne in Ulveswong; Jordan de Fourges one bovate with all his demesne in Ulveswong, and all his culture of Ulveswong. Also Robert de Gaunt one bovate with all his demesne in Ulveswong. Also Master Achard one bovate with the appurtenances. The

[t] The register of Croxton contains this recital of the charter of the founder. "Also we have of the gift of William count of Boulogne and Mortain and Warren the waste land behind the park of Croxton and about the fountain, which is called Halewell, on both sides of the valley, with the easements of ingress and egress, of waters, ponds, mills, pasture and fuel, and of every sort of liberties towards the construction of an abbey, and forty acres of land at Saltby, and the whole of the waste land at the three ditches, which his vassals granted to us, and also the church of the same vill, with all its appurtenances, with the messuage and lawn, with the tofts and crofts, with the lands cultivated and uncultivated, with the meadows and pastures and one carucate of land of the demesne, of the lands adjoining to the same vill, with meadows and pastures and all the emoluments and appurtenances, and common of pasture with the men of the same vill, to have and to hold to us well and in peace, freely and entirely, with all liberties and easements to us and our tenants and cattle and animals and oxen of our ploughs every where within the enclosed wood and without, with the oxen of his own demesne, with entire acquittance from any interference, in pure and perpetual frankalmoign. He also confirmed to us by another charter the donations and alms, which his vassals made to us, when our church had been founded, namely, one carucate of land in Broughton of the gift of Richard Bussell with a toft and a moiety of the waste land towards Dalby; the church of Hokenhale (Hucknall Torcard, co. Notts.) with the appurtenances, the church of Lund with the appurtenances, and two bovates of land at Hertistoft, and a certain culture of the demesne to make our dwelling, and its fabric, which was in the time of King Henry, in pure frankalmoign. William, eldest surviving son of King Stephen, count of Boulogne and of Mortain, which honours he inherited from his father, earl of Surrey in right of his wife Isabella, sole daughter and heiress of William de Warren, third earl of Surrey, died without issue in 1159 in the month of October, during the march of the army in its return from the expedition to Toulouse, when his manor of Croxton reverted to the crown."

aforesaid William Paynell was a noble knight in the time of King Henry, father of King John, who had taken to wife the aforesaid Avicia de Rumeli, as is abovesaid; to whom the Lord gave fruit of her womb an only daughter, by name Alice, whom the aforesaid King Henry gave to Robert de Gaunt for his homage and service with the honour and emolument, which belonged to her. Of whom he begot a daughter, by name Avicia, whom King Henry in like manner gave to Robert son of Robert Arding of Bristol, and he had of her a son, by name Maurice. And this Maurice being deceased without heir of his body, the inheritance fell to Andrew Luterel through his mother, who had been of the kindred of the Paynells.

"Be it known and remembered that William Paynel came with the Conqueror of England, and the Conqueror gave to him for his service in the county of York, Drax and Leeds and Bingham; and gave him in the county of Lincoln, Keylesthorpe (Castlethorpe) and Irnham and Swinstead. In the county of Leicester he gave to him Saltby and Bescoby and Garthorp. William Paynel took to wife Alice de Rumely, and had a daughter, who had name Avice. This daughter King Henry gave to Robert de Gaunt for his service. Robert had of this wife a daughter, who had name Alice. This Alice gave to Gunnora de Gaunt Saltby and Bescoby. This daughter married Robert the Fitzharding of Bristol and engendered Maurice de Gaunt. When Gunnora died, she delivered Saltby and Bescoby to Gilbert de Gaunt, her son, when under age. Then Maurice de Gaunt brought his suit against Gilbert de Gaunt for these two vills in the King's Bench of London, so that wager of battle was given between two armed champions in that court. The agreement was this, that Gilbert rendered to Maurice the vills quit to him and his heirs. By that concord Maurice de Gaunt gave to Stephen de Gaunt, brother to the said Gilbert de Gaunt, the vill of Saltby with the appurtenances to him and to his heirs by chyrograph made in the king's court. Maurice died without heir of his body, and the inheritance fell to Andrew Luterel."

This last memorial, of much later date than the preceding one, is incorrect as to the names of the wives of William Paynell and of Robert son of Robert Fitzharding of Bristol, and also as to the site of Bingham, which is a vill in Nottinghamshire. The manors of Castlethorp in Lincolnshire,

and of Garthorp in Leicestershire, and this of Bingham, can be proved to have been held by a branch of the family of Paynell; and inasmuch as the manor first named belonged to Ralph Paynell, it may be inferred that the others were given to him, together with Saltby and Bescoby, after the honour of Roger de Bully had escheated to the crown, who was the tenant also of Bingham at the time of the survey. Bescoby and Garthorp are not mentioned in Domesday, but we learn from the charter of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, given above, that Garthorp was in his time a chapelry in the parish of Saltby, as well as Bescoby; and hence they were probably at that time united with Saltby. This grant of the manor of Saltby to Stephen de Gaunt, is fully corroborated by his charter to the priory of Drax, in which he confirms the grant of the church made by William Paynel the founder, together with two carucates of land and five tofts in this territory, witnessed by Sir Gilbert de Gaunt, his brother, Osbert de Boothby, and Elias de Saltby. His son, Gilbert de Gaunt, likewise quit claimed to the priory of Drax the advowsons of Saltby and Bescoby. Hugh Wallys, or de Wells, bishop of Lincoln, and Robert Grosseteste, his successor, had also confirmed the appropriation of this church to the same priory, as we learn from a letter of Richard de Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln, dated at Liddington, 19th of Feb. 1277, in the twentieth year of his pontificate, preserved by *inspeximus* in a letter of Oliver Sutton, his successor in the see, for its ratification, dated at Nettelham, 30th May, 1292[n].

[n] The original charter of Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, referred to in the text, is still preserved among the archives of the family of Maxwell, owners of the site of the priory of Drax, now resident at Everingham Park, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and is as follows:—"Universis sancte matris filiis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint Oliverus permissione divina Lincolniensis episcopus salutem in omnium salvatore. Litteram bone memorie quondam domini Ricardi proximi predecessoris inspeximus in hec verba. Ricardus miseracione divina Lincolniensis episcopus religiosis viris priori et conventui de Drax Eboracensis diocesis salutem in omnium salvatore. Visis litteris et instrumentis et plenius intellectis, per que vobis ecclesiam de Salteby nostre diocesis in usus proprios de consensu bone memorie Willelmi Paganelli, fundatoris vestri et ejusdem ecclesie patroni, auctoritate felicis recordacionis Hugonis et Roberti predecessorum nostrorum, evidenter apparet extitisse concessam, ac auctoritate quarumdem litterarum a sede apostolica concessarum, necnon auctoritate litterarum quarumdem a sanctis patribus, quibusdam Cantuariensis ecclesie archiepiscopis, indultarum, sicut ex ipsarum litterarum tenore plenius ostenditur, confirmatam. Nos attendentes, quod in favore sacre religionis variis ex causis predictorum patrum pietas circa dictam appropriacionem et appropriacionis facte confirmacionem, utilitatem monasterii vestri de Drax ad divini cultûs augmentum zelo caritatis extitit prose-

Which second letter was also confirmed by Philip the dean and the chapter of the church of Lincoln, as appears by their rescript dated at Lincoln, containing its recital, and announcing their assent. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas the Fourth in 1291, the rectory of St. Peter of Saltby is put down at £16. 13s. 4d.; and for the portion of the abbot of Vaudey in the same in the tythes of the demesne, 13s. 4d. was the tax. The vicarage of Saltby is put down at £4., and it was situate in the deanery of Framland and archdeaconry of Leicester, and diocese of Lincoln. Bertsanby or Bescoby chapel, in the parish of Saltby, is now destroyed. The chapelry of Garthorp was subsequently erected into a mother church, and was under the invocation of St. Mary. It was taxed at £15. 6s. 8d., subject to a portion of two marks, which the prior of Blythe was accustomed to receive in the same in tythes. The portion of the priory of Drax in the same, was taxed at £2.

The second son of Ralph Paynell, Jordan, succeeded to the inheritance of his mother Matilda de Surdeval; and on the Pipe roll of the 31st Hen. I. (1130-1) for Yorkshire, is this entry respecting the pleas of Geoffrey de Clinton and his associates at Blythe. "Jordan Paenell renders accompt of thirty marks of silver of the same pleas. In the treasury £10. And in remission by the king's brief to the same Jordan five marks of silver. And he owes ten marks of silver." To the

cuta, vestris devotis supplicacionibus annuentes, quibus humiliter petitis factum predictorum patrum nostro vallari consensu, dicte appropriationis vobis facte pontificalem probemus assensum. Attemptantesque, quod zelo devotionis vestre ad nostram et successorum nostrorum nominacionem, quotiens vicaria ecclesie predicte, quam nostre taxationi reservamus canonice ordinandam, vacare contigerit, personas a nobis et successoribus nostris vobis oportuno tempore nominandas, presentare curabitis ad eandem, ut dum per industriam pontificalem cure prospectus extiterit animarum, emergentibus plerumque letalibus anime periculis cautius obvietur, dictam ecclesiam in predicta forma vobis per dictos patres concessam in usus proprios confirmamus et ut eam sic imperpetuum valeatis licite retinere sine juris alterius prejudicio, vobis auctoritate pontificali plenam concedimus tenore presentium in domino facultatem; salvis archidiacono Leycestrie, qui pro tempore fuerit, consueta et debita procuratione et quatuor solidis annuis pro recompensacione sequestrata in festo Sancti Michaelis annuatim percipiendis de ecclesia memorata cum omni alio jure archidiaconali: salva scilicet in omnibus Lincolniensis ecclesie dignitate. In cujus rei testimonio sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum. Datum apud Lidington xi kalendas Martii anno gratie M°CC°. septuagesimo septimo et pontificatus nostri vicesimo. Nos itaque factum hujus predecessoris nostri ex pietatis fomite processisse ex premissis clarius intuentes, illud in forma superius annotata ratum habentes approbamus et quantum in nobis est confirmamus. In cujus rei testimonio presentibus sigillum nostrum induximus apponendum. Datum apud Nettelham iii° kalendas Junii anno Domini M.CC° nonagesimo secundo.

charter of Walter de Gaunt notifying that he had established canons regulars in the church of St. Mary of Bridlington pursuant to the precept and by the consent of King Henry, Jordan Paynell is a witness with Turstin archbishop of York, Alan de Percy, and Eustace Fitz John. In 1123 Robert de Mainill, and Gertrude his wife, gave to the abbey of Whitby the church of Great Ayton in Cleaveland, with all its appurtenances, namely, the chapel of Newton under Otneberch, now Roseberry Topping, and Nunthorp and Little Ayton. This lady was a daughter of Robert Fossard, whose father, Nigel Fossard, had held this manor with the church of Robert, count of Mortain, and after the death of her first husband she re-married Jordan Paynell, as we learn from a charter of King Henry the First, in favour of the priory of Bridlington, confirming all the benefactions made to it by Walter de Gaunt and by Jordan Paynell, or by others his barons and vavassours, which contains these clauses. "Water de Gaunt gave to this church thirteen carucates of land in Bridlington. Jordan Paganel gave in the same vill one carucate of land for the soul of Gertrude, his wife, by the gift and concession of Stephen de Mainil, his step-son. Moreover I grant and confirm the exchange of tofts, which the canons and Jordan Paganel had made between them." This land was of the fief of Richard de Surdeval, who held a manor of five carucates in Bridlington, under Robert, count of Mortain; and during the possession of this fief by Jordan Paynell, through his mother, and prior to the date of this charter, it had been subinfeuded to Stephen de Mainil, the son of his wife, by reason that he himself was without issue. In the reign of Henry the Second, Robert de Mainil, the son of Stephen, held three knight's fiefs and a half of the barony of Paynell, of which Hooton Paynell was the chief seat, and his descendant Stephen de Mainil, in 1267, gave to this priory of Bridlington the demesnes and services of the remaining four carucates of land in that vill, which Osbert de Arches held of him, a gift which his son, Nicholas de Mainil, confirmed.

In the lifetime of Jordan Paynell, his younger brother Helias, abandoning a military life, took orders in the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, and not long after, as son of the founder, he was made prior of the same, an office which he continued to fill down to the year 1143, in the reign of King Stephen. The contemporary narrative of the events which

occurred in the abbey of Selby, contains this account of his election to be abbot of that monastery after the resignation of Walter, abbot of Selby, in that year. "To this abbot succeeded Helias Paganell, prior of the Holy Trinity of York, who almost entirely a layman, except by the recitation of psalms, inasmuch as having emerged from a knight, nevertheless, by reason of the purity of his morals and of his knowledge beyond what was usual, whereby he was truly eminent, merited the election of all the monks and won their affection. This we will state concerning him compendiously, that he would have strenuously and vigilantly preserved every thing committed to him, and by his prudent management would have well and faithfully administered to the needs of the monks. When, therefore, Abbot Helias had not as yet presided over the church, Archbishop Henry by his cunning machination deposed him from the right of ruling it, alleging as a pretext for this conduct that the late abbot had been opposed to his election with some others. After him Germanus, who was prior of Tynemouth, a monk of St. Albans, is consecrated by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. This occurred in the lifetime of Henry Murdac, consecrated by the Pope 7th of Dec. 1147, and deceased at Beverley 14th of October, 1153."

The following charter of King Henry the First in favour of the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, is contemporaneous with the possession of the barony of Hooton Paynell by Jordan Paynell, and contains a more detailed account of its revenues and endowment, and has been fortunately preserved in letters patent of the 35th year of Edward the Third, addressed to John de Chesiaco, then prior of this house, dated at Westminster, 25th day of November, 1356, by *inspeximus*.

"Henry king of England to the archbishops, bishops, justiciaries, sheriffs, barons, and all his liegemen French and English, greeting. Know ye that I grant to God and to the church of the Holy Trinity of York and to the monks serving God in it all their tenures in frankalmoigns, in churches and lands and tythes and vassals and all other emoluments, which Ralph Paynell gave and granted to them, as is contained in his charter, to wit, the church itself of the Holy Trinity and its lands without the gate of Micklelith, which lie over against the western side of that city, with all appurtenances and

with all its liberties and its free customs, with soc and sac and tol and them and ingfangenthef free and quit from all secular services. In the same city the church of St. Helen and every thing belonging to the same. In front of the same church the toft of one deacon. In Lincolnshire the church of Irnham and whatsoever belongs to it and two parts of the tythes of the demesne of the same vill and two parts of all the tythes of the demesnes of Scawby and Ashby of the fief of Odo Tuschet, and two parts of all the tythes of the demesne of Tealby and the mill of the same vill of the fief of Ralph du Rouellé. The church of Rasen and whatsoever belongs to it and the tythes of the demesne. The church of Burton and what belongs to it and two parts of all the tythes of the demesne of the same vill. The church of Roxby and whatsoever belongs to it and two parts of all the tythes of the demesne of the same vill. In Yorkshire in the vill, which is called Drax, one fishery and the tythe of the rest of the fisheries; and one carucate of land in Barlby. The church of Newton and whatsoever belongs to it and the tythes of the demesne of the same vill. The church of Monkton and whatsoever belongs to it and one carucate of land and a half in the same vill, and fourteen bovates of land in Hessay. The church of Leeds and whatsoever belongs to it and the tythes of the demesne and half a carucate of land in the same vill. Also the whole vill of Sturton with all its appurtenances, and two parts of the tythes of the demesne. The church of Hooton and whatsoever belongs to it and two parts of all the tythes of the demesne of the same vill. The church of St. Helen of Thurnscoe and whatsoever belongs to it. The church of St. John of Addle and whatsoever belongs to it, and one carucate of land in the same vill, and the tythes of Arthington and of all the vills, which are adjacent to the same, and the tythe of the demesne. Half the church of Crambe and whatsoever belongs to it. The church of Barton in Rydale and whatsoever belongs to it and two parts of all the tythes of the demesne of the same vill. Also the tythes of Fadmoor. Of the gift of Jordan Painel son of the said Ralph the vill of Kunyngesthorp whole and entire with all its appurtenances, as his charter testifies. Two parts of all the tythes of the demesne of Newton upon the Wold. And I will and grant and firmly enjoin that they have and hold all the things named above honorably and well and in peace and freely and

quietly, and that they may not be disturbed. And wheresoever they have lands I will that they may be quit and free from all service and custom in regard of hundred and wapentake. Witnesses, Nigel d'Aubigny, Robert de Brus, Simon the Steward, Ralph du Rouellé, Alan Fitz Fleald, Ranulph our Treasurer, at York."

Ranulph, the king's treasurer, became chancellor of the king in 1110; and hence this charter is probably of the same date and made almost immediately after the decease of Ralph Paynell. Coneysthorp is a hamlet in the parish of Barton in Rydall, *alias* in the street, and had also been parcel of the land of the count of Mortain, as we learn from Domesday Book, where is this entry. "In Coungestorp Torchil had one manor of three carucates subject to Danegeld." In the summary of lands in each wapentake in the same book, under Bolesford wapentac we read, "in Coningestorp the count of Mortain three carucates." At the present time Coneysthorpe is in the wapentake of Bulmer, though Barton itself and its other hamlet of Butterwick are in the wapentake of Rydale. Newton upon the Wold in the parish of Winteringham was at the time of the survey of Domesday of the fief of Ralph Paynell, and in the tenure subsequently of his vassal, Ralph du Rouellé, the donor.

Upon the decease of Jordan Paynell without leaving issue, and by reason that Helias Paynell had embraced a religious life, the barony of his mother, Matilda de Surdeval, devolved upon Alexander, the youngest son of Ralph Paynell. We learn from a charter of King Henry the Second to Nostell priory, founded by Ralph Adlave, chaplain and confessor of Henry the First, in the year 1121, in the parish of Wragby, for canons of the order of St. Augustine, upon land which had once belonged to Ilbert de Lacy and Robert, his son, in honour of St. Oswald, king and martyr, near the castle of Pontefract, that Alexander Paynell had married another daughter of Robert Fossard, named Agnes. It contains this recital. "Of Robert Fossard the church of Bramham with fourteen bovates of land which belong to that church, and the church of Wharram in the street with four bovates of land, and the church of Lythe with ten bovates of land, which churches, to wit, the aforesaid Robert gave to the aforesaid canons by the hand of Turstin the archbishop. Of William Fossard, son of Robert Fossard, and of Agnes, his daughter,

two carucates of land in Bramham and the mill of the same vill. Of the gift also of Alexander Painel and Agnes, his wife, twenty acres of land in the same vill. Of Alexander Painel one carucate of land, which is called Huen, in Houghton, a township in the parish of Darfield." The following charter of Alexander Paynell is preserved among the muniments of William Constable Maxwell of Everingham park, in the East Riding of the county of York, and lord of the manor of Drax.

"Be it known to all sons of Holy Mother Church as well to come hereafter as present now that I Alexander Paynell have granted and by this my charter confirmed to God and the church of the Holy Trinity of York and to the monks of Marmoutier serving God in it the donation, which Jordan Paynell, my brother, gave to them, namely, the vill of Coneysthorpe, whole and entire with all its appurtenances, with wood and plain and field and waters and meadows and moors and with the mill and whatsoever belongs to the same vill in pure and perpetual frankalmoign free and quit from all secular service. The donations, moreover, of churches and tythes and vassals and lands, which Ralph Paynell, my father, made to God and to the aforesaid church and to the monks in frankalmoign, namely, the church itself of the Holy Trinity and three crofts belonging to that church. The church of St. Helen of Fishergate with all its appurtenances. In front of the same church the toft of one deacon. In Lincolnshire, indeed, the church of Irnham and whatsoever belongs to it as well in land as in tythes and the tythe of the lord's own demesne, and two parts of the tythes of the vills of Ashby and Scawby of the fief, which Odo de Tuscet holds. In like manner two parts of the tythe of the demesne of Tealby of the fief, which Ralph du Rouellé holds. The church of Rasen and whatsoever belongs to it in all things and the tythe of the demesne and of the whole of the aforesaid vill. The church of Burton and whatsoever belongs to it and the tythe of the demesne. The church of Roxby and whatsoever belongs to it and the tythe of the demesne. In Yorkshire the church of Newton with all its appurtenances and tythe of the demesne. The church of Monkton with its appurtenances. In the same vill the land of one carucate. The church of Leeds with all its appurtenances. Also the whole vill of Sturton. The church of Hooton and whatsoever belongs to

it and the tythe of the demesne. The church of St. Helen of Thurnscoe with all its appurtenances. The church of St. John of Addle with all its appurtenances, and one carucate of land and the tythe of Arthington and of all the vills, which belong to that vill, and the tythe of the demesne. Likewise half the church of Crambe and whatsoever belongs to it, which is of my fief. The church of Barton in Rydale and whatsoever belongs to that church and the tythe of the demesne. The tythe also of Fadmoor. In the grove of Bramham a certain site, which is called Hedley, with the wood, and all its other appurtenances. But I have given and granted and by this my present charter confirmed to the aforesaid church of the Holy Trinity and to the monks for the redemption of my own soul and those of my father and mother and for the souls of all my ancestors all these things abovesaid in pure and perpetual frankalmoign, free and quit from all secular service and exaction, according to what is contained in the charter of Ralph Paynell, my father. These witnesses, Gamellus the priest, Rainald the clerk, Hervey the clerk; of laymen, William de Hauterive, Osbert son of Turstin, Edwin, Osbert de Selby, Ralph and Andrew, vassals of Edwin, Siward the cook, Robert son of Hubert Rusellos, William son of Roscelin, Peter de Scotho, Richard de Bonnebouche, Maurice."

Hedley hall is now a farm-house in the township and parish of Bramham, and it is evident from this charter that the grant of this site was a benefaction of Alexander Paynell for the soul of his wife, Agnes Fossard, of whose frank-marriage this portion of Bramham had been. According to the manuscript of Richard Rawlinson, this gift had been made in 1125, and consequently prior to his succession to the barony of Hooton; but the establishment of a cell in this place, subject to the priory of the Holy Trinity, dedicated to St. Mary, is of later date and to be ascribed to the reign of King Henry the Second. According to Dodsworth's manuscript, Nigel Fossard granted to God and to the church of the Holy Trinity of York a certain site in Bramham wood, which is called Hedley, and all the ground to the hill at Oglethorp, which is a hamlet in the township of Bramham with Oglethorp, parish of Bramham, wapentake of Barkston-Ash. His son and heir, Robert Fossard, on the Pipe roll of Yorkshire of the 31st year of Henry the First, renders

accompt of £2. 1s. 8d. for recovering his land the first time, in the treasury £1., and he owes £1. 1s. 8d. And the same Robert owes five hundred marks of silver that he may have again his land except Doncaster, which he had granted to the king to hold in his hands during a term of twenty years. And if he shall then have rendered five hundred marks of silver, he shall again have along with the rest Doncaster. Robert Fossard on the same roll renders accompt of ten marks of silver of the pleas of Geoffrey de Clinton and his associates at Blythe, and of sixty marks of silver that he may be reseised of his land; in the treasury ten marks of silver. In remission by the king's brief to the same Robert £2. And he owes £38. Atscelina, wife of Robert Fossard, renders accompt of £2. of the same pleas. In remission by the king's brief to the same Atscelina £2., and she is quit. The vavassours of Robert Fossard rendered accompt of £3. 3s. 4d. of the same pleas. They had delivered this sum into the treasury and they are quit. Robert Fossard had doubtless incurred this forfeiture of his land in 1106, at the time of the battle of Tinchebrai, in which his lord paramount, William, count of Mortain, and earl of Cornwall, as an adherent of Robert Courteheuze, duke of Normandy, was made prisoner by King Henry the First, and confined in the Tower of London for the rest of his life. On this same roll of the 31st year of Henry the First four sheriffs of London rendered accompt of the ferm of London, and had remission of £12. 12s. 6d. in tale due as the livery of the count of Mortain, and £3. 5s. in tale due for the garments of the same count. After the decease of Robert Fossard, Alexander Paynell and Agnes his wife gave the twenty acres in Bramham, mentioned above, to the canons of Nostell, in compensation for what they owed them for tythes of corn, which they had taken in Wharram-le-Street. They also confirmed the donations made by Suein, son of Edwin, of lands in Houghton to the canons of Nostell. Alexander Paynell was deceased prior to the close of the reign of King Stephen, leaving Agnes Fossard, his wife, surviving, and two sons, William and Jordan. In her widowhood, by the name of Agnes Fossard, by her charter addressed to Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, and to her son, William Paynell, she granted to the canons of Nostell two carucates of land and the mill of Bramham; whose gift was ratified by William Fossard, her brother. By another

charter, by the name of Agnes Paynell, she gave half a carucate of land in the same vill to her kinsman, Peter son of Lawrence.

In a charter of King Henry the Second, reciting and confirming the concessions of the donors to the priory of Nostell, witnessed by Eustace Fitz-John, who was slain in Wales in 1157, we read as follows. "Of the gift also of Alexander Painell and Agnes, his wife, twenty acres of land in the same vill (Bramham.) Of Alexander Painell one carucate of land, which is called Huen, in Great Houghton, and in the same vill the lands, which Swain son of Edwin and Jordan Painell gave. And in Thurnscoe the lands, which Ralph and Jordan de Lacy gave; and in the same vill three bovates of land and a half of the gift of Adam de Newmarch."

It would seem that William Paynell at the time of his mother's grant was yet a minor, inasmuch as the sheriff of Lincolnshire renders accompt on the Pipe roll of Lincolnshire of the fourth year of Henry the Second, (19 Dec. 1157—18 Dec. 1158), of one hundred marks of silver of the relief of the land of William Paynell; which sum he had delivered into the treasury and was quit. The several payments of William Paynell into the treasury are thus entered on the Pipe rolls of Yorkshire. On that of the 7th year of Henry the Second under the heading, New Pleas and New Conventions, William Painel renders accompt of thirty marks of silver. In the treasury twenty marks of silver, and he owes ten marks of silver. In Lincolnshire. Simon de Canci for him. In the 11th year of the same reign William Painel renders accompt under the same heading of £15. 3s. 4d. In the treasury £10. 3s. 4d. in two tallies. And in remission by the king's brief to Fulk Painel £5. and he is quit. From these entries we ascertain that the manor of West or Great Rasen in Lincolnshire was of his fief, and held of him by his kinsman, Fulk Painel, lord of Drax, and baron of Hambie in Normandy. In the 13th year of that reign, Barton-in-the-Street, the vill of William Paynell, had been amerced in one mark, which had been delivered into the treasury and he was quit. Coneysthorpe, the vill of the prior of the Holy Trinity of York, had also been amerced in half a mark, which had been delivered into the treasury and he was quit; both these entries are under the heading of the Pleas of Alan de Nevill. In the following year of this reign, under the

heading Aid to marry the daughter of the king, William Painell renders accompt of sixteen marks of the same aid. In the treasury fifteen marks, and he owes one mark of the new feofment. On the occasion of this marriage of Matilda, daughter of King Henry the Second, to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, an aid of one mark was levied on each fief, and in the Black Book of the exchequer we have this charter of William Paynell, specifying the number of the fiefs of his barony, namely sixteen.

"To Henry king of the English, his most dear lord, William Paynell greeting and faithful services. These are the knights, who are enfeoffed of my barony, to wit, of the old feofment. Robert de Meinill of three knight's fiefs and a half. Masci de Courcy of one knight's fief and a half. Fulk Paynell of one knight's fief. Robert de Birdsall of one knight's fief. Richard de Louvetot of five knight's fiefs. Jordan Paynell of one knight's fief. Ralph de Thurnscoe and Hugh de Bareville of one knight's fief. Of my own demesne I serve for the fief of half a knight. Of my demesne of Cookridge and of its soke I serve for the fief of half a knight. Know ye, O lord, that I have not any knight of the new feofment, except Jordan Paynell of the fief of half a knight, and William de Weeton and Roger Fitz-Peter and Robert de Hauterive of the fief of half a knight."

The following charters refer to his demesne of Hooton Paynell; and it would seem that, with the enfeoffment of the manor of Drax, the advowson of its priory had at the same time been transferred to Fulk Paynell, whilst that of the Holy Trinity reverted to this line.

"To Roger by the grace of God archbishop of York and to all sons of Holy Mother Church, William Paynell, greeting. Know ye all that I have granted and given and by the attestation of this present writing confirmed to God and to the church of St. Oswald of Nostell and to the canons there serving God for the soul of King Henry and of his heirs and for the souls of my father and mother and for my own soul and for those of all my heirs and kindred, the church of Hooton with all its appurtenances in free pure and perpetual frankalmoign. Wherefore I command all my heirs and friends that they maintain this my frankalmoign and cause no trouble or vexation to the aforesaid canons concerning

their possession, lest they incur the hate of God, and the curse that I may lay upon them. These witnesses," &c.

This charter, nevertheless, was of no avail notwithstanding this curse, for the prelate, to whom it was addressed, obtained a moiety of this advowson from the grantor in favour of a new foundation of his own, namely, that of the chapel of Blessed Mary, St. Michael, and of the Holy Angels, near his archiepiscopal palace, which opened into the cathedral, and subsequently acquired the name of St. Sepulchre chapel, as serving for that ceremony in holy week. In his charter of foundation he recites the gift of William Paynell of the church of Hooton, and that of Avicia de Rumilly, the widow of his uncle, William Paynell, of the church of Harewood, being witnesses, Robert the dean, Hamon the precentor, Master Guy, Ralph and John archdeacons. The date of this endowment is prior to the close of the year 1162, the year of the decease of Adam de Brus, who gave the church of Thorp-Arch, held by him in the right of his wife, Ivetta de Arches. It cannot be doubted that the archbishop, when he begged the church, meant to appropriate it, or at least such part of it as passed by the grant of William Paynell. At the same time he ordained a vicarage, and this is perhaps the earliest instance in the deanery of Doncaster of the appropriation of any benefice and the appointment of a vicar with a settled endowment out of the profits of the living. The vicar's portion was to consist of the whole altarage, the tythe of the demesne of the sacrist, by whom he shall be presented, or else twenty shillings in lieu of it; and the said sacrist shall pay two marks annually to the poor of the parish: the vicar to repair the chancel, find the necessaries for the church, and pay the archdeacon's procurations. A change was made by Archbishop Walter de Grey, who on the 4th day of March, 1231, fixed the charge of the procurations on the rectory, and ordained that the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity should contribute nothing thereto; and as for the demesne of the church, as long as the land was tilled by the rector or his representative, no tythe should be paid for the same; but if the said land was tilled by laymen, it should pay tythe according to an ordination made concerning this church by the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity, receiving the mediety of the tythe of the ancient demesne of Hooton and Morlinge and the tythe-hay thereof. Morling must be the

modern Morehouse. In the ordination of Archbishop Sewall de Bovill, dated on the 5th day of May, 1258, concerning the foundation of the chapel of Blessed Mary and of the Holy Angels at York, the vicar of Hooton Paynell was to have the altarage, and the tythe of the demesne of the sacrist, or twenty shillings. And the sacrist was to give the tythe of the tythe, or two marks, to the poor of the same place. In the ecclesiastical taxation of Pope Nicholas the Fourth the sacristy of the church of York is said to consist of the several livings of Thorp Arch, Collingham, Bardsey, Otley, Calverley, with a moiety of Hooton Pagnell; and was then served by the sacrist and canons, by which name Archbishop Sewall had appointed them to be called. In the deanery of Doncaster the church of Hooton Paynell for the mediety of the prior of the Holy Trinity of York was taxed at £10. 13s. 4d; and the vicarage of the same at five pounds.

To the same priory of Nostell, William Paynell confirmed for the soul of his wife the carucate of land called Huen, in the township of Great Houghton, in the parish of Darfield, reserving to himself and his heirs a rent of five shillings in the same manner as his father had done. He also confirmed to the same canons the right of common over the whole township, and those donations his vassals had made either before or since the death of his father, namely, thirty acres of the gift of Edwin de Houghton, and of Swain, his son; twelve other acres given by Swain with the assent of Richard, his son, and of Jordan Paynell, and of Agnes, his wife; also six acres given by Jordan Paynell for the soul of his wife by consent of Henry de Vernuil, the son and heir of Agnes, and four acres given by William de Lisle and Edelina, his wife, in the same vill of Houghton. Of his own gift in Thurnscoe the same canons had one hundred and fifty-five acres, and he confirmed there thirty acres of the land of Alan, and sixty-six acres which Jordan de Lacy gave them with the consent of Ralph. By another charter he further confirmed to the canons of Nostell all they held of his fee in Bramham, namely, the church, belonging to the prebend which they had in the cathedral of St. Peter at York, the mill, two carucates of land, which his mother had given in augmentation of the prebend, one of which was of her own demesne, and the other, half of the fief of Peter, the clerk, and half of the fief of Osbert Bustard, and lastly the twenty acres, which his

father and mother had given in satisfaction of the debt they owed for the corn they had taken at Wharram-in-the-street, of which the church was belonging to the same prebend. Another of his confirmations to this priory was that of one bovate of land in Bilham, a member of his fief of Hooton, given by Hugh de Bareville, his vassal named above. To a charter of Robert de Lacy, brother of John, constable of Chester, granting to William son of Eustace (who assumed the name of Vescy, as heir of his mother's barony) his uncle, for his service one bovate of land with the appurtenances in Great Marsden (Merlesdene) in fief and inheritance, namely, which had been that of Gamell son of Uhtred, are witnesses William Painell, Eudo de Longvilliers, William, his brother, Robert de Ferrers, Geoffrey Hanselin, and others.

The fief of one knight and a half held by Jordan Paynell of his brother William, was partly situate at Thurnscoe, Barkston in the parish of Sherburne-in-Elmet, and Great Broughton in the parish of Kirkby, and Tibthorp in the parish of Kirkburn. The following charter is inserted in the cartulary of Nostell, fol. 58.

"To Roger by the grace of God archbishop of York, &c. Jordan Painell, greeting. Be it known to you that I for the redemption of my soul have given to the church of St. Oswald of Nostell and to the canons there serving God all the land of Langerode with the appurtenances in the territory of Thurnscoe in pure frankalmoign," &c.

To the several charters by which Richard de Bully and Richard son of Turgis de Wickersley conjointly founded the abbey of Roche, in the parish of Maltby, liberty of Tickhill, on the 30th day of August, 1147, Jordan Paynell is a witness together with Adam de Newmarch, Hugh de Stainton, Odo Fitz-John, and William son of Raven. To the abbey of Rievaulx founded in 1131, Jordan Paynell and the rest of the frank tenants of the vill of Great Broughton, in the parish of Kirkby, west division of Langbarugh, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, gave the grange at that place with all its appurtenances, which had been one of the manors of Richard de Surdeval. Of the gift of Adam Paynell, his son, the canons of Guisbrough had a toft in Tibthorp, according to the recital in a charter of Peter de Brus, son of Peter de Brus; a hamlet in the parish of Kirk Burn of the fief of Fossard, which had been transmitted through the marriage with Agnes Fossard.

In Domesday Book, under the heading, This is the fief of Rotbert de Bruis, which had been given after the Book of Winchester had been written, we read, "in Eastriding, in Burnous (Kirk Burn) and in Tipetorp (Tibthorp) thirty-two carucates and two bovates; but part of this land is of the fief of Robert Fossart." This entry proves his father Nigel Fossard to have been deceased at the time of this insertion. Roger, archbishop of York, confirmed to the nuns of Hampole the site of the place of Hampole, &c., of the donation of William de Clerefai, and Avicia his wife, and of William Paynell, and of their other patrons, to whose charter Robert, dean of York, was a witness. In the White register of the dean and chapter of York, is a copy of the following charter of this grandson of Ralph Paynell.

"William son of Alexander Paynell to all the sons of Holy Mother Church, greeting. Be it known to all of you that I have given and by my appended seal confirmed and offered upon the altar of St. Peter to God and St. Peter of York twenty-four acres of my wood and three perches of the same wood, which is called Wranga, according as the ditches made in the same place by Robert the clerk, son of Osbert de Thorp, and the rivulet of Frickley enclose this site, as far as to the ditch of William the provost (bailiff), in pure and perpetual frankalmoign, and quit of all secular service, with free use of the ways and paths in going to and returning with all tranquillity from the same wood with cattle and ploughs and with all easements, for my own soul and those of all my heirs and of the rest of my kindred. But I have made this gift to God and Saint Peter of York at the requisition of the aforesaid Robert the clerk, free from any contradiction or claim of my heirs or others, my kindred. But this wood, which I have given and offered to God and St. Peter of York is in the field of Hooton-Pagnell. These witnesses, Robert the second, dean, Ralph, the archdeacon, Robert, provost of Beverley, Master Guy, dean of Waltham, Alan the canon," &c.

Robert Botivelin, the second, dean of York, succeeded Robert de Gaunt, chancellor of King Stephen, in 1153, and was deceased in 1168. Robert succeeded, as provost of Beverley, to Thomas à Becket, consecrated 27th May, 1162, archbishop of Canterbury. And on the Pipe roll of Yorkshire of the 8th of Henry II., 1162, Ralph, the archdeacon, and Robert, the provost of Beverley, render accompt of £366.13s.4d.

of their gift, that they may be in the custody and the protection of the king as his demesne clerks. Master Guy was dean of Waltham in 1167, and this is doubtless the year in which this charter was made. Frickley-with-Clayton, now a parish, was anciently a member of the parish of Hooton Paynel. To the same cathedral William Paynell made a second grant, as we learn from this charter.

"William Paynell to all the sons of Holy Mother Church, as well present as to come, greeting. Know ye that I have given and by this my charter quit claimed to the church of St. Peter of York in pure and perpetual frankalmoign all that culture in Hooton, which is called Mickelflath, which extends eight perches in width from the assart of Alexander (Paynell) up to the road, which goes from Hooton as far as to the bridge of Offord, and having seven perches from the same road up to the field of Hampole. This culture I had taken into my own hand at the time when the prior of Newburgh had the tenure of it. Therefore I will that the said church may have and hold this land freely and quit with all its appurtenances, as well as the other lands, which I have confirmed to the same church by my charter. These witnesses, Bernard prior of Newburgh and his canons, namely, Thomas and Peter, Thomas Fitz-Thomas, Ralph Fitz-Ralph, Walter de Honington, William de Mainil, Hermer, Alan de Sinderby, Adam the clerk, William son of Elias, Richard Painel."

By a third charter which he laid upon the altar of St. Peter, William Paynell gave to the cathedral of York one carucate of land in his demesne of Hooton with all its appurtenances within and without the vill, as fully and entirely as it had been in the time of Ralph Paynell. By a fourth charter he gave to the same cathedral a toft in the vill of Hooton, and three acres adjoining his own garden, and two other tofts contiguous to his own meadow, the boundaries of which had been perambulated by Jordan Paynell and Adam, his son, Jordan de Marr, William de L'Isle, Philip, son of Jordan de Marr, Richard de Adwick, Robert Waleis and William his brother, William de Cravene and William Poytevin, amongst the laity, and by Hugh de Saltom and others amongst the clergy.

As regards his lands in demesne in the parish of Addle, these evidences have been preserved; namely, a charter to the priory of Kirkstall, endorsed William Painel of the land given by the villains, among the muniments of Henry Arthing-

ton, Esq., and having a seal attached to it with the impress of an armed knight on horseback with sword and shield on the obverse, and a fleur-de-lis on the reverse, to this effect.

"Be it known to all, as well present as to come, that I, William Painel, give and grant and by this my charter confirm to God and St. Mary and to the monks of Kirkstall for ever, together with the land which I have given and granted to them in frankalmoign in the parish of Addle, that land which the villains of the same parish had given to the church of Addle, when it was dedicated, throughout the whole parish, namely, as much as belongs to the lands which they hold in the aforesaid parish in pure and perpetual frankalmoign, as they hold the other lands, to which these lands belong. But I testify and affirm to all hearing and seeing these letters that I have not granted, nor do I grant, nor do I warrant that donation, which my villains made. Of the deed are witnesses Pole, priest of Hooton, William de Withetune (Weeton in the parish of Harewood), Adam Painel, Guy de l'Isle, William brother of Ralph de l'Isle, Richard son of Robert son of Asketil, William son of Adam de Whitteleia (Wheatley), Richard brother of Adam Painel."

From this charter we ascertain that the church of Addle had been rebuilt by the monks of the Holy Trinity in the lifetime of this grantor, and there are few churches in Yorkshire which present a better specimen of decorated Norman work in every part of the edifice. The only portion of the old church which has been retained, is the doorway on the south side, of the early Norman style, with the figures of the Saviour, the lamb and cross, and the emblems of the four evangelists carved upon the pediment, and of a different stone to the rest of the building. By his grandfather Ralph this church had been given to the priory of the Holy Trinity; and in this reign it was confirmed to them by this charter, apparently after the monarch had visited the abbey of Marmoutier, in the vicinity of Tours, from which city it is dated.

"Henry by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, bailiffs, and all his ministers and liegemen of all England and Normandy, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and by this my present charter confirmed to God and the church of the Holy Trinity of York and to the monks of Marmoutier there serving God

the church of St. John of Addle with all its appurtenances, and one carucate of land in the same vill of the donation of Ralph Paynell and of the confirmations of his sons, as their charters testify. And therefore I will and strongly enjoin that the aforesaid monks have and hold the aforesaid church well and in peace, quit and honourably, with all liberties belonging to the same church. Witnesses, Stephen de la Tour, seneschal of Anjou, Ranulph de Glanville, at Tours."

Stephen de la Tour was seneschal of Anjou subsequent to the year 1174; and this charter secured to the priory of the Holy Trinity the advowson of this church, taxed in 1292 at £10. 13s. 4d., and the pension of the prior of the Holy Trinity in the same at £6. 13s. 4d. The other land given by William Paynell to the abbey of Kirkstall in the parish of Addle, comprised half a carucate of land in Cookridge, which Adam, son of Hucke, had held with the homage and service of the same, and he also confirmed the gift of two bovates of land, which his vassal, William de Weeton, had given in the same parish. The following charter in the cartulary of Kirkstall testifies to a donation in Bishopthorpe, by William Painell, which proves that this land of Richard, son of Erfast, was of his fief. Also Robert de Bruis held five knight's fiefs in Yorkshire in 1168, and inclusive of two carucates in Thorpe.

"Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, &c., greeting. Know ye that I have granted and by the present charter confirmed to the abbey of Kirkstall and to the monks there serving God six bovates of land in Thorp upon Ouse[r], where Robert de Bruis had land and meadow of his demesne, with all things, which belong to the same bovates, which William Painel reasonably gave to them in perpetual frankalmoign, as the charter of the same William testifies. Moreover I grant and confirm to them one toft without the gate of the city of York in the suburb with the croft and the rest of its appendages, which Roger, priest of St. Gregory, could reasonably give to them, as the cyrograph, which they have thereof testifies. Wherefore I will and strongly enjoin that the aforesaid abbot and monks have and hold all which is abovesaid in wood and plain, in meadow and pasture, in waters and mills, in ways and paths, and in all other places and other

[r] Bishopthorpe, anciently St. Andrew's Thorpe, *alias* Thorpe upon Ouse.

things belonging thereto, with all their liberties and free customs as well and in peace, freely and quit and entirely and honourably and reasonably, as the charter of William Painel and the cyrograph made between the aforesaid monks and Roger the priest testify."

The following original charter, with the same seal of William Paynell attached to it, was formerly in the tower of St. Mary at York. "I William Paynell have placed in pledge to Robert de Gaunt, Cookridge and whatsoever I hold in Addle and in the parish of Addle of my fief, namely, for twenty marks of silver, in that year, in which the Elect besieged Malzeard, from the next feast of St. John to the end of the year. And if I shall then render back that sum, my land shall remain to me entirely quit. But if I shall not then render it back, the same Robert shall hold it yearly until I shall render him back twenty marks of silver, namely, upon condition that he do not root up my wood. Witnesses, Roger, archbishop of York, William de L'Isle, William de Plaiz, Henry de Gaunt, Adam Paynel, Peter de Hauterive, and Anthony de Hauterive and Philip his brother."

In 1174 Geoffrey Plantagenet, natural son of King Henry the Second, Elect of Lincoln, besieged and took the castle of Kirkby Malzeard, belonging to Roger de Mowbray, who had embraced the cause of the young King Henry then in rebellion against his father; and hence the date of this charter is ascertained to have been made prior to the 29th August, the feast of the decollation of St. John the Baptist, in that year, as the siege was begun subsequent to the feast of Pentecost. Not long afterwards, during the occupation of the see of Rome by Pope Alexander the Third, who was deceased 27th of August, 1181, the following bull was issued in favour of the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, which exhibits the extent of the endowment which belonged to it at this time, and has been erroneously attributed by Drake and Whittaker to Pope Alexander II., who did not survive King William the Conqueror.

"Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the prior and brethren of the Holy Trinity of York, greeting and apostolical benediction. It becomes us graciously to condescend to the pious desires of religious men, to grant gentle favour to their just petitions. On this account, beloved sons in the Lord, assenting to your just requests and prosecuting the duty of our office, by the apostolical authority

we confirm to you and your church the churches, tythes, vills and other things, which are noted down below, so that you may reasonably possess them. The church, namely, of All Saints in Northstreet, the church of St. Bridget in Muclegate, the chapel of St. James without the gate of York. The church of St. Helen in Fishergate. The church of St. Peter of Leeds with all its appurtenances. The church of All Saints of Rasen with all its appurtenances. And a moiety of the church of Cramb and the cell of Hedley with all their appurtenances. Ethorning in the wood of Ria, and the chapel of Holebec with all their appurtenances. The church of Monkton and the church of Roxby with all their appurtenances. The tythes, which you have of the fief of Ralph Paynell in Yorkshire. In Barton two parts of the tythes of the demesne. In Newton two parts of the tythes of the demesne of Ralph du Rouellé. In Newton upon Ouse two parts of the tythes of the demesne. In Hooton, in Bilham and in Thurnscoe two parts of the tythes of the demesnes. In Lincolnshire in Burton two parts of the tythes of the demesne. In Scawby, in Ashby two parts of the tythes of the demesne of Simon Toschet. In Tealby two parts of the tythes of the demesne of Ralph du Rouellé. In Irnham two parts of the tythes of the demesne. The vill of Sturton and the vill of Coneysthorpe with all their appurtenances. The lands, which you have within the gates of York and without. Two carucates of land in Drengeshireses. Two carucates and two bovates of land in Leeds. In Sniterton two bovates of land. In Sipeleer one bovate of land. In Secroft two bovates of land. In Hanepole half a bovate of land. In Monkton one carucate of land and a half. In Heslesaia (Hessay) fourteen bovates of land. In Husburne (Ouseburn) four bovates of land. In Barlby one carucate of land. And the church of St. John of Addle and a moiety of the same vill with all its appurtenances. Therefore let no man at all infringe this page of our confirmation, &c. Given at the Lateran second of the nones of May" (6th of May.)

The date of this bull is of the interval between the year 1178, when Pope Alexander re-entered Rome, and the day of his decease: hence probably of the year 1179, when the third general council of the Lateran was held. The church of All Saints in North-street, near the Ouse, continued as a rectory in the patronage of this priory, and was taxed in 1292 over the pension at £5. 6s. 8d.; and the pension of the prior of the

Holy Trinity in the same at one pound. The church of St. Bridget in Micklegate seems to be totally unknown as to its site; but the chapel of St. James, without the gate, stood on the east side of the road to Tadcaster. The cell of Hedley, under the invocation of St. Mary, was separately endowed by these benefactors after the establishment of monks at this site in the parish of Bramham, as we learn from two original charters formerly in the tower of St. Mary at York. Ypolitus de Bram gave a portion of his land in Middleton, save the tythes of the church of Ilkley, in which parish it is situate. Adam Fitz-Peter, of Birkin, gave for his own soul and that of Matildis, his wife, five acres of his meadow of Smithalls in the parish of Birkin, to whose charter Robert de Gaunt was a witness. Ethorning in the wood of Ria was probably a site in the township of Reeth in the parish of Grinton in Swaledale, of the gift of Robert de Gaunt. The chapel of Holbeck is in the parish of Leeds, and was doubtless erected by the House, patrons and impropriators of the church, upon their lands in Leeds, which were inclusive of this manor. It was apparently dedicated to St. Helen, and a chantry in it was endowed with a rent from Sturton-Grange, another estate of this priory. The two parts of the tythes of the demesne of Ralph du Rouellé in Newton refers to Newton in the parish of Winteringham, deanery of Buckrose, and archdeaconry of the East Riding, which was of the fief of Ralph Paynell at the survey, and by reason of this tenure the pension of the prior of the Holy Trinity in the church of Winteringham was taxed in 1292 at £3. 6s. 8d. Simon Toschet was apparently the son and heir of Odo de Tuscet. Dringhouses is in the parishes of St. Mary Bishophill the Elder, Holy Trinity Micklegate, York, and Acomb, liberty of St. Peter. Snitterton has now the name of Priestthorpe, and is in the parish of Bingley. Shepley is a hamlet in the parish of Kirk Burton, and Seacroft in that of Whitkirk. Hampole, adjacent to Hooton Pagnell, is extra-parochial. Moor Monkton and Hessay in that parish had been parcel of the ancient endowment of Christ Church, and the fourteen bovates in the latter is the exact quantity named in Domesday. Ouseburn gives name to two parishes, called Great and Little Ouseburn, in the deanery of Boroughbridge and archdeaconry of Richmond. The following gifts to the same priory are mentioned by Drake, namely, two bovates of land in Garforth by Ralph Le Parmentier; land in the same parish

near the road to Leeds by Adam de Preston; four bovates in the same by Robert, son of Jordan de Bugthorp; one bovate of land by Herald Fitz-Ralph in Mikelfield, and ten acres of his meadow in Smithalls by Adam Fitz-Peter of Birkin.

On the Pipe roll of Yorkshire of the 18th year of Henry the Second, 1172, under the heading New Pleas and New Conventions of the scutage of the knights who neither went into Ireland nor sent knights or money there, William Paynell renders accompt of fifteen pounds of scutage; in the treasury fourteen pounds, and he owes twenty shillings of the new feoffment, on which occasion each fief was assessed at one pound. In the twenty-fourth year of Henry the Second, 1178, the sheriff of Yorkshire, Rannulph de Glanville, renders accompt on the Pipe roll of four pounds and ten shillings of the issue of Barton-le-Street, which had been the manor of William Paynell, before the king had enjoined him to deliver it to Fulk Paynell. This sum he delivered into the exchequer, and he is quit. On the Roll of Ladies, Boys and Girls in Lincolnshire, in 1185, is this entry; "In the time of William Painel who was lord before Fulk Painel, Burton-upon-Stather had been put to ferm with two ploughs for eleven pounds," a proof that, like the manor named above, after the decease of William Paynell, it also had been delivered to Fulk Paynell.

William Paynell, his son and heir, with the exception of these two manors, which had been granted to Fulk Paynell, had the rest of his father's barony. From the following entry on the Roll of Ladies, Boys and Girls in Norfolk of the justiciaries itinerant, Hugh de Morwick, Ralph Murdac, William Vavassur and Master Thomas de Hesseburn, in the 31st year of Henry the Second, 1185, we are made acquainted with the family of the wife of this baron, whose mother is there thus described. "Agnes de Muntchenesy is in the gift of the lord the king and is of sixty years, who was the daughter of Payn Fitz-John, and has three sons; the first-born is called Ralph, and the second William, who are both knights; the third is called Hubert and is a clerk. She has two daughters, one of whom is married to Stephen de Glanville, and the other to William Painel. She has eleven librates of land in Holkham, which is of the fief of the earl of Sussex, and the said lady holds it of Ralph, her son." She was doubtless the widow of Hubert de Montchensy, who held twelve knight's fiefs of the honour of Eye in Suffolk, in 1168, and whose capital manor

was Edwardstone in that county. Of the manor of Holkham, in the hundred of North Greenhow, Norfolk, he had been enfeoffed by William d'Aubigny, earl of Sussex, *alias* of Arundel. In the second year of Richard the First, 1191, "William Painell renders accompt on the Pipe roll of Yorkshire, under the heading of the Scutage of Wales, of £7. 10s. of the scutage; in the treasury £2. 10s., and he owes £5., which was assessed at 10s. each fief." On the same roll is this entry; "Robert de Busci owes ten marks for having recognition of the fiefs of two knights of the frankmarriage of his wife, sister of William Painell, whereof he has the charter of the same William, and of which the same William deforces him." In the fourth year of Richard the First, the sheriff of Yorkshire, Hugh Bardulf, renders accompt on the roll of four pounds of the ferm of Hooton Pagnell, which had been in pledge with Josceus, a Jew in the city of York, as security for money borrowed by William Paynell. In the eighth year of Richard the First, on the Pipe roll for Yorkshire, under the heading, Of the second scutage of the host of Normandy, assessed at one pound each fief, is this entry; "William Painel is quit of his scutage of fifteen pounds through the fine, which he made with the archbishop, which is entered below." Under the heading New Oblates by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, this entry occurs; "William Painell renders accompt of twenty pounds for having his scutage, and will cross the sea in the second host of Normandy. In the treasury £15. 15s. 11d., and he owes £4. 4s. 1d." Hence the amount of his scutage proves him in possession of a barony of fifteen fiefs of the old feoffment. On the roll of the tenth year of Richard the First for Yorkshire we have these entries; "William Painell owes twenty marks for having his land, namely, twelve bovates of land in Hooton Pagnell, which had been taken into the king's hands, by occasion of Josceus the Jew of York, whose pledge it had been for some time, and had been acquitted before his death; but look below. William Painell renders accompt of twenty marks for having his land, as is above contained. William Painell owes forty marks for having his land, of which he was disseised, because he had not been found in his constabulary in the March."

On the Roll of Charters of the first year of the reign of King John is the following; "John by the grace of God king of England, &c. Know ye that we have granted and by the

present charter confirmed to William de Stuteville Bramham with the appurtenances and with the essarts of the gift Rannulph de Glanville and of William Pagnell, and the concession and confirmation of William Fossard of the same tenement, and the service of Adam son of Robert de Birstall of the whole tenement, which he held of William Fossard in Clifford, and the service of William de Oglethorpe of the whole tenement, which he held of William Fossard in Bramham and in Oglethorpe; and Milbourn and Marton in Westmoreland with all their appurtenances of the gift of Geoffrey Ridel, and Helagh in Swaledale with the appurtenances of the gift of Ralph de Rosel, and all other tenements given and granted to him, as the reasonable charters of the donors testify. Wherefore we will and enjoin, &c. Witnesses, William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, earl of Essex, William Briwerre. Given by the hands of Simon, archdeacon of Wells, and of John de Gray, archdeacon of Gloucester, at Guildford, 22nd day of April, in the first year of our reign." (1200). On the Pipe roll of York of the third year of King John (3 May 1202—22 May 1202) for Yorkshire, are these entries, as to the debts of William Painell; "Of the scutage of Wales. William Painell owes £5. of the scutage. Of the scutage towards the ransom of King Richard. William Painell owes two marks and a half of scutage. Of the first scutage after the coronation of King John assessed at two marks on each fief. William Painell owes twenty-eight marks of scutage. Of the scutages and fines of knights in Yorkshire on occasion of the levy of scutage for the host of Normandy. William Painell renders accompt of forty marks for the fiefs of fifteen knights. In the treasury eight marks. And he owes thirty-two marks. Of oblates. William Painel owes forty marks for having his land; and eleven marks for having his land." In the fifth year of King John (15 May 1203—2 June 1204) William Painell was deceased, leaving issue two daughters and coheiresses, Frethesant, wife of Geoffrey Luterel, and Isabella, then unmarried, as we learn from these fines of that year proving them in possession of the barony of William Painell. "Between Geoffrey Luterel and Frethesant his wife, and Isabella, sister of the same Frethesant, plaintiffs, and Osmund, abbot of Roche, tenant of twelve bovates of land in Thurnscoe, which William Vavassour had given in this place. Between Geoffrey Luterel and Frethesant his wife, and Isabel, sister

of the same Frethesant, plaintiffs, and Elias, abbot of Kirkstall, tenant of eleven bovates and of four acres of land with the appurtenances in Hooton Painell, to wit, of all the land, which he held of the fief of William Paynell in the same vill, the right of Frethesant and Isabella." On the roll of Fines of the sixth year of King John, is this entry; "Yorkshire. William the Bastard gives forty marks for having in wife the sister of the wife of Geoffrey Luterell with her inheritance. Mainpernors, William Briwerre of ten marks. The earl of Salisbury of ten marks. Hugh de Neville of ten marks. Peter des Roches of ten marks." This personage was probably a near connection of Peter des Roches, who in this same year, on the 25th of September, 1205, was consecrated bishop of Winchester.

Geoffrey Luterel was resident in the county of Nottingham, and on the Pipe roll of Nottingham and Derby of the sixth year of King Richard the First, William Briwerre, the sheriff, renders accompt of thirty-four shillings of the lands of the same Geoffrey; and on the roll of the first year of King John, Geoffrey Luterel renders accompt of fifteen marks to have seisin of land in the soke of Clifton, of which he had been disseised by reason of his adherence to John, when count of Mortain. In the following year a charter of Geoffrey Luterel is entered on the roll of charters to this effect; "John, by the grace of God king of England, &c. Know ye that we have granted and by our present charter confirmed to Geoffrey Luterel the reasonable donation, which Gerbod de Scaud made to him of fifteen bovates of land in Gamston and in Normanton, and the reasonable donation, which Gerard de Rodes made to him of all his demesne in Bridgeford and of sixteen bovates of land in Bridgeford and in Keyworth, with the meadow of Willies, to have and to hold to him and his heirs of them and their heirs freely and quit and entirely, as the charters of the donors reasonably testify. Witnesses, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, William, bishop of London, Geoffrey Fitz-Piers, earl of Essex, William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, William Briwerre, Hugh Bardolf, Robert de Turnham. Given by the hand of Simon, archdeacon of Wells, at Canterbury, 28th day of March, second year of our reign." (1201.)

The manor of Clifton, with soke in Bridgeford, Normanton, Keyworth and Gamston, had been parcel of the honour of

Peverel of Nottingham, of which sixty knight's fiefs and a half were held. West Bridgeford is a parish in the deanery of Bingham, archdeaconry of Nottingham, diocese of York, and the advowson of the church of St. Giles was belonging to this family[x]. In the fifth year of King John this entry is on the Liberate roll; "The king, &c. to the justiciary of Ireland, &c. We enjoin you that you cause our beloved Geoffrey Luterel to have ten pounds sterling to support himself in our service in Ireland, and it shall be accounted to you. Witness myself at Woodstock, 18th day of March." On the roll of Loans in the twelfth year of John, 1210, are these entries: "Sum of the loan, which Geoffrey Luterel and Henry Fitz-Count had towards the expenses of the ships and galleys, £2,500, of which sum 39s. 4d. were deficient. On Monday in the vigil of St. Matthew the Apostle (20th Sept. 1210) at Bristol, to Geoffrey Luterel going as the messenger of the lord the king

[x] In Domesday this manor of Clifton with its soke is thus surveyed, under the heading, "Land of William Pevrel. Manor. In Clifton Countess Gode had two carucates and a half, subject to Danegeld. Land to five ploughs. There William has two ploughs in demesne, and four sokemen and nineteen villains and eight boors, having nine ploughs. There a church and a priest, and one mill of twelve pence, and twelve acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth sixteen pounds, now nine pounds. Soke. In Wilesforde soke of three carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to six ploughs. There twenty-three sokemen have seven ploughs. There a priest and eighteen acres of meadow, and half a fishery. Soke. In Bridgeforde soke of twelve bovates of land, subject to Danegeld. Land to three ploughs. There William has half a plough in demesne and three sokemen and four villains and two boors having four ploughs and a half, and twelve acres of meadow. Soke. In Normantun one bovate and a half. In Cauorde the third part of a bovate. In Willebi two bovates and a half. In Stantun two bovates and the fourth part of a bovate subject to Danegeld. Land to two ploughs. Soke in Cliftune. There four sokemen and one villain and one boor having three ploughs. There William has in demesne one carucate and two acres of meadow in Stantun. Soke. In Cotingestoche one bovate of land subject to Danegeld. There one sokeman has one plough and two acres of meadow. Land of one bovate. In Alboltune six bovates subject to Danegeld. Soke. In Basingfelt five bovates of land and three parts of one bovate subject to Danegeld. Land to one plough. There two sokemen and two boors have one plough and five acres of meadow. Soke. In Gamelestune six bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to one plough. There two sokemen have one plough and seven acres of meadow. In Bartone two bovates and a third part of one bovate subject to Danegeld. Land to one plough. There three sokemen have two ploughs and three acres of meadow." Clifton is a parish in Rushcliff hundred, south of Trent, and Wilsford is an adjoining parish. West Bridgeford, or Bridgeford at the Bridge-end, is also a parish, but includes the hamlets of Gamston and part of Basingfield. Normanton is in the parish of Plumtree. Keyworth is likewise a parish; as are also Willoughby, Stanton on the Wolds, and Costock. Adbolton was a rectory, but is now reduced to a vicarage and joined to Holme Pierrepont. Barton in Fabis is also a rectory, and all these parishes are in the deanery of Bingham, archdeaconry of Nottingham, diocese of York.

into Ireland, of loan twenty marks by the king." During the expedition of King John, who landed in Ireland on the 16th of June, 1210, and returned to England on the 26th of August, Geoffrey Luterel was in attendance having charge of the navy, and from Fishguard in Wales went with him to Bristol. On the Pipe roll of the thirteenth year of King John for Yorkshire, upon occasion of the levy of scutage for the host of Scotland, Geoffrey Luterel had acquittance of what was due from seven knight's fiefs and a half of the barony, which had been that of William Paynell, whose daughter he then had to wife. On the same occasion William the Bastard had acquittance of the scutage of his moiety of the barony of William Paynell. But on the roll of Fines of the fifteenth year of King John, 1213, is this entry denoting his decease; "Yorkshire. Word is sent to the barons of the exchequer that the lord the king had granted to the Lord Peter, bishop of Winchester, the custody of the land and heir of William the Bastard, so that the said bishop will answer as to the debts, which the aforesaid William owed to the lord the king, at the terms at which the same William was bound to render that debt. Witness the king at Sutton, 21st day of September." On the roll of Fines of the seventeenth year of King John (1215), are these entries; "Ireland. Geoffrey Luterel gives to the lord the king £88. 13s. 4d. for the marriage of the second born daughter of Hugh de Tuit. Ireland. From Geoffrey Luterel twenty ounces of gold for having the land of Cratelache with the wood." On the roll of Letters Patent of the same year is this entry; "Ireland. Wood given. The king to Geoffrey des Marais, greeting. Know ye that we have given to our beloved and faithful Geoffrey Luterel all his wood of Cratelerche in Thomond with all its appurtenances to be for ever his possession. And therefore we enjoin you that, having received security from him of rendering to us twenty ounces of gold, you cause the same Geoffrey to have full seisin of the same wood with all its appurtenances. And in testimony of this act we have caused these letters patent to be made to the same Geoffrey. Witness myself at Worcester, second day of August, in the seventeenth year of our reign. Through the Lord Henry archbishop of Dublin." By other Letters Patent, dated at Dover, 13th day of September, 1215, addressed to Pope Innocent III., King John appointed the venerable fathers, William of Bourdeaux and Henry of Dublin, arch-

bishops, Master Richard his chancellor, the abbot of Beaulieu, Master Peter, precentor of the church of York, and Honorius, archdeacon, and Master Robert de Airaines, canon of York, and the noblemen, John Marshal and Geoffrey Luterel, his liegemen, to be the bearers of his correspondence to the apostolic see, and his procurators; and he had previously caused Geoffrey Luterel, his knight, to swear on his behalf by the king's soul, that he would observe every thing contained in his charter, whereby he had made an agreement between himself and the lady Queen Berengaria, late wife of the lord King Richard, his brother, as to her dower. On his mission to Rome Geoffrey Luterel was attacked by illness, which proved fatal, as appears by this entry on the Close roll of the first year of Henry the Third.

"The king to the sheriff of Yorkshire, greeting. We enjoin you that you cause without delay Frethesant, who had been the wife of Geoffrey Luterel, and Eustace de Grainville, who has the custody of the daughter and heir of William the Bastard at the hands of the bishop of Winchester, to have such seizin of Barton[r], and of all their other lands with their

[r] On the Close roll of the seventh year of King John is this entry respecting Barton; "The king to the sheriff of Yorkshire, &c. We enjoin thee that without delay thou take into our hands the land, which had been that of Gertrude and her nephew in Barton, who are beyond sea with our enemies against us, and cause Geoffrey Luterell to have it without delay through his certain messenger. Because we have committed it to him in custody. Witness, Simon de Pateshille at Wells, fifth day of September. Through the same." On the Close roll of the third year of Henry the Third is this letter? "For the manor of Barton. The king to the sheriff of Yorkshire, greeting. Know ye that we have committed to our beloved and faithful Eustace de Greinville, to support himself in our service, as long as it shall please us, the manor of Barton with the appurtenances, which the Lord John the king, our father, had granted to Geoffrey Luterell to support himself in his service, as long as it should please him, and therefore we enjoin you that you cause him to have full seizin without delay of the manor aforesaid with all its appurtenances in your bailiwick. Witness, Hubert de Burgh at Lincoln, 23rd day of August. Through the same before the bishop of Winchester." On the Close roll of the tenth year of Henry the Third is this entry; "For Philip Marc of seisin. The lord the king committed to Philip Marc the land, which Eustace de Greinville had held of the bailiwick of the lord the king in Barton, to support himself in the service of the lord the king as long as it shall please the lord the king. And it is enjoined the sheriff of Yorkshire that he cause him to have full seizin without delay of the aforesaid land with its appurtenances, as is abovesaid, at the term of St. Michael in the tenth year of the king's reign, saving to the same Eustace his grain, which he had sowed in the same land and his other chattels, which he has in the same land. Witness the king at Lichfield, 23rd day of July. Before the justices." Gertrude was probably a daughter of Fulk Paynell, and aunt of Fulk Paynell, who had remained in Normandy. The marriage with a daughter of Hugh Tuit was probably purchased by Geoffrey Luterel in favour

appurtenances in your bailiwick, as they had thereof before the war carried on between the lord the king and his barons. Witness the earl himself at Lambeth, 23rd day of September." (1217.)

On the Close roll of the second year of the reign of Henry the Third are these entries; "Of the marriage of the heir of Geoffrey Luterel. The king to Philip Marc, greeting. Know ye that we are full willing and in as much as belongs to us, we grant that you may have the son and heir of Geoffrey Luterell to marry to your daughter, if you should be able to acquire this against Ralph de Rodes and his sons. Because, &c. Witness the earl at Hampstead 5th day of March. Of the land of Geoffrey Luterell. The king to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, greeting. We enjoin you that you cause without delay our beloved and faithful Philip Marc to have full seisin of all the land, which had been that of Geoffrey Luterell in your bailiwick, whose son and heir he has to marry to his daughter through our freewill and of the gift of Ralph de Rodes, of whom the heir of the said Geoffrey ought to hold." In the same manner is it written to the sheriff of Leicestershire.

Ralph de Rodes had succeeded his father Gerard de Rodes in his lands in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire in this same year, and was the lord paramount of West Bridgeford. On the roll of Fines of this year we read; "Yorkshire. Henry de Newmarch gives to the lord the king forty marks for having in wife Frethesenta, who had been the wife of Geoffrey Luterel, if she should be willing, and of this fine the aforesaid Henry will render twenty marks at the feast of the Holy Trinity in the second year of the reign of Lord Henry the king and twenty marks at the feast of St. Michael next following in the same year, and it is enjoined the sheriff of York that he take security from the aforesaid Henry for the render of the aforesaid forty marks to the lord the king, as is abovesaid, and cause him to have full seisin without delay of all her lands, which belong to the same Frethesent, if she shall grant her assent to this. Witness the earl at Westminster, 15th day of May." The daughter of William the Bastard will have been deceased at the time of this entry on the Close roll of

of an illegitimate son, whose descendants continued to reside at a site in Ireland, to which they gave the name of Luttrelstown, and were barons Irnham and earls of Carhampton in the peerage of Ireland.

the fourth year of Henry the Third, under the heading, "Of seisin of land. The king to the sheriff of York, greeting. We enjoin you that you cause without delay Frethesent, the daughter and heir of William Paynel, to have full seisin of the lands with the appurtenances, which had been those of the same William, father of the same Frethesant, in Hooton and in Shilton, and which belongs to the same Frethesant by hereditary right. Witness, Hubert de Burgh at Westminster, 29th day of October, in the fourth year of our reign, through the same and the bishop of Winchester." In the Testa de Nevill, under the heading, Verdicts of the county of York of boys and girls, who ought to be in the custody of the lord the king and of escheats and the like in the eyre of the Lord Richard, bishop of Durham, and his associates, in the third year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John, are these entries. "Frethesantha, who had been the wife of Geoffrey Luterel, and daughter of William Paynell, is of the donation of the lord the king. Henry de Newmarch has her. It is not known through whom. Her land of Barony is worth seven pounds yearly. The daughter of Isabella, sister of the aforesaid Frethesanta, is of the donation of the lord the king. Eustace de Greinville has her. Her land is worth seven pounds. Birdforth. Land of the aforesaid ladies in that wapentake is worth ten marks, namely, in Silton. The land of Frethesaunt Paynel, wife of Henry de Newmarch, is worth ten pounds." Nether Silton is a manor in the parish of Leake, and in the summary of lands in Yorkshire and their tenants in Domesday under Allerton wapentake, we read, "In Silftune (Over Silton) three carucates the king. In another three carucates the count of Mortain. In Lece three carucates the earl of Mortain." But in the Survey all mention of this other Silton is omitted under the heading, Land of the count of Mortain. In the same record is also this entry. "Stratford. Andrew Luterel ought to be in the custody of the lord the king. And Philip Marc has the custody of his land by the Lord John the king. His land of Hooton is worth twenty pounds." This second husband of Frethesant Paynel was lord of Bentley in the parish of Arksey, and was also tenant of the manor of Etherthorpe in the parish of Darfield; but he died without issue, as we learn from a convention made between the prior and convent of Bretton of the one part, and Sir John de Newmarch of the other part, in the year of

grace 1239, on the morrow of the translation of St. Thomas the martyr (8th July), at York, as to the manor of Alwardethuait, (Alverley Grange, in the parish of Wadworth, liberty of Tickhill,) in which there is a stipulation for the finding of a priest, who was to celebrate the divine office for the soul of Henry de Newmarch, his uncle. This Sir John de Newmarch of Bentley was the son of Adam de Newmarch, brother of Henry de Newmarch, one of the mainpernors of Henry, son of the earl of Cornwall, or Fitz-Count, named above, in 1205, sixth year of King John, as entered on the roll of Fines of that year as follows; "Yorkshire. Adam de Newmarch of ten marks."

On the roll of Fines of the sixth year of Henry the Third, 1222, is this entry;- "Yorkshire. It is enjoined the sheriff of Yorkshire that he place in respite the demand, which he makes by the summons of the exchequer upon Philip Marc, by reason of the custody of the land and heir of Geoffrey Luterel, which the lord the king gave to him, until upon his next accompt of this Easter term in the sixth year of the reign of the lord the king. Witness, Hubert de Burgh, &c. at Oxford, 26th day of February." Philip Marc and Ann his wife purchased lands in Keyworth, com. Notts, nine bovates of which he gave with his body to the priory of Lenton, where it lay honourably entombed, as his said wife's information imports. His issue was a son, Reginald Mark, under age at his father's decease, and a daughter, Petronilla, wife of Andrew Luterel, as we learn from these records. In the Testa de Nevill are two entries under Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire; "The bishop of Carlisle holds in Chellaston, com. Derb., the fourth part of a fief, for the custody of the heirs of Philip Marc. Reginald Marc holds twelve bovates of land in Thrumpton, a serjeanty of the lord the king of the falconry, and are worth sixty shillings, which he bought of Reginald Basset." The following extract from the register of Croxton, under the heading, State of the vill of Croxton, and of Sedgebrook, which is of the honour of Eye, contains proof of this marriage with the daughter of Philip Marc. "When these vills were in the hand of King Henry, father of Kings John and Richard, it pleased the lord King Henry to make an exchange with William le Porter of his land of Corsham, com. Wilts, giving to the same William the aforesaid vills of Croxton and Sedgebrook for the vill of Corsham; and thus the

aforesaid William held the aforesaid vills all his life[z]." And after the decease of the said William, Hugh le Porter, his brother, succeeded to him, and obtained seisin of Croxton; but the duke of Louvain, who then had the honour of Eye, prevented his seisin of Sedgebrook[a]. Afterwards, King Richard having been made prisoner in Germany, and John, then a count, his brother, stirring up war in England, and especially at Nottingham, gave the said vill of Croxton to Hubert de Burgh, his chamberlain. The aforesaid Hugh being in Normandy, namely within half a year, King Richard returning to England, and the aforesaid Hugh le Porter with him, all those having been dispersed, who had been adherents to the same Count John, the above-named Hugh le Porter for a long time held the demesne of the aforesaid vill of Croxton in peace. But the Normans withdrawing from England, the aforesaid vill remained in the king's hands as an escheat. And the lord the king gave it then to Geoffrey Luterell, who held it a long time[b]; and after him Andrew, his son, under the

[z] A charter of King Richard the First given by the hand of William de Longchamp, his chancellor, on the seventeenth day of September (16th Sept. 1189) at Geddington, confirms to God and St. John of the Valley and to the canons there serving God, the donations which William the Porter (misprinted Parcarius for Portarius in the Monasticon) of Lions, made to the same canons, and those of Marzeria and of Wimer de St. Aubin, and styles them Our canons, a proof that the abbey was of the foundation of the count of Mortain, and that at his decease the patronage devolved on the crown. After the grant of the honour of Mortain to John, brother of King Richard, he confirmed the gift of his predecessor, William, and those of Marzeria de St. Aubin and Wymer, his son. Wherefore it is certain that the construction of the abbey by this William le Porter of Lions is an erroneous supposition, for the canons were first planted there by William, count of Boulogne, who obtained them from the abbey of Neuhus, (Newhouse or Newsome,) in the parish of Habrough, com. Linc., the first of the abbeys of the Premonstratensian order, founded in England by Peter de Goxhill, a feudatory of Hugh de Baieux, and parent of these abbeys, Alnwick, Blanchland, St. Agatha, Welbeck, Tupholme, Croxton, Neubo, Dale and Maldon, alias Bileigh.

[a] On the roll of Letters Close of the sixth year of King John is this entry; "The king, &c. to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, &c. If three carucates of land of Sedgebrook and of Croxton were purchased by the duke of Louvain or out of the issues of those manors, do you cause the earl of Salisbury to have them without delay; but if they were purchased by the fermor or with his money, then do you cause the fermor to have them. Witness myself at Doncaster second day of March. Through the bishop of Norwich."

[b] On the rolls of Letters Close of the sixth year of King John we read as follows; "The king, &c. to the sheriff of Leicestershire, &c. We enjoin you that without delay you cause Geoffrey Luterell to have fourteen librates of land in Croxton, which had been those of Hugh le Porter, as extended, and if there shall be more than this value, you may retain it to our use, saving to us the grain and stock of the same land. Witness myself at Christ Church, twelfth day of November." Hence this entry in the Testa de Nevill, p. 408; "Geoffrey Luterel holds Croxton in

sheriff of Nottinghamshire, Philip Marc, whose daughter he had taken to wife[c].

chief for half a fief of a knight," and fully establishes the assertion in the text that he eventually obtained a grant of this manor and of the advowson of the abbey.

[c] According to Leland and Burton Sir Andrew Luterel was the founder of Croxton, a mistake originating in this grant of the vill with the advowson of the abbey to his father. Under the heading of the foundation and endowment of the priory of Croxton, we read, "of the gift of William son of Ingeram Parcarius, of Linus in Normandy, two parts of the park of Croxton and whatsoever was of his right and liberty in the same, in wood and plain, meadow and pasture, and in all easements within the circuit of the wall, and two parts of the carucate of land of Roger Parcarius, with all its appurtenances within the vill and without, and all his rent of salt in Hoyland, namely, from Donnington, in pure and perpetual frankalmoign. Also Hugh Parcarius, brother of the aforesaid William, confirmed the said donation, according to the tenor of the charter of the same William. Of his gift were two bovates of land for the fabric of the church, and three bovates of land, which Hervey the clerk had held, and all his demesne of Croxton in fee-farm, except his mansion and his vassals, as freely and entirely, as Ingeram his father, or William his brother, had ever more freely and fully possessed it, at a rent of four marks of silver annually. Of the gift of Marzaria de St. Aubin, and of Wymer, her son, the third part of the park within the circuit of the wall, and the third part of the carucate of land, which was that of Roger Parcarius, and all her rent of salt in Hoyland, namely, in Donnington. Matilda de Periers, mother of the aforesaid Hugh Parcarius, gave to them all her right in the aforesaid park. Also King Richard and King Henry, son of King John, confirmed the donation of William Portarius, in which confirmation the meadow of Crokeholm at Sedgebrook was comprehended." Lions-la-Foret is the *chef lieu* of a *canton* in the *arrondissement* of Andely and *departement* of the Eure, and in its vicinity was the Cistercian abbey of Mortemer-en-Lions, to which were benefactors in the year 1186 Enguerrand Portarius of Lions, and Mathildis, his wife, and William their son. Hugh Portarius was also a benefactor in 1205, as also Robert de St. Aubin. Hugh le Porter had a fief at Periers and Peruel in the Roumois, derived from his mother, which he sold to the abbot and monks of St. Ouen, for £230 money of Tours in 1206, his wife receiving from them £5, and his eldest son, Enguerrand, a like sum." In the same register this extract identifies these Parcarii of Linus (an obvious misprint for Lions) with the Portarii of Lions; "Ingeram le Porter came at the Conquest and had two parts of Corsham and Culington, and had two sons, William and Hugh. And the Lord Henry, father of King Richard and of John made exchange with Ingeram le Porter of Corsham and Culington for two parts of Croxton and of Sedgebrook. And Masilia de Auppegard had the third part of Corsham and of Culington and in like manner made an exchange with the aforesaid Henry for the third part of Croxton and Sedgebrook." The continuation of the extract from the register, as cited in the text, is as follows; "at length Hubert having been made justiciary in England by the precept of the lord the king he obtained such seizin of the aforesaid vill, as he had before, as is above said, and moreover seizin of the vill of Sedgebrook, having expelled from it Reginald des Vaux, fermor of the lord, duke of Gloucester. Afterwards the same Hubert de Burgh gave the vill of Croxton through his lord the king to Magotta, his daughter. But after a certain interval, on occasion of the insurrection of the said Earl Hubert made in England, the vill of Croxton was given by the lord the king to Waleran le Tyheis. Upon whose removal, the said Magotta again held the said vill; who being deceased the said Earl Hubert took the same vill into his hands and gave it to Philip Basset, who held it for a short time, because

In the fourteenth year of Henry the Third, Andrew Luterell, doing his homage, had livery of his lands; and on the Pipe

the aforesaid Hubert de Burgh could not warrant it, since that, by judgment rendered, it returned into the king's hands. And afterwards the abbot of Croxton held it in ferm of the lord King Henry. But the same lord the king gave it in fief to Sir Bertram de Cryoll; and the said Bertram gave the said vill to his son Nicholas for homage. A certain lady Masilia held the third part of Croxton, and in like manner Sorozina, her daughter, after her; but they say that the said Masilia followed the standard of the Parcarii by the name of service, wheresoever they went in the service of the lord the king." From this account it may be inferred that Masilia de Auppegard was tenant of this third part in exchange for the third part of Corsham and Culington, as held by her in frank-marriage. From an entry on the Close rolls of the first year of Henry the Third, we learn of the existence of an heir to the ancient possessors of this manor, who has in this letter the name of *Janitor*, and fully establishes that Parcarius is a misprint for Portarius, its synonym. "The king to William de Cantilupe, greeting. Know ye that we have granted to our beloved and faithful Enguerrand de Betencurt, who is faithfully and constantly in our service, the land of Hugh le Porter, his uncle, with the appurtenances in Croxton, as his own hereditary right, as we understand, to support himself in our service as long as it shall please us. And therefore we enjoin you that you cause him to have thereof full seizin without delay. And because, &c. Witness the earl at Flaxley, 30th day of July." The same injunction was sent to the sheriff of Lincolnshire of the land which had been that of Hugh le Porter in Sedgebrook. Witness the earl as above. On the same roll are other two entries, one an injunction to the sheriff of Nottinghamshire to cause Ingerran de Betencurt to have the land which Hugh le Porter (Portarius) his uncle held in Sedgebrook and Croxton. Witness the same earl at Castle Goodrich, 5th day of July. The second is to William de Cantilupe in the same terms as the above. Witness the same earl at Oxford, 25th day of July. On the roll of Letters Close of the eighth year of Henry the Third, is this entry of seizin; "It is enjoined the sheriff of Leicestershire that he cause Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, to have full seizin of the manor of Croxton with its appurtenances, which he had taken into the hands of the lord the king, by the precept of the same lord the king. Witness myself at Westminster, 26th day of May, in the year of our reign eight." Of the manor of Sedgebrook we have this entry on the roll of the fifth year of Henry the Third; "The king to the sheriff of Nottinghamshire, greeting. We enjoin you that you cause Hubert de Burgh, our justiciary, without delay to have full seizin of the manor of Sedgebrook with the appurtenances, whereof the same Hubert de Burgh had the charter of Lord John the king, our father, of his gift, whilst he had been count of Mortain. Witness, Peter, bishop of Winchester, at Westminster, 20th day of November, in the fifth year of our reign." Upon the eleventh day of February, 1224, Hubert de Burgh was created earl of Kent, and on the roll of Charters of the eleventh year of Henry the Third is the following in his favour.

"Henry, king, &c. Know ye that we have granted and by this our charter confirmed to Margaret, first-born daughter of our beloved and faithful Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, whom he had of Margaret, his wife, sister of Alexander king of Scotland, the donation and concession, which the same Hubert earl of Kent made to the aforesaid Margaret, his daughter, namely of the manor of Portslade in the county of Sussex with all its appurtenances, and of the manor of Sedgebrook in the county of Lincoln with all its appurtenances, and of the manor of Croxton with all its appurtenances. Wherefore I will, &c. Dated at Windsor, fourteenth day of April, in the eleventh year of our reign."

This charter proves that Margaret is the same name with Magotta, though Dugdale erroneously supposed them to be distinct names of two daughters.

roll of Yorkshire of that year he rendered accompt of thirty pounds for fifteen knight's fiefs, upon the collection of the scutage for the first passage of the king into Brittany. Hence at this date his mother Frethesant Painell was deceased; and he was in possession of the entire barony of the inheritance of this branch of the family of Paynell. In the same year he became entitled to the manors of Irnham, Saltby, Quantocks-head, Huish and Stockland, after the decease of Maurice de Gaunt, as heir of the body of Ralph Paynell, upon the extinction of the issue of his eldest son, William Paynell, as is shewn above. In the following year he had livery of these estates upon giving security for the payment of his fine of one hundred marks. On the roll of Fines of the 14th of Hen. III. is an entry for Andrew Luterel containing an injunction to the sheriffs of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, that of the twenty-four marks, which they exact from Andrew Luterel for Geoffrey Luterel, his father, of the loan of Ireland, only five marks should be rendered annually by him at Easter and Michaelmas. As to his tenures in the several counties of England, these entries occur in the Testa de Nevil. "Nottingham and Derby. Of the fief of Andrew Luterel nothing has been found held of the lord the king in chief, but only of the fief of Gerard de Rodes. Warwick and Leicester. Of the fief of Andrew Luterel. From one fief, which Philip de Gaunt and Stephen de Gaunt hold in Bescoby and in Saltby, two marks. Markfield Luterel, member of Rothley, is of the donation of the lord the king and is worth yearly 38s. 10d. Andrew Luterel holds it through the lord the king. Somerset

She is said by Matthew Paris to have clandestinely married Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, in 1237, and she probably died soon after, as this earl married Maud, daughter of John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, in the following year. From the family of Criol, to whom the king granted Croxton in fee, this parish has now the affix of Kerrial, an early reading of this surname. The priory of Hornby in Lancashire was a cell to the abbey of Croxton, and was doubtless made subject to it by the family of Montbegon, who had been the capital lords of Croxton; and it was of the gift of Henry de Mongeden, that the whole manor of Horneby with the castle and honour, and with the whole soke of Horneby, and with the advowson of the priory, and with all its other appurtenances, were during his life in the possession of Hubert de Burgh, until recovered by judgment in the king's court, when it was restored to the family of Longvilliers, the heirs of Roger de Montbegon, whose rights had been usurped by this Henry de Mongeden, who was doubtless a bastard. In the Testa de Nevill is an entry of later date, headed "Still of the fiefs of Henry de Munedene, of the honour of Roger de Montebegon; Bertram Kiriel holds three parts of a knight in Croxton of the lord the king in chief."

and Dorset. Andrew Luterel holds one fief of the lord the king. Lincoln. Wapentake of Beltislowe. Irnham. Andrew Luterel holds Irnham by barony of the lord the king in chief. Also the prior of Sempringham and Philip de Gaunt hold in the same place half a knight's fief of William de Poynton and the same William of the barony of Paynel of the new feofment. Bulby and Hawthorpe. Also William de Langton holds there a fief of one knight of Andrew Luterel and the same Andrew of the lord the king in chief of the new feofment. Swinestead. William de Coleville holds in Swinestead the fief of one knight of Walter de Coleville and the same Walter of Andrew Luterel, and the same Andrew of the lord the king in chief of the new feofment. Wapentake of Walshcroft. Henry de Plaiz, Richard de Courcy, and Robert de Baieux hold in Tealby one knight's fief of Andrew Luterel and Andrew of the lord the king from the Conquest. The fiefs of Andrew Luterel. Andrew Luterel holds Irnham by barony of the king. William de Langton holds one fief in Bulby and Hawthorpe. William de Coleville holds one fief in Swinestead. Henry de Playz and his parcenors hold one fief in Tealby. The heir of Ralph Paynel holds one fief in Burton, with the soke, of the old feofment." The fief held by William de Langton had been of the land of Alured of Lincoln at the time of the survey, recorded in Domesday Book, under which heading we read as follows; "Manor. In Greneham (Irnham) and Awartorp (Hawthorpe) and Bolebi (Bulby) Aldene had two carucates of land and seven bovates subject to Danegeld. Land to as many ploughs and oxen. Alured has there two ploughs and four sokemen of ten bovates of this land and two villians with two ploughs and eight acres of meadow and three hundred and twenty acres of forest pasturable in parts. In the time of King Edward it was worth thirty shillings, now forty. Tallage twenty shillings." The Testa de Nevill, in this survey of the several wapentakes of Lincolnshire, begun on the 9th day of December, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry the Third, 1242, omits mention of the fiefs in the wapentake of Manley, in which the manor of Roxby was situated. In a bull of Pope Urban the Third addressed to Osmund, abbot of Roche, and his brethren, dated at Verona, by the hand of Albert, cardinal priest and chancellor of the holy Roman Church, on the seventh day of April, fourth indiction, year of the Incarnation of the Lord

1186, in the first year of the pontificate of Pope Urban the Third, is this recital; "Of the gift of Walter de Scoteni, Roxby with its appurtenances;" and whose gift was of prior date, inasmuch as the grange of Roxby had been built by Abbot Hugh de Wadworth, the immediate predecessor of Osmund, who died in 1184. Of the sixteenth year of Henry the Third, is a royal charter, confirming to the church of St. Mary of Roche the whole manor of Roxby, which Andrew Luterell had granted to them, and by his charter confirmed. According to an inquisition, made at Lincoln before the justiciaries of the lord the king, namely, Sir William de St. Omer and Sir Warine de Chaucomb, in the third year of the reign of Edward the First, by twelve jurors of the wapentake of Manley, copied on the Hundred rolls, we have this finding; "Also they say that the abbot of Roche holds one barony in Roxby for three knight's fiefs, which he had of the gift of Walter de Scotenai in the time of the lord King John, father of Henry last deceased, seventy years elapsed; which barony, to wit, the said Walter held of Hugh Painel, and the same Hugh of Andrew Luterel, and the same Andrew of the lord the king in chief, and it is worth yearly one hundred marks. The abbot of Roche shows the charter of King Richard, which testifies that the aforesaid land is quit of all custom. And likewise the twelve jurors testify that the aforesaid land has been quit after the confection of the aforesaid charter, except this, that the tenants of the same abbot, as well free as villains, come to the bailiff's turn, and likewise to make presentations. Upon the article of suits, ancient customs, &c., they also say that the abbot of Roche withdraws the service, which his land of Roxby customarily rendered to the lord the king to his loss of one mark for forty years and more; whether he had a warrant or not they were ignorant." This gift of Walter de Scoteni afforded the abbot of Roche a pretext for claiming the advowson of the church of St. Mary of Roxby, as appears by these entries on the roll of Pleas, in the Easter term of the second year of King John. "Lincolnshire. The abbot of Roche sues against the prior of the Holy Trinity of York and the convent of the same place, that they permit him to present a fit person to the church of Roxby, which is vacant and is of their gift, as they say, &c. The prior says that the church is their right, as that which Ralph Paynell gave to them by charter, which

they proffered, which testifies this fact, and the confirmations of his heirs. And the abbot says that the same prior never had seizin thereof nor had he presented the last parson, but Walter de Scoteni, who gave to him the whole of the land, which they have in Roxby with the church of the same vill by his charter, which he proffered, and which testifies this act and thereof prays a jury. And because Walter was not present, and it appertains to him to act in regard of the presentation, the prior withdraws without day, &c. Lincolnshire. In assise of *darrein presentment* to the church of Roxby, the advowson of which the abbot of Roche claims against the prior of Drax and against the prior of the Holy Trinity of York. And the prior of Drax comes and says that there ought not to be an assise thereof because William Painell, of whose right and inheritance that church had been, gave the church of Roxby to God and St. Nicholas and to the canons serving in the territory of Drax by his charter, which he proffers and which testifies this fact. He also proffers the charter of Richard de Courcy, who had to wife the daughter of the same William, confirming the gift of the same William, and the charter of Robert de Gaunt, who had the same daughter to wife, confirming the same gift, and the charter of Walter de Scoteni, to whom the same Robert and his wife, heiress of the aforesaid William, had given that land, where the church is situate, which testifies that Walter de Scoteni gave and by his charter confirmed to the church of St. Nicholas and to the canons of Drax, whatsoever William had granted to the same canons in the vill of Roxby, namely, the church of Roxby with all its appurtenances. But the prior of the Holy Trinity proffers the charter of Ralph Painell, father of the aforesaid William, who came at the conquest of England, and who gave to his church that church and the charters of Alexander, Jordan, and William, his sons, confirming his gift, and the charter of Robert, then bishop of Lincoln, and the confirmation of King Henry, great grandfather of the then king, and both priors hold themselves to one answer. It was adjudged that Walter should be distrained to be present to manifest hereafter whether he be willing to warrant to the abbot of Roche his charter, or to the prior of Drax, the charter, which he had made to him in the last instance; and in the meanwhile the jury to remain." This last charter of Walter de Scoteni was made in the reign of Richard the First,

previous to his departure with that monarch on his journey to Jerusalem, and reads as follows.

"To all the sons of Holy Mother Church, as well present as to come, Walter de Scoteni, greeting. May those as well present as to come know that all the land of the canons of Drax, which they possess in the territory of Roxby, I defend, as pure frankalmoign of my demesne, against all foreign service, to wit, of Utware, of Danegeld, from all aid of sheriffs and their clients, as well as from all secular exaction, as I have granted and given in the presence of the chapter of Lincoln, and confirmed by their seal and authority. And now before these witnesses, that is in progress of a journey to Jerusalem, I again confirm by the concession of Robert de Gaunt for the redemption of my soul and of those of my wife and my heirs, who shall ratify the same, the things abovesaid; William de Amundaville, Joscelin the writer, Master Acardus, Acardus of Drax, Julian the priest, Lambert de Scoteni," &c.

Scotney Hill is a site in Roxby, being so called from these owners, of whom Walter de Scotney the crusader was deceased in the following year, as we learn from this entry on the roll of Fines of the third year of King John; "The king, &c. to Geoffrey Fitz Piers, &c. We enjoin you that you take a fine of Nicolas de Basinges according to what you shall deem expedient for us, for taking in wife Agnes, the daughter of Walter de Scotney with all her land. And when you shall have received that fine, cause us to know it." This same Agnes de Scotney gave to the priory of Drax an annual rent of two marks out of lands in Roxby. It is certain that Walter de Scotney did not warrant the grant of the advowson to the abbey of Roche, and the rectory continued in medieties, respectively in the patronage of the two priories of the Holy Trinity and of Drax until the year 1292; but subsequently Robert the prior and the convent of the Holy Trinity granted their mediety of this church to the prior and convent of Drax. To the same church of St. Mary of Roche, Andrew Luterel for the redemption of his soul confirmed all the land held of his fief in Thurnscoe, within the vill and without, by a charter witnessed by Robert de Pikeborn, prior of Worksop, Hugh de Langwith, Jordan de L'Isle, &c. To the priory of Nostel, Andrew Luterel, son of Geoffrey Luterel and Frethesant, confirmed all the donations made by Jordan Paynell and Jordan de

Lacy in the same parish. Andrew Luterel, for the soul of Petronilla, his wife, exempted the canons of Drax from all suits and secular services due from their lands in the territory of Saltby.

In the twentieth year of Henry the Third, 1235, upon the levy of the aid to marry the king's sister to the Roman emperor, John Grimbald and Robert Cosyn, collectors, render accompt of this aid in Kesteven according to what they had received, it being assessed at two marks for each knight's fief, namely, of two pounds of the fief of Andrew Luterel in those parts of Lincolnshire. In Yorkshire, Richard de Ripariis and William de Herlesey, collectors of the aid in the North Riding, render accompt of eleven marks of five fiefs and a half of Andrew Luterel. Gerard Salveyn and Thomas de Lotton, collectors of the aid in the East Riding, render accompt of £3. 13s. 4d. of the fief of Andrew Luterel. In Leicestershire, William Burdet and Philip de Gaunt, collectors of the aid in that county, rendered accompt of two marks of one fief of Philip de Gaunt of the barony of Andrew Luterel. The same register of Croxton above quoted has this paragraph; "Be it also known that Sir Henry de Gaunt was just lord of Saltby and Bescoby, having with him a certain servant, who was called Henry; wherefore the same Henry, servant of the aforesaid Sir Henry de Gaunt, afterwards caused himself to be called Henry de Gaunt. Moreover this Henry was father of Sir Philip de Gaunt and of Sir Robert de Gaunt. Moreover this first Henry enfeoffed the second Henry, his servant, and his heirs in the vill of Bescoby, doing the service of half the fief of one knight to the aforesaid Henry and his heirs for his manor of Bescoby, and on account of the homage of himself and his heirs." The inference to be drawn from this statement suggests that Henry, the retainer of Henry de Gaunt, master of Billeswick hospital at Bristol, was an illegitimate son of this ecclesiastic, who will have been the lord of Saltby and Bescoby, through a grant of his brother, Maurice de Gaunt, and when so possessed, transferred it to his son.

By letter from the king, dated at Saintes on the 15th day of June, 1242, Andrew Luterel was enjoined to come to the king in all haste, so equipped with horses and arms, that by his assistance and that of other liegemen the king might rejoice in the recovery of the territory, which the king of France had invaded. It is also stated on the Close roll, where this letter

is copied, that the fine, which he had made with the lord the king, would be remitted to him in consideration of his joining the expedition. The king had embarked at Portsmouth on the 16th day of May, and was absent in Guienne more than sixteen months, returning on the 25th day of September, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, to the same port[d]. In the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Henry the Third, upon the collection of the scutage of Gannoc, (Clynnog in Carnarvonshire, near Snowdon,) Andrew Luterel paid twenty-five pounds for twelve knight's fiefs and a half, as heir to Maurice de Gaunt, as we learn from an entry on the Pipe roll for Yorkshire of the thirtieth year of Henry the Third.

[d] In the Lesser roll of Walter de Grey, archbishop of York, No. 87, among the records remaining in the office of the register of the lord archbishop of York, in the year of our Lord 1242, p. 10, we read as follows; "To all &c. Ye shall know that, when our predecessors of happy memory Thomas, Roger and Geoffrey archbishops of York, of the consent of the chapter of York, granted to the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity of York the church of Leeds to be converted into their own uses, so that by their chaplains they should cause service to be done in the same church, as the charters of the same archbishops and of the chapter testify, the same prior and convent presented a certain clerk to a certain portion of the same church, namely, to the third part of the altarage, and thus as well they as the said clerk received in common all the profits of that church; whereby matter of contention frequently arose between them. But afterwards through the death of Alan de Sherburn, clerk, the aforesaid portion being vacant, the often mentioned prior and convent urgently supplicated us, that we would deign to have regard to their poverty and to their peace in this behalf. Wherefore, assenting to their entreaties that we may lop off all matter of contention, which may arise from a community of this sort, we have taxed the vicarage in the church mentioned in this manner, namely, that he, who for the time shall be vicar of the same church, shall receive in the name of the vicarage, the whole altarage with the tythes of the mills of the whole parish of Leeds, except the tythe of the mills of the earl of Lincoln, which has not hitherto been paid, and except the land belonging to the same church, rendering annually to the same prior and convent ten pounds of sterlings at two terms, to wit, one hundred shillings at Pentecost, and one hundred shillings at the feast of St. Martin in winter, and sustaining all the burdens accustomed and due. Which that it may be ratified, &c. Dated at Scroby on the seventh day of December, in the twenty-sixth year of our pontificate. Witnesses," &c.

The earl of Lincoln was John de Lacy, so created 23rd Nov. 1232, as having married Margaret, daughter and heir of Robert de Quincy, eldest son of Saier, earl of Winchester, and of his wife Hawysia, fourth sister and coheiress of Rannulph, earl of Chester and Lincoln, who had acquired the manors of Leeds and Bingley from Maurice de Gaunt, as the price of his ransom. This Robert de Quincy was deceased in his father's lifetime prior to the 7th of November, 1217, of which date is a Letter Close to the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer from King Henry the Third, notifying his grant to the prior and brethren of the hospital of Jerusalem, for the soul of his father and his ancestors, and for the soul of Robert de Quincy, of threepence daily to be received from the exchequer, until he should have assigned to them this sum in a certain place.

On the roll of Charters of this same year is one for Andrew Luterel.

"The king to the archbishops, &c., greeting. Know ye that we have granted and by this our charter confirmed for us and our heirs to Andrew Luterel that he and his heirs have for ever free warren in all their demesne lands in Gamston and Bridgeford, so that no one may enter that warren to hunt in it or to catch any thing, which belongs to the warren, without the licence and free will of the same Andrew and his heirs upon pain of forfeiture to us of ten pounds. Wherefore we will, &c. Witnesses, Richard, earl of Cornwall, our brother, Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, Peter de Savoy, William de Cantilupe, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, Paulinus Peyvre, John de Lexinton, Geoffrey de Langley, Geoffrey de Childewike and others. Given by our hand at Winchester the thirteenth day of July." (1246.)

In the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Third this entry is on the roll of memorandas of the exchequer; "To the barons, for Andrew Luterel, sheriff of Lincolnshire. The king committed to Andrew Luterel the county of Lincoln to be in his custody as long as it shall be the king's pleasure, for twenty marks to be rendered annually beyond what William de Curtun was accustomed to give for the profits of the county." From the Pipe roll of Lincolnshire of this year we learn that he executed this office for the one half of this year only. In the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Third, Sir Andrew Luterel, knight, gave three marks of gold to have the liberty not to be justiciary, sheriff, or any other bailiff of the king during his whole life, and that he should not be put on assizes, juries, or recognizances. In the thirty-sixth year of this reign, Alexander, king of Scotland, married Margaret, the eldest daughter of King Henry the Third, at York, on St. Stephen's day, 27th of December, 1251, and upon collection of the aid on this occasion Andrew Luterel answered for fifteen knight's fiefs, the number belonging to the barony of Hooton; and also had acquittance of what was due from the same barony for the scutage of Elveyn, as having accompanied the king in that expedition into Wales. The district of Elveyn, *alias* Elfel, comprised a portion of Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire, and the only object accomplished by the king on this occasion was the

building of a castle in the vicinity of the Cistertian abbey of Cumhyre in the first-named county, designated the castle of Matilda, otherwise Mawd castle; which, in a letter written after his return, at Guildford, 20th Feb., 16 Hen. III. 1232, addressed to Lhewelyn, prince of Aberfraw and lord of Snowdon, is described by the king as situate in the parts of Elveyn. On the roll of Charters of the thirty-sixth year of Henry the Third is one for Andrew Luterel in these words;

"The king to the archbishops, &c., greeting. Know ye that we have granted and by this present charter confirmed to our beloved and faithful Andrew Luterel that he and his heirs have for ever a market each week on Wednesday at his manor of Irnham in the county of Lincoln, where a market had been anciently held on the same day, and that they have a fair there each year to last for four days, namely, on Wednesday in the week of Pentecost and on the three following days unless that market and that fair be to the injury of the neighbouring markets and neighbouring fairs. Wherefore we will, &c. These witnesses, the venerable fathers, Aymar, elect of Winchester, Fulk of London, William of Salisbury, William of Bath and Wells, and Lawrence of Rochester, bishops, Richard, earl of Cornwall, my brother, Peter de Savoy, John Maunsell, provost of Beverley, Master William de Kilkenny, archdeacon of Coventry, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, Bertram de Criol, John de Lessington, Robert Waleraund and others. Given by our hand at Westminster, second day of June." (1252.)

Previous to the expedition into Gascony in the following year, Geoffrey Luterel, the eldest son of Andrew Luterel, had contracted a marriage with the daughter of William de Grey; and on this account the manor of Hooton in Yorkshire was transferred by his father to his son. The king embarked at Portsmouth on the sixth day of August, 1253, and landed at Bourdeaux on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, having in his company the father-in-law of Geoffrey Luterel[e]. On the roll of Letters Patent, and charters of the

[e] The following charter on the same roll is proof of William de Grey having been on this expedition. "For William Bardolf. The king to the archbishops, &c., greeting. Know ye that we have granted and by this our charter confirmed to William Bardolf that he and his heirs have for ever free warren in all their demesne lands of Wormegey, Westbrigg, Totenhill, Watlingeton, Thorp, Foston, Sechie, Le Estowe, Wynebodesham, Dunham, Wilbes, Rungeton, another Sechie, Westwence, Hardwik, Middleton, Halg, Wyneberg, Jakesham, Westfield, Mateshall, Thurston, Terolveston, Reymerston in the county of Norfolk, and in all their demesne lands of Ryskyngton.

thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth years of Henry the Third, during the stay of the king in Gascony, is the following charter for Geoffrey Luterel.

"The king to the archbishops, &c., greeting. Know ye that we at the instance of William de Grey have granted and by this our charter confirmed to Geoffrey Luterell that he and his heirs have for ever a market each week on Thursday at his manor of Hooton Paynell in the county of York, and that they have there a fair each year to last for three days, namely, on the eve, on the day and on the morrow of St. Lawrence, unless that market, &c. Wherefore we will, &c. These witnesses, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, Peter, bishop of Hereford, John de Plessets, earl of Warwick, Guy de Lezignan, Geoffrey de Lezignan, and William de Valence, our brothers, Peter de Savoy, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, John de Grey,

Rigeby, Levesingham, Blokesham, Amewik, Totelaund, Branchewell, Westburg, Dodinton, Scobinton and Thorp, in the county of Lincoln, and in all their demesne lands in Plumpton, Winelesfield, Lindesfield, Hadleg, Standen, Moliston Ardingeleye, Pipestye, Bercamp and Flesing, in the county of Sussex, (so that, nevertheless, those lands be not within the limits of our forests,) so that no one may enter that warren to hunt in it or to catch any thing which belongs to the warren, without the licence and free-will of the same William and his heirs under pain of forfeiture of ten pounds. Wherefore, &c. These witnesses, the venerable fathers Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Peter, bishop of Hereford, John de Plessets, earl of Warwick, Guy de Lezignan, Geoffrey de Lezignan, and William de Valence, our brothers, Peter de Savoy, William de Cantilupe, John de Grey, John de Burgh, Roger de Monte Alto (Mold), Gilbert de Segrave, Robert Walerand, William de Grey, Hamon Le Estrange, Nicholas de St. Maur, Ralph de Bakepuz, William Gernun, William de St. Ermin, and others. Given by our hand at St. Macaire, 19th day of July." (1254.)

"For William Bardolf. The king to the archbishops, &c. Know ye that we have granted and by our charter confirmed to William Bardolf the younger that he and his heirs have for ever free warren in all his demesne lands of Phillingham in the county of Lincoln, and of Cantley and Caistor in the county of Norfolk, and of Berling and Estdene in the county of Sussex, (so that, nevertheless, those lands be not within the limits of our forests,) so that no one may enter that warren to hunt in it or to catch any thing, which belongs to the warren, without the licence and free-will of the same William and his heirs under pain of forfeiture to us of ten pounds. Wherefore we will, &c. These witnesses, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, Peter, bishop of Hereford, Guy de Lezignan, Geoffrey de Lezignan, and William de Valence, our brothers, Peter de Savoy, John Maunsell, provost of Beverley, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, John de Grey, Robert Walerand, Nicholas de St. Maur, Ralph de Bakepuz, Imbert Pugeys, William Gernun, and others. Given by our hand at Bourdeaux 15th day of August." (1254.)

To a charter of Edward the first-born and heir of the king of England assigning in dower with the consent of his father, to Alianora, the sister of Alfonso, king of Castile and Leon, an illustrious maid, the castle and vill of Tickhill, Stamford, and Grantham, and the castle and vill of the Peak, dated at St. Macaire, 20th day of July, 1254, Richard, John and William de Gray, brothers, are witnesses.

Robert Waleraund, Nicholas de St. Maur, Imbert Puges, William Gernon and others. Given by our hand at Bourdeaux, 24th day of August."

As Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, who embarked at Portsmouth on Friday before Pentecost, the 29th day of May, 1254, in company with the queen and her sons, the Princes Edward and Edmund, and landed at Bourdeaux on that feast, is a witness to this charter, its date must be assigned to that year. On the 1st day of November following, Prince Edward married at Burgos Alianora, daughter of Ferdinand the Third, king of Castile and Leon, and sister of Alphonso the Tenth, surnamed the Wise, the reigning king, who after the ceremony, when his brother-in-law, girt him with the belt of knighthood. On the Pipe roll of Yorkshire of this thirty-ninth year of the reign of King Henry the Third, are entries of the payments made into the treasury by those barons whose honours were assessed for the aid levied for making the first-born son of the king a knight, at the rate of two pounds each fief; and among them Andrew Luterell paid twenty-five pounds for the twelve knight's fiefs and a half of the honour of Maurice de Gaunt, and also thirty pounds for the fifteen knight's fiefs of the honour of William Paynell, which were now united in his person. In the month of December following the king was at Orleans on his way to Paris, and during his stay in that city he granted to the prior of the Holy Trinity at York free warren in all their demesne lands in Coneysthorpe, Sturton, Holbeck, Hedley, Hessay, and Angram, in the county of York. The township of Angram is in the parish of Long Marston, and was of the land of William de Percy at the time of the survey of Domesday, where is this entry; "Manor and soke. In Hagedenebi (Angram) Archil had three carucates of land subject to Danegeld, where two ploughs may be. The soke is in Hailaga (Healough). Now Ebrard has it of William. He has there one plough and two villains and one boor with one plough; and four acres of meadow. Wood pasturable half a league long and a half broad. The whole manor one league long and one league broad. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty shillings, and now twenty-four shillings."

During his life, Sir Andrew Luterel by his deed, sealed with his seal barry of four pieces, gave the manor of East

Quantoxhead, which Margery, the widow of Maurice de Gaunt, had held in dower, to Alexander, his second son, for a rent of a pair of gilt spurs or sixpence annually, reserving to himself the lands of Huish and Stockland, and the services of Maurice de Leigh and Robert de Comb. On the roll of Fines of the forty-ninth year of the reign of King Henry the Third, this memorandum is inserted; "Because Andrew Loterel, who held of the king in chief, has closed the last day, as the king had been informed, it has been enjoined William de Wendling, escheator of the king hitherwards of Trent, that he take into the hand of the king all the lands and tenements, of which he had been seized on the day on which he died, and to keep them safely until the king shall otherwise command in this respect. Witness, the king at Westminster, on the 7th day of March, A.D. 1265." Pursuant to a writ of that date an inquisition as to the quantity of land which Andrew Luterel had held of the king on the day he died, in the county of Lincoln, was made before this escheator at Irnham, on Tuesday in the week of Easter, (7th April,) in the forty-ninth year of the reign of King Henry the Third, by Elias de Willesfield and eleven other jurors; who say upon their oath that Andrew Luterel had held of the lord the king in chief the manor of Irneham by barony. And they say that the aforesaid manor is worth annually in all issues twenty-eight pounds and eighteen shillings. They say that Geoffrey Luterel, son of the aforesaid Andrew, is his next heir and is of full age. Another inquisition was made at Gamston on Wednesday next after the close of Easter, (15th April,) in the same regnal year, as to the quantity of land Sir Andrew Luterel, knight, deceased, held of the lord the king in chief, and as to the quantity he held of others, and by what service, by Gervase de Wilford and eleven other jurors; who say upon their oath that Andrew Luterel, deceased, held the manor of Gamston and Bridgeford, Basingfield and Keyworth, and Normanton, of Gerard de Rodes, by the service of the fourth part of one knight's fief, and it is worth annually in all issues twenty-four pounds four shillings and sixpence. They also say that the same Andrew had held in Gamston and Basingfield six roods of land and a half of the fief of Mannoers, by the service of the sixteenth part of one knight's fief, and they are worth annually three pounds and five shillings in all issues; and

that he had held of Robert de Tollerton two roods of land in the same vill, and a toft with a rent to him of two shillings yearly, and they are worth nineteen shillings annually in all issues. Sum total twenty-eight pounds eight shillings and sixpence. They also say that Geoffrey Loterel, son of the aforesaid Andrew, is his next heir and is of full age. And they say also that the advowson of the church of Bridgeford belongs to the aforesaid manor, and that it is worth twenty marks annually. As his manors of Hooton Pagnell in Yorkshire, and of East Quantoxhead in Somersetshire, had been granted by him to his two sons in his lifetime, no inquisition was made as to them; but a second inquisition is on record, endorsed, "It is enjoined Sir Geoffrey de St. Medard, escheator of Kesteven," taken before him of the lands and tenements, which Andrew Luterel had held in chief of the lord the king and of others on the day on which he died, in that district of Lincolnshire, by the oath of twelve honest and lawworthy men. They say upon their oath that the same Andrew had held of the lord the king in chief, and not of another, the manor of Irnam, by the service of one knight, and that it is worth annually, in all issues, twenty-five pounds. And the aforesaid twelve say that Geoffrey Luterel is his next heir, and is of the age of thirty years and more.

The township of Basingfield is partly in the parish of Bridgeford at the Bridge-end, and partly in the parish of Holme Pierrepont, and this last-named portion was of the land of Roger de Bully at the time of the survey of King William the Conqueror, "who had in Basingfield ten bovates of land subject to Danegeld, and two parts of one bovate. Soke of Holme. There eight sokemen have three ploughs and fifteen acres of meadow." The manor of Holm was subsequently annexed to the honour of Lancaster, and was held of it by the family of Maunvers, or Manvers, whose fief of one knight extended also into Gamston, Adbolton, Lambcote and Boughton. At the date of this inquisition, Leon or Lyan de Maunvers was the tenant, but before the twenty-fifth day of October following he was deceased, when the king took the homage of John de Ry, who had taken to wife Johanna, his sister and heir, of all the lands of his inheritance. Robert de Tollerton had name from the manor of Tollerton, which was also land of Roger de Bully, and afterwards a member of the extensive honour of Tickhill. As Geoffrey Luterel was thirty

years of age at this time, he will have been born in 1235, in the nineteenth year of this reign. On the roll of Fines above mentioned is also this entry; "The king took the homage of Geoffrey Luterel, son and heir of Andrew Luterel, of all the lands and tenements, which the aforesaid Andrew his father had held of the king in chief on the day on which he died, and rendered back to him those lands and tenements. And it is enjoined William de Wendling, escheator hitherwards of Trent, that, having received security from the aforesaid Geoffrey of his rendering one hundred marks to the king at the king's exchequer for his relief, he cause without delay the same Geoffrey to have full seizin of all the aforesaid lands and tenements, and of which the aforesaid Andrew his father had been seized in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died, and which by occasion of the death of the aforesaid Andrew had been taken into the king's hands. Witness the king at Gloucester, first day of May."

The first act of Geoffrey Luterel was the ratification of the grant of his father to his brother Alexander, as appears by the following charter.

"May those present and to come know, that I, Geoffrey Loterell, have granted and by the present writing confirmed for me and my heirs to Alexander Loterell, my brother, my entire manor of Cantockshed with all its appurtenances, together with the advowson of the church, and with fifty shillings rent to be received annually from the vill of Huwysshe, together with all the right and claim, which in any manner I shall be able to have in Stocklond and Bagborough with the appurtenances. Which, indeed, manor with the appurtenances, and with the advowson of the church, and with all aforesaid, Andrew Loterell, my father, gave to the same Alexander by his charter. To hold and to have of me and my heirs to him and his heirs or assigns freely, quietly, peaceably, entirely and hereditarily, the aforesaid manor with all that is named above for ever, rendering therefrom annually to me and my heirs certain gilt spurs or sixpence at Pentecost for all service, suit of court, secular exaction and demand, saving the foreign service of the lord the king. And I also the aforesaid Geoffrey and my heirs will warrant and acquit and defend for ever the aforesaid manor with all the things aforesaid and with the advowson of the church to the aforesaid Alexander and his heirs against all people by the service

abovesaid. And that this my concession and confirmation of his charter may be ratified and stable I have appended my seal to the present writing. These witnesses, Hugh de Bobi (Boothby), John Alynius, Robert de Brechewall, Ralph de Canville and others." On the seal attached to it were four martlets. Also according to Collinson, "Roger de Sumeri, baron of Dudley, son of Margaret, the widow of Maurice de Gaunt, who had held this manor in dower, also confirmed to Alexander Luterel this manor;" and from him were descended the Luterels of Somersetshire.

Previous to the close of his life, Geoffrey Luterel was reduced to a state of mental incapacity, as we learn from this entry on the roll of Letters Patent of the fiftieth year of the reign of King Henry the Third, under the heading "Of the lands of Geoffrey Luterel committed.

The king to all, &c., greeting. As Geoffrey Luterel labours under such infirmity that he is neither competent for the rule of himself or of his lands, we, compassionating his estate, at the instance of certain of his relations and friends, and with a view to the benefit of himself and his boys, to wit, lest through his fatuity he dissipate his goods and his lands and alien them to the disinherison of himself and his heirs, have deemed it right to make an ordinance of his estate in this manner. Namely, that Alexander Luterel, his brother, have the care and custody of his body, and that our beloved and faithful William de Grey, whose daughter the same Geoffrey had taken to wife, have the wardship of the boys of the same Geoffrey. And that the same William and Alexander have the custody of the lands of the same Geoffrey in this form, to wit, that of the issues of those lands the aforesaid William towards the competent support of the said boys, and likewise the said Alexander towards the competent support of the aforesaid Geoffrey, receive the necessary expenses; and that all the residue of the issues be reserved by the aforesaid William and Alexander towards obtaining marriages therefrom to the use of the two daughters of the said Geoffrey, through the counsel of the said William and Alexander and of other relations and friends of the same Geoffrey; so, nevertheless, that of the aforesaid issues they previously answer to us as well as to others, of the debts, in which the aforesaid Geoffrey is bound towards the acquittance of himself and his heirs. Provided also that the aforesaid guardians make no waste,

destruction, sale or alienation of any portion of the aforesaid lands or their appurtenances. So that, if it should chance to happen by the decease of the same Geoffrey that the custodies of the lands of the same Geoffrey or the marriages of the heirs of the same Geoffrey fall to us, we may have them. In testimony of this act we have caused these letters patent to be made. Witness the king at Westminster the fourth day of March." (1266.)

William de Grey was the third son of Henry de Grey, lord of Codnor, com. Derb., held of the honour of Peverel of Nottingham, and brother of Richard and John de Grey, having lands in Sandford and Hickling, com. Nott., and in Sandiacre, com. Derb. His wardship of his grandsons was not of long continuance, as the king took the homage of Richard de Grey, son and heir of William de Grey, of all the lands and tenements, which he had held of the king in chief, on the 10th day of February, in the fifty-third year of his reign, 1269. On the roll of Letters Close of the following year is one for Robert Luterel, dated at Westminster, 10th day of November, 1269, reciting the above entry respecting the decease of William de Grey, and transferring the custody of this eldest son of Sir Geoffrey Luterel to the said Richard de Grey, his son and heir. Prior to the 11th day of February, 1270, Sir Geoffrey Luterel, knight, was deceased, as there is a Letter Close of that date for taking the custody of his lands and heir into the king's hands. In the church of St. Andrew, Irnham, apparently erected about the year 1260, consisting of a chancel, nave, north aisle, north porch and tower at the west end, there is in the former a sepulchral monument, a triangular trefoliated canopy, under which is a plain oblong slab, like a stone coffin, probably covering the ashes of Sir Geoffrey Luterel, in whose time it was reconstructed, and hence reckoned as the founder.

On a roll of inquisitions touching the king in the county of Nottingham, 4 Edw. I. 1276, under the heading "who newly appropriated to themselves chases, warrens, &c. In the wapentake of Bingham, the lady of Gamston is said to have warren in Gamston; but the jurors knew not by what warranty." This is a proof that she had survived her husband Geoffrey Luterel, but her Christian name is unknown. Their two sons had name Robert and Andrew, but the names of their two daughters are unknown.

Alexander Luterel, who had taken the cross and was about to set out with Prince Edward to parts beyond the sea in aid of the Holy Land, had a letter of protection from the king, which was to continue in force for four years, dated at Westminster on the 12th day of May, 1270. Before the expiration of this term he had died in the Holy Land, as we learn from an entry on the rolls, which are termed *Originalia*, of the first year of the reign of King Edward the First; "Northamptonshire. Because Alexander Luterel, who held of the king in chief, has closed his last day, it is enjoined the escheator hitherwards of Trent that he take into the king's hands all the lands, &c., of which the aforesaid Alexander died seized in his demesne as of fief, &c., and that he make inquisition as to the quantity of land the said Alexander held of the king in chief on the day on which he died," &c. His lands in Somersetshire were also in the king's hands on the 3rd day of April, 1273. Upon the roll of Easter term, called *Communia*, of the first year of the reign of Edward the First, 1273, rot. 5 *in dorso*. Somerset is this entry; "Peter de Arcy, one of the executors of Alexander Luttrell and one of the mainpernors of Margery, who had been the wife of the aforesaid Alexander Luttrell." Probably in her right he held lands in Northamptonshire. Their issue were two sons, Andrew Luttrell, who succeeded to his father, and John Luttrell of Chilton in the county of Devon, ancestor to the family of Dunster castle, in the county of Somerset. In the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Edward the First, Andrew Luttrell (*Andreas Luterel*) was summoned from the county of Devon to perform military service in person against the Scots; muster at Berwick-upon-Tweed on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 24th June, 1301.

Robert Luterel was of age in the third year of the reign of King Edward I., 1275, as appears by this entry among the Rolls of Hundreds. Inquisition was made at Stamford by twelve jurors of the wapentake of Belteslawe, before Sirs William de St. Omer and Warine de Chaucombe, the king's justiciaries, as to the article, "what manors in demesne were wont to be in the hands of the kings, predecessors of the then king, &c. They say that Robert Luterell holds the manor of Irnham with the appurtenances of the king in chief, and it is geldable, and gives sheriff's aid, namely, 5s. 2d. yearly, and does suit at the next wapentake after the feast of

St. Michael by that quantity of service, which belongs to that member of the entire barony of Hooton Paynel, which he holds of the king in chief by the service of the fiefs of three knights, when the king is in progress at the head of his army; and was wont to be in the hands of the predecessors of the king, but in the hands of which king they know not, and the manor is worth yearly forty pounds. And the same Robert holds of the king in chief, after what manner or form or by what warranty they know not. They say also that the abbot of Vaudey, who shows his charters, holds in Irnham one hundred acres of wood and pasture of the gift of Andrew Luterel, who gave them to him, and each acre is worth two shillings yearly. And the said Andrew and his ancestors had held them of the king in chief, namely, of the Lord Henry the king, father of King Edward, who now is. In what manner this frankalmoign was created by the aforesaid Andrew, by what service, by what warranty they know not, and it was wont to be geldable and to do suit as above. And the ancestors of the said Andrew were wont to hold this tenement of the king in chief by what service or what warranty they know not. The loss of the king in time of wardship and relief, they know not how to estimate; but the loss of the king as far as regards the suit is twelve pence, now forty years or more gone by. They say also that John de Langton holds half a fief of a knight in Bulby and Hawthorp of Robert Luterell, which he had of the descent of Andrew Luterell, his grandfather, who had it of the descent of Maurice de Gaunt, formerly his ancestor, and is worth ten pounds yearly and is geldable as above, and does the suit aforesaid, and he holds it by the service of half a knight's fief; and the same Robert and his ancestors had held it. And now it is held of the king in chief, but of whose gift or from what time or by what warranty they are ignorant."

In the fourth year of the reign of King Edward the First an inquisition was taken in the wapentake of Strafforth as to suits of wapentakes, &c., containing these findings. "The abbot of Roche of two carucates of land in Thurnscoe, which had been those of William Paynel, and which he had held of the lord the king in chief of the barony of Hooton sixty years ago, which were wont to be geldable and to come at the summons of the sheriff and of the bailiffs of the lord the king, has now substracted the whole. The prior of St. Oswald holds

two carucates of land in Chirebarwe (Shippen) of the gift of Elyas of the same of the barony of Hooton Paynel, which is held of the lord the king in chief, sixty years ago, which were wont to be geldable and to come to the summons of the sheriff, and the said prior has withdrawn all this service throughout the said time. The prior of the hospital of Jerusalem holds four bovates of land in Hooton Paynel of the gift of William Paynel fifty years ago, and twelve acres of land in the same of the gift of Andrew Lotterel thirty years ago, and sixty acres in the same of the gift of Geoffrey Loterel twenty years ago, which were wont to be geldable, and he now substracts the geld. The Templars hold in the same five bovates of land of the gift of William Paynel fifty years ago in Hooton Paynel, which were wont to be geldable. The prior of Neuburgh holds four bovates of land in Hooton Paynel of the gift of William Paynel fifty years ago, which were wont to be geldable. The prioress of Hampole holds one hundred and twenty acres in the same of the gift of the same for the same time, which were wont to be geldable." As to liberties, &c., there was this finding; "They say that Ralph de Sheffield, seneschal of Adam de Newmarch, the person who had charge of the honour of Loterel in Hooton Paynel, gave licence of selling beer against the assise for forty shillings. The same Ralph took from the vill of Houghton six shillings for the same." As to purprestures, &c., "They say that Thomas de Pykeburne, Adam Walth, John de Watton, William the Templar, William le Barnemawe, Thomas the Smith, William Glion, and the Hospitallers had made purpresture from the house of William Cook as far as to the wood of Paynel-Hooton." From this statement it would seem that Adam de Newmarch had the custody of the honour of Hooton Paynel, subsequent to the decease of Geoffrey Luterel, and until the attainment of his age by Robert Luterel.

In the same year a similar inquisition was taken in Somersetshire, as to the hundred of Williton, in which are these findings; "The jurors of the same hundred say that Lude Hywys and Begger Hywys had made one tything, but Maurice de Gaunt had joined Begger Hywys to the tything of Greater Cantokeheved fifty years ago to the loss of the king of two shillings yearly. Also they say that the manor of Stockland was wont to render to the manor of Greater Cantokeheved sixteen pence yearly, which the sheriff of Somerset-

shire was accustomed to receive, but Henry de Gaunt had now withdrawn them. They say that Master Richard de Clifford had seized the manor of Greater Kentokeheved into the hands of the lord the king on the morrow of Palm Sunday in the first year of the reign of the lord the now king (3rd April 1273), and had delivered the aforesaid manor to Robert de Cadielton, his subescheator, to have it in custody; who held that manor in the hands of the lord the king up to the Ascension of the Lord, next following (18th May); and afterwards Margery Luterel came and brought the brief of the lord the king for having her dower and the same Robert assigned to her her dower. She also brought another brief of the lord the king of having two parts of the same manor to farm, who had the custody of those two parts from the aforesaid feast of the Ascension up to the feast of St. Leonard in the second year of the lord the king now" (6th Nov. 1274). Hence her son, Andrew Luterel, will have attained his full age at that time.

Under the heading Pleas of Franchises and *Quo warranto* before John des Vaux and his associates, justiciaries in eyre at Lincoln in the octave of the Holy Trinity, in the ninth year of the reign of the lord King Edward, we read as follows; "It is presented by twelve jurors of Manley that Ralph Paynel holds the soke of Burton-upon-Stather of the lord the king in chief by the fief of one knight and a half. And the soke is worth forty pounds, &c. And the aforesaid Ralph by his attorney comes and says that he holds the aforesaid soke of a certain Robert Luterel in chief, and not of the lord the king. And that the same Ralph after the death of Adam, his father, had been in the wardship of the Lord Henry, king, father of the lord the king now, and in like manner all the lands and tenements belonging to the same Ralph. The truth of this allegation founded upon these premises is inquired into by twelve jurors, &c. They say upon their oath that the aforesaid Ralph and his ancestors had held the aforesaid soke of Burton of a certain Robert Luterel, who is now alive, and of his ancestors. And it was inquired of them if they understood that the aforesaid Ralph held any thing else elsewhere of the lord the king in chief, through which wardship, &c., may belong to the lord the king. They say that they believe that he holds the fourth part of the fief of one knight in Hoo, in the county of Kent. And because the lord the king by this inquisition cannot be fully certified at present, the truth of the

matter is to be more fully inquired into by the exchequer or by other methods, by which it may be better certified," &c. Adam Paynel married Agnes Bardolf, daughter of Hugh Bardolf of Riseholm, and sister of Hugh Bardolf and Robert Bardolf, lords of Castle Carlton, both in Lincolnshire, and of Hoo St. Warburgh, in Kent; and upon the decease of the latter prior to the first day of July, in the ninth year of Henry the Third, 1225, Ralph Paynel did homage for his portion of the lands, which had been those of Robert Bardolf, his uncle, which he had held of the king in chief, and it was enjoined the sheriff of Kent to give him seizin upon giving security for his relief. Under the heading Foreign pleas in the quindene of the Holy Trinity, is this entry. "Yorkshire. A jury between the lord the king, through Gilbert de Thorneton, who follows for him, and Thomas de Furnivall of the plea, that the same Thomas and all his ancestors from the conquest of England had gallows, free warren and market at Sheffield, and gallows at Whiston. And if the bailiffs of the same Thomas and his ancestors of Hallamshire from the conquest of England had been accustomed to execute all the offices, which belong to bailiffs. And if Robert Luterell does suit to the wapentake of the lord the king for the same Thomas of the manor of Whiston, which he holds of the aforesaid Robert." In 1168 Richard de Lovetot held five knight's fiefs of William Paynell, inclusive of this manor of Whiston, in the upper division of Strafforth and Tickhill wapentake, liberty of Hallamshire, whose granddaughter and heiress married Gerard de Furnivall, lineal ancestor of this Thomas de Furnivall, the vassal of Robert Luterel.

In the fifth year of Edward the First, on occasion of the expedition against Lhewelyn, prince of Wales, and muster of the host before the constable and earl marshal at Worcester, in eight days of St. John the Baptist (1st July 1277), this entry was made; "Robert Luterel renders the service of two knight's fiefs in Hooton and in Irnham to be done by himself, by Giles de Eyly, Roger of the Chapel, and Thomas le Estout, serjeants." The following petition of Giles de Fisheburne, second husband of Margeria, the widow of Alexander Luterel, is inserted on the roll of the parliament of the sixth year of Edward the First, held at Westminster on the feast of St. Michael, 1278, in these words; "Sir Geoffrey Luterel died; his son fell in ward to the king. Sir Alexander Luterel, the

younger brother of Sir Geoffrey, died; his son fell in ward to his cousin, because he held in chief of him, whereby the king had wardship upon wardship. Giles de Fisheburne married the wife of Sir Alexander Luterel, the younger brother. After that her son was of age and had his lands, Sir Ralph de Sandwich distrains her for the forfeiture, wherein it seems to the petitioner that he is acting towards her according to the dictates of his own will and not by rule of law, of which grief she implores the grace of the king, in as much as she and her lord held nothing in chief of the king. Answer. Let all distresses cease entirely until the next parliament." Sir Ralph de Sandwich was a baron of the exchequer, and the distresses levied by him upon the lands of the dower of the then wife of Giles de Fisheburne, will have originated in the wrong supposition that the widow of a tenant in chief had re-married without the licence of the king, which in all cases subjected the transgressors to forfeiture.

In the ninth year of Edward the First, in Easter term, Robert Loterell brought a suit against Henry de Grey for two parts of the manor of Barton, near Coneysthorpe, in Yorkshire, and against Lucy de Grey for the third part of the said manor. They plead the charters of King Henry the Third made to Richard de Grey, and call to warrant the lord the king. Therefore thereof without day. This manor was of the ancient inheritance of the family of Paynell, as noted above; and on the Pipe roll of Yorkshire of the twenty-fourth year of Henry the Second, 1178, this entry explains how it came to be severed from the barony after the decease of William Paynell; "Randulf de Glanville, sheriff of Yorkshire, renders accompt of four pounds and ten shillings of the issue of Barton, which had been the manor of William Paynell, before the king commanded him to deliver it to Fulk Paynell. This sum he remitted to the treasury and had acquittance." The heir of Fulk Paynell forfeited this manor at the time of the severance of Normandy in the reign of King John, who granted it to Geoffrey Luterel during his pleasure only. Richard de Grey of Codnor, after the decease of Eustace de Grenville, who also held it during the pleasure of the king, obtained a grant of this manor from King Henry the Third prior to the thirtieth year of his reign, when he had licence for a market and fair at Barton. He married Lucia, daughter and heiress of John du Hommet, and was deceased before the fifth day of September,

fifty-fifth year of the reign of Henry the Third, 1277, whose widow had the third part of this manor in dower. John de Grey, his eldest son and heir, died in the following regnal year, leaving Henry de Grey, the defendant, his son and heir, seventeen years of age.

In the tenth year of the reign of Edward the First, Sir Robert Luterel was again summoned by writ dated at Devizes, 6th day of April, 1282, to perform military service in person against the Welch, and to be present at Worcester on the day of Pentecost next following, (17th May.) On the Plea roll of the eleventh year of the reign of this king, 1283, is this entry; "Easter Term, Yorkshire. Robert Lutterell tenant of one messuage and of two bovates of land in Clayton near Hooton Paynell without day. In which plea Thomas son of Thomas de Shipley and Alice his mother are plaintiffs, and John de Askenhall and Alice his wife and Robert son of Eva are defendants." On the Plea roll of Hillary Term in the following year, under Yorkshire, is an enrolment of the release of Thomas de Shipley made to Sir Robert Luterell and his heirs of his lands, tenements, woods, &c. in the vills of Clayton and Thurnscoe. Again on the Plea roll of the thirteenth year of this reign, in Trinity Term, under Nottinghamshire, is an enrolment of the charter of John, son of Gerard de Rodes, made to Sir Robert Tiptoft, and to Eva his wife, and to Payn, the son of the same, and to the heirs of the said Payn of the manors of Langar and Barneston, and of the advowson of the church of Langar, and of the homage of Gervase de Wilford of the manors of Clifton and Wilford, and of the homage of Henry de Pierpoint of the manor of Barton, and of the homage of Robert Luttrell of the manors of Bridgeford and Gamston, and of the homage of the bishop of Carlisle of the manor of Horncastle, and of the homage of Edmund D'Eyncourt.

In the fifteenth year of Edward the First, by writ bearing date at Westminster, 14th day of June, 1287, Robert Luterel was summoned to attend, equipped with horses and arms, Edmund, earl of Cornwall, at Gloucester, in three weeks of St. John the Baptist, and to obey his orders. In the nineteenth year of the reign of Edward the First, Robert Luterel was summoned by writ, bearing date at Darlington, 16th day of April, 1291, to be, with horses and arms, and all the service, which was due from him, in the king's company at

Norham in six weeks of Easter (3rd June), to perform military service in person against the Scots. In the twenty-second year of the reign of Edward the First, Robert Luterel was summoned by writ, tested at Westminster, 8th day of June, 1294, to attend the king on urgent affairs immediately after the receipt of the writ; and by writ, tested at Westminster, on the 14th day of the same month, he was exempted from the general summons of all persons holding by military tenure or serjeancy ordered to be made on that day, for a rendezvous at Portsmouth on the 1st day of September, in order to cross the sea on an expedition to Gascony.

By writ, tested at Whitchurch, 24th day of June, in the twenty-third year of the reign of King Edward the First, 1295, Robert Luterel was summoned to a parliament to be held at Westminster, on the 1st day of August next following. By another writ, tested at Canterbury, the 1st day of October, in the same year, Robert Luterel was again summoned to a parliament to be held at Westminster, on Sunday next after the feast of St. Martin, 13th day of November following; but by a second writ, tested at Udimore, in the county of Sussex, 2nd day of November, the meeting of this parliament was prorogued to Sunday next before the feast of St. Andrew the apostle, the 27th day of November, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Edward the First.

The following charter of Robert Luterel is contained in an inspeximus charter of King Edward the First, of the ninth year of his reign, in favour of the abbey of Croxton.

"To all to whom the present writing shall come, Robert, son of Geoffrey Luterell, greeting in the Lord. Ye shall know that I for the redemption of my soul and for the souls of all my ancestors and successors, have granted and by this present charter confirmed to God and the church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist of Croxton, and to the abbot and canons there serving God, and to their successors for ever in frank, pure and perpetual almoign all the lands and tenements, which they have of my fief in the vill and territory of Bescoby of the gift and confirmation of Sir Philip de Gaunt, knight, and of the gift and confirmation of Robert de Gaunt, brother of the same Philip, and of the gift and confirmation of Philip, son of the same Robert de Gaunt, and of all their ancestors, or of the gift of others whomsoever their feoffors, by the charters of the same, as well in demesne as in service, &c.

Moreover I have granted and by the present charter confirmed to the aforesaid church, abbot and canons and their successors in frank, pure and perpetual almoign free chace of the barony of Croxton, in my barony, and free ingress and egress at all time within the vill and without, with all their cattle and sheep whatsoever, through ways and paths, and all other places due and accustomed in the aforesaid vill and territory, &c. These witnesses, Sir Thomas de Berkeley, Sir Richard Grey, Sir William Hamelyn, then sheriff of Leicestershire, Sir Benedict de Rolleston, knights, Hugh de Boothby, John, son of Richard de Vilers," &c.

Under the heading Pleas of *Quo Warranto*, before Hugh de Cressingham and his associates, justiciaries of the lord the king in eyre at York from the day of Holy Trinity in fifteen days, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Henry, (24th May—7th June, 1293,) is this entry; "The prior of the Holy Trinity of York comes into court here and claims for himself and his monks that they and their successors may have for ever free warren in all their demesne lands in Coneysthorp, Sturton, Holbeck, Hedley, Hessay, and Angram, by the charter of the Lord Henry the king, father of the lord the king now, dated at Orleans in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, sealed with a certain seal of a justiciary here unknown, &c., which testifies this same, &c. And Roger de Hegham, who follows for the lord the king, begs that the prior may find sufficient mainpernors of being here in the octaves of St. Hillary. And in the meanwhile the claim may be sued in Chancery, and certified to the justiciaries here by the brief of the lord the king at the aforesaid term, &c. Afterwards the aforesaid prior proffers a certain other charter of the aforesaid lord King Henry, dated at Orleans, in the year aforesaid, sealed with the great seal of the aforesaid lord the king, which testifies that the aforesaid prior and monks and their successors have for ever free warren in all their demesne lands in the vills aforesaid, &c. And Roger de Hegham, who follows for the lord the king, says that the aforesaid prior abuses the aforesaid liberty. He also says that he and his predecessors, by authority of the aforesaid charter, had held the lands of their free neighbours enclosed in their warren. And also that he exercises free chace, &c., and keeps his fat beasts within a fence. And begs that inquiry may be made on this head for the lord the

king, &c. Therefore it is inquired into, &c. And be it known that answer may be made *gratis* without brief," &c.

By his wife Joan, Robert Luterel, baron of parliament, had three sons, Geoffrey, Guy, and Robert, rector of Irnham, and was deceased prior to the 18th day of June, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward the First, 1297; of which date is the writ of *Diem clausit extremum*, addressed to Malculin de Harley, escheator hitherwards of Trent, from Westminster. Pursuant to this writ "an inquisition was taken of the lands and tenements, which had been those of Robert Luterell, in the county of York, at Hooton Pagnell, on Saturday next after the feast of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward the First (13th July), by Sir Peter de Rothyrfeld, knight, Sir John Haryngel, knight, William Paynell, and nine others. Who say upon their oath that the aforesaid Sir Robert Luterell held his manor of Hooton Pagnell with the appurtenances of the lord the king and nothing of others, doing also to the said lord the king homage and service for four fiefs of knights in Wales for forty days at his own expenses, and by four men with horses and arms. (Extent.) They also say that Geoffrey Luterell is son and heir of the said Sir Robert Luterell, and had been of the age of twenty-one years on the vigil of Pentecost in the twenty-fifth year of Edward's reign, (1st June.) Sum total, £21. 12s. 8d. Lincolnshire. Inquisition of the lands and tenements which had been those of Robert Luterell on the day on which he died, made at Irnham on Wednesday next after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward (2nd July), by twelve jurors. Who say upon their oath that the aforesaid Robert held the manor of Irnham with its appurtenances, together with the advowson of the church of Irnham, on the day on which he died, of the lord the king in chief, as a member of his manor of Hooton Pagnel, which he held of the same lord the king by barony. And there is in the same place a certain capital messuage which is worth yearly in fruit and herbage of the garden, together with the dovecot, 6s. 8d. Also is there a certain croft lying for pasture within the site of the manor, and is worth yearly 2s. Also are there three hundred and two acres of arable land in the demesne, of which each acre is worth yearly 6d. Sum, £7. 11s. Also are there twenty-one acres of meadow to be mowed, of which each acre is worth yearly

18d. Sum, 31s. 6d. Also is there a certain external wood and a certain park of which the profits in underwood and pasture is worth by the year £3. Also is there a certain windmill which is worth by the year 20s. Also are there rents of free tenants at the Nativity of the Lord, 10½d.; at Easter, 4s. 2½d.; at the feast of St. Botolph (17th June), 10½d.; and at the feast of St. Michael, 4s. 2½d. Sum, 10s. 2d. Also is there a rent of bondmen, who hold twelve bovates of land at high farm, at the aforesaid four terms, £6. 4d. by equal portions. Also is there a rent of thirteen cottagers on the aforesaid lands, 20s. Also is there half a burgage, at two terms, 6s. 8d. And the aforesaid bondmen and cottagers owe for Wodehome and Wodepeny, at the feast of St. Martin, 2s. 8d. and sixty-four fowls, of which each fowl is worth one penny. Also the toll of the burgage is commonly worth yearly 2s. Also the pleas and perquisites of the court are worth yearly 2s. And the same jurors say that Geoffrey Luterell, son of the aforesaid Robert, is next heir, and had been of the age of twenty-one years on the vigil of Pentecost last past. Sum total, £22. 4s."

Pursuant to a writ of same date addressed to John Lythegrenes, escheator beyond Trent, "an inquisition of the lands and tenements which had been those of Robert Luterell, late deceased, on the day on which he died, was taken in Nottinghamshire, at Gamston, on Sunday next after the feast of St. Peter ad vincula (4th Aug.), in the twenty-fifth year of Edward the First, by twelve jurors. Who say upon their oath that Robert Luterell held nothing in chief, but that he held the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford, with the advowson of the church, of Robert Typtoft, by the service of half a knight's fief. (Extent.) They say also that the aforesaid Robert held in Gamston five roods and a half of Anora de Perpoint, by homage and service, and a pound of pepper, which are held in bondage. They also say that there are in Hucknall Torcard, which is beyond Trent, five bovates of land, belonging to the manor of Gamston, in bondage, which render yearly fifteen shillings. Sum total, £20. 19s. 3d. Age of the heir as above." After the decease of his father, a proof of the age of Geoffrey, son and heir of Sir Robert Luterel, was taken, in which it is stated that he had been born and baptized at Irneham, otherwise Irenham, which is distant from Swinestead half a league, and the same proof is entered among the pleas before the king

at Westminster, of the term of St. Michael, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, (1297.)

Andrew Luterel, a younger brother of Robert Luterel, was the tenant of the sixth part of a fief in Chaddesden, near Derby, and held by him of Edmund, earl of Lancaster, the king's brother, deceased in 1296; and Joan, the widow of Robert Luterel, had the lands in Nottinghamshire, in dower. Anora de Pierrepont, the half-sister, and heiress of Leon de Manvers, had succeeded to that fief, and was the wife of Henry de Pierrepont. Hucknall, a parish in the hundred of Broxtow, north of Trent, had the affix of Torcard, from a family of this surname, lords of the manor.

Among the names of those who had twenty librates of land and rent in the counties of Nottingham and Derby, summoned to be at Nottingham, equipped with horses and arms, on Sunday next after the octaves of St. John the Baptist, 7th July, 25 Edw. I., 1297, before William de Ormesby, the assignee of the Earl Warren, to accompany the same earl towards the parts of Scotland, and to do what the same William may enjoin them on the king's behalf, is that of Geoffrey Luterel, the heir of Robert Luterel. Among the names of those who had forty librates of land and rent or more in the West Riding of Yorkshire, wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill, summoned to be at Carlisle with horses and arms, and all the service due to the king, on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 24th June, 28 Ed. I., 1300, is that of Geoffrey Luterel, esquire; and it occurs again among the names of those having forty librates of land in Lincolnshire summoned on the same occasion, and also among the names of those who held of the king in chief or by serjeancy in the same county in that year. By writ, tested at Northampton, 12th day of March, 29 Edw. I., 1301, Geoffrey Luterel was summoned from Lincolnshire to be at Berwick-upon-Tweed on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next to come, decently equipped with arms and horses, to set out from thence against the Scots with the king, in his pay.

The following writ occurs in escheat 34 Edw. I. nu. 82; "Edward, by the grace of God king of England lord of Ireland and duke of Acquitaine, to his beloved and faithful Richard Oysel, his escheator beyond Trent, greeting. Although by an inquisition, which we have caused to be made by you, we have learnt, that the priory of the Holy Trinity of

York is not of our foundation, nor of our patronage, but of the foundation and patronage of Ralph Paynel, once lord of Drax, in the county of York, whose heir is within age and in our custody, and that the said priory had not been in our custody, or of any of our progenitors during any time of the vacancy of the same in times past. Nevertheless, because there is not mention in that inquisition, what estate the aforesaid Ralph or his heirs, or the ancestors of the aforesaid heir were accustomed to have in the times of the vacancy of the same, wishing to be certified thereof, we enjoin you, that by oath of honest and law-worthy men of your bailiwick, by whom the truth of this matter shall best be known, you diligently inquire what estate the aforesaid Ralph or his heirs, or the ancestors of the aforesaid heir had hitherto in the priory aforesaid, in the times of the vacancy of the same, as well in the custody of the same priory in the time of the same vacancy, as in the restitution or in the receipt of the temporalities of the same, and how, and in what manner. And do you send without delay the inquisition thereof distinctly and openly made to us under your seal and the seals of those by whom it shall have been made, and this writ. Witness myself at Shene, 7th day of October, in the thirty-third year of our reign." (1305).

"Inquisition of the estate, which Ralph Paynel or his heirs or the ancestors of the same heir had had in the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, in the time of the vacancy of the same, as well in the custody of the same priory as in the restitution or the receipt of the temporalities of the same, made at York, 24th day of November, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Edward, by the oath of Alan de Scotherskelf, William Sperry, Richard Davy, John de Apelton, Walter Goldbeter, Thomas Amory, Robert de St. Leonard, Richard de Bilburgh, William de Alne, John de Askham, William de Langeley, and John le Wayder. Who say upon their oaths that the aforesaid Ralph, nor his heirs, nor the ancestors of the same heir, had no custody of the same priory, nor restitution or receipt of the temporalities of the same, at any time of the vacancy of the same, except only a certain door-keeper appointed by those founders, so that the same door-keeper might guard the aforesaid priory, lest the chattels and goods of the same priory found therein should be removed by any one. And they say that whensoever a prior of the same place should be deceased, that another prior, who in succession should have been deputed from Mar-

moutier by the abbot of that place to the dignity of that priory, and should have come and rested there, that it was perfectly lawful to the same prior to enter the aforesaid priory, according to the ordination dispensed to him thereof, without any contradiction of the aforesaid Ralph or any of his heirs, or any contribution for entrance being made, or fealty to the same. In testimony of which act the aforesaid jurors put their seals to the present inquisition."

The jurors upon this inquisition inferred that the advowson of the priory of the Holy Trinity was attached to the manor of Drax, of which the lord, Philip Paynel, was deceased before 24th May, 27 Edw. I., leaving John Paynel, his son and heir, of the age of one year on the vigil of the Nativity of the Lord last past; and hence the finding that the heir of Ralph Paynel was in the king's custody. In an inquisition taken in the reign of King Henry the Third, but to which there is no date, calendered no. 155, as follows, Dominus Rex, Drax manerium extentum, we have this finding; "The jurors say that there are in Drax in demesne ten carucates. Moreover in the said manor of Drax there is one priory, which is worth £300. and more every year, besides the advowsons of five churches belonging to the said priory, the advowson of which priory belongs to the lord of the said manor. Moreover that the priory of the Holy Trinity of York was founded by Fulk Paynell, lord of the said manor, of which the advowson doth belong to the lord of the aforesaid manor, whosoever he be. Of the value of the said priory, nor of the advowsons of the churches belonging to the same, they cannot tell the certain sum, whether it be twice as much worth as the priory of Drax or not." But we have a contradiction to this statement in the register of William Grenefeld, archbishop of York, where are these entries; "Sir Geoffrey Luterell, knight, lord of Hooton Paynel, presents to the church of the Holy Trinity of York, 20th day of February, 1308, in the fourth year of his pontificate (fo. 74), and to the church of Addle, in the same fourth year of his pontificate," (fo. 78.) Hence the visitors of the monasteries in the reign of Henry the Eighth in like manner imputed the foundation of this priory to Barbara Constable, wife of Sir Marmaduke Constable, knight, senior, by reason that she was lady of the manor of Drax at the time of its dissolution.

In the reign of Edward the Second Geoffrey Luterel was summoned to perform military service against the Scots in

person by writ tested at Stamford, 30th July, 3 Edw. II., 1309, and to be at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on Michaelmas day; and again by writ tested at Westminster, 18th June, 1310, to be at Berwick-upon-Tweed on the Nativity of the Virgin. Similar writs were issued to him for the like service against the Scots down to the twelfth year of Edward the Second. In the ninth year of the same reign, pursuant to writs, tested at Clipston, 5th of March, 1316, he was certified as lord of the following vills in the county of Nottingham, in the wapentake of Bingham, of Basingfield, Gamston, Tollerton and Clipston, conjointly with Joan Luterel[f], John Barry, and Alice de Bingham, to whom the two last-named vills belonged; and in the county of York, in the liberty of Richmond, as lord of Wensley, (as guardian of John, son and heir of Peter de Wensley,) conjointly with James de Wensley; in the wapentake of Strafforth, of Hooton Painell and of Clayton, and in the liberty of Tickhill, of Adwick[g]. By his wife Agnes, daughter of Sir Richard Sutton, knight, of Sutton and Warsop, com. Notts, to whom he was married in this reign, Sir Geoffrey Luterel, knight, had two sons, who each married a daughter of Sir Geoffrey Scrope, knight, of Masham, com. Ebor.; as we learn from a deed made by their father at Irnham, the first Sunday after Trinity, in the thirteenth year of King Edward the Second, (1st June, 1320,) whereby he settled his whole estate, and the reversion of the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford with the advowson of the church, and of his lands in Basingfield, after the decease of his mother, Joan Luterel, who held them in dower for her life, on Guy Luterel, his brother, during the life of the same

[f] In the register of William Grenefeld, archbishop of York, is this entry; "The lady Joan, who had been the wife of Sir Robert Luterell, knight, presents to the church of Briggeford at the bridge, 11th of June, 1315," (fo. 168.)

[g] The following entries prove the descent of the lands belonging to the priory of the Holy Trinity or Christ's Church at York as parcel of the fief, called first Paynell, and afterwards Lutterell. "In the town of Thorp St. Andrew, the archbishop of York holds ten oxgangs of the fief of Lutterell. The township of Bilbrough anciently contained seven carucates and a half of the fief of Paynell, who held them of the king in chief, paying no rent. Monkton, commonly called Moor Monkton, had six carucates of land held of the fief of Paynell, of which John de Waleys held three carucates at the rent of sixpence, and the abbot of York one carucate of the gift of Philip Fitz Ranulph de Monkton." On the Pipe roll of the sixteenth year of the reign of Edward the Second, for Yorkshire, "Thomas de Burgh, escheator of the lord the king beyond Trent, renders accompt of the issues of the manor of Knapton, which had been that of Walter de Langeton, late bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and which he had held of Geoffrey Lutterel, by the service of one knight."

Geoffrey; and after his decease upon Andrew his son, and Beatrix his wife, daughter of Sir Geoffrey Scrope, and the heirs of their bodies; and in default of such issue upon Geoffrey, brother of Andrew, and Constance his wife, sister of the same Beatrix, and to the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to his right heirs. In the fifteenth year of Edward the Second, by writ tested at Wooton-under-Edge, 28th Feb., 1322, Geoffrey Luterel was commanded to assist the sheriff of Lincolnshire in the conservancy of the peace, and was also summoned to appear with horses and arms at Burton-upon-Trent, and to proceed with the king, and in his service. Pursuant to writ tested at Westminster, 9th May, 17 Edward II., 1324, Sir Geoffrey Luterel, knight, was returned by Simon Chaumberleyn, sheriff of the county of Lincoln, as one of the knights in Kesteven, summoned by general proclamation to attend the great council at Westminster on Wednesday next after Ascension day, 30th May. In the nineteenth year of Edward the Second, 1325, Sir Geoffrey Luterel was appointed a commissioner of array, in the parts of Kesteven, in the county of Lincoln, by writ tested at Bury St. Edmund, 25th December; but being unable to act on account of ill health, William Dysny was appointed in his place by commission tested at Norwich, 26th Jan., 1326.

In the register of Archbishop William de Melton, elected archbishop of York Jan. 21, 1316, and consecrated at Avignon Sept. 21, 1317, fo. ccclxxxii., is this dispensation of Sir Geoffrey Luterell, and of Agnes, the wife of the same. "William by the grace of God archbishop of York, &c., to our beloved in Christ Sir Geoffrey Luterell, knight, and to Agnes, daughter of the late Sir Richard de Sutton, knight, greeting, grace and benediction. We have received the letters of the most holy father and lord in Christ, the Lord John, by divine providence Pope the twenty-second, imbulled in his true bull after the manner of the Roman court, not abolished or vitiated, but entirely free from all suspicion, as is apparent at first sight, lately presented for you, of which the tenor follows in these words: John, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother the archbishop of York, greeting and apostolical benediction. From the tenor of a petition offered to us on the part of our beloved son, Geoffrey Luterell, knight, and of our beloved daughter in Christ, Agnes, the daughter of the late Richard de Sutton, knight, we have collected that

formerly the said Geoffrey and Agnes, being in her paternal mansion, of the freewill of the father of the same Agnes, bans, as is of custom and right, being solemnly published in the face of the church, by words *de presenti*, before the publication of the constitution enacted by Pope Clement the Fifth of happy memory, our predecessor, by which, amongst the rest, warning is given that those, who knowingly contract marriages within the degrees of kindred forbidden by the canonical constitution, by the act itself subject themselves to a sentence of excommunication, together contracted matrimony; the aforesaid Agnes being entirely ignorant of there being any impediment between them, by which they were unable to be joined together in the way of marriage. But they have since begotten a numerous offspring in the time of this matrimony. At length, indeed, it came to the knowledge of the aforesaid Agnes, that they Geoffrey and Agnes were mutually related to one another in the third and fourth degree of consanguinity. Wherefore humble supplication was made to us on the part of the said Geoffrey and Agnes, that, if there should be a divorce of the aforesaid matrimony, then great scandal might arise, especially as they be noble and puissant, and this numerous offspring so begotten, as is mentioned above, would remain desolate, we, of our apostolical benignity, have deemed it right to provide for them in this behalf under the grace of a befitting dispensation. We, therefore, who with the most earnest desires affect the redemption of all the faithful of Christ, and willingly procure the benefits of peace and quiet, intending to preclude the course of any scandal to the same, as far as power from above is conceded to us, and wishing to make a salutary provision upon this matter accordant with the clemency of the apostolic see, being inclined to the supplications of these parties, we commit to your brotherhood by these apostolic writings and enjoin, that if you shall find the premises to be as stated with the aforesaid Geoffrey and Agnes, that, notwithstanding the impediment of this consanguinity, they may lawfully remain in the said matrimony, by our authority you may dispense them, announcing the said offspring begotten and to be begotten hereafter of the said matrimony legitimate. Given at Avignon, on the nineteenth day of November, in the sixteenth year of our pontificate (1332.) Wherefore, by the authority of these letters, because by inquisition made in lawful form we have found all and each thing above expressed and suggested

in the apostolic letters to contain the truth in every respect in the series of fact, with this exception, that you are not mutually related in any degree of consanguinity that the witnesses, by whom inquiry was made, knew of, nor had they heard at any time that you were subject to an impediment of consanguinity, so that, notwithstanding the impediment of this consanguinity, if any shall have been, you may lawfully remain in the said matrimony; we, by the tenor of these presents, grant you a dispensation, and announce and decree by the apostolical authority aforesaid, the said offspring begotten or to be begotten hereafter of the said marriage legitimate. Fare ye well. Given at York on the eighteenth day of January, in the year of the Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty-three, and of our pontificate the seventeenth. Indorsed. Nottinghamshire."

Sir Robert de Sutton died in the first year of Edward the First, 1273, seized of the manors of Worsop and Sutton upon Trent, com. Notts, of Aston and Byfield, com. North., and of Theydon Mount, com. Essex, leaving by his wife Joan, Richard de Sutton, his son and heir, then of the age of eight years, who married to his first wife Isabel, daughter and heiress of William, son of William Patric, lord of a moiety of Malpas, com. Chest., by Beatrice, daughter and coheir of David de Malpas; and to his second wife Margaret, who survived him. In the first year of the reign of King Edward the Second, Richard de Sutton was permitted to settle the manor of Warsop in Nottinghamshire, held of the king in chief, on his son John de Sutton, and Margery his wife, eldest sister and eventually coheir of John de Somerie, baron of Dudley. Sir Richard de Sutton was deceased prior to the 19th day of September, 4 Edw. II., 1310, when his son and heir, Sir John de Sutton, knight, proffers the service of half a knight's fief for all his lands in Nottinghamshire and Essex, to be performed by Roger de Sewell with one barded horse. Agnes Luterel, his sister, is omitted in the printed pedigrees of this family.

Master Robert Luterel, the rector of Irnham, and brother of Sir Geoffrey Luterel, knight, was instrumental in founding an university at Stamford, com. Linc., as we learn from this entry in the register of John Daldreby, bishop of Lincoln, fol. 8. a. "John, by the divine permission bishop of Lincoln, to our beloved in Christ the prior and convent of Sempringham, greeting. When Master Robert Luterel shall have bestowed

on you the manor, which he had in the parish of St. Peter, Stamford, from a motive of charity, wishing that you may sustain perpetually scholars, studying in the divine page, or philosophy, in the same manor, to be increased in accordance to the number of your convent, and one chaplain secular or regular to celebrate divine service in the chapel of blessed Mary situate within the said manor; we, commending the pious act and proposal of this person, although a chantry may have been kept up in the said chapel during a long past interval of time, as we have learnt for certain, nevertheless for the greater corroboration of the will of the aforesaid Master Robert, and for the solace and quiet of the scholars, grant to you special licence, as far as lies in our power, that you may for ever cause the celebration of divine service in the chapel aforesaid without prejudice to the parish church of St. Peter of Stamford, within which parish it is situate, and to the other neighbouring churches. So, nevertheless, that neither baptismal font nor the like be erected, nor procession nor act of solemnity whatsoever be done, nor sacrament be administered therein in any case, and that the oblations, which shall be made therein, be rendered to the rector of the parish church above mentioned, in order that the same church may be uninjured in every respect and that the honour due to it may in nothing be lessened or substracted. And if any thing shall be attempted against the tenor of this concession, the same concession to be absolutely of no force. In testimony of which act our seal is appended to these presents. Given at Buckden third of the Ides of November (11th Nov.), in the year of the Lord one thousand three hundred and three."

"To all the faithful of Christ, &c. The prior and convent of Sempringham, greeting. Know ye that we, by the assent of the venerable father Philip, master of our order, are bound in the word of truth to our most beloved lord and friend, Master Robert Luterell, rector of the church of Irnham, and to his heirs for ever, for the lands and tenements, which he gave to us in the vills of Ketton, Cotsmore and Casterton in the county of Rutland, and in Stamford in the county of Lincoln, to the support of three chaplains, celebrating divine service for the redemption of his soul, and in the subscribed form; namely, to the support of one secular chaplain in the parochial church of St. Andrew of Irnham, and of one chaplain celebrating divine service for ever for the soul of the aforesaid Robert in

the chapel of blessed Mary situate within the manor of Stamford, which we have of the gift of the aforesaid Master Robert; and to the support of one chaplain continually celebrating the mass of blessed Mary for ever in the conventual church of Sempringham. We also grant by these presents for us and our successors, and acknowledge ourselves to be bound to the aforesaid Master Robert Luterel and to his heirs, for the support of scholars to be increased according to the number of our convent, studying at Stamford in the divine page, or philosophy, at seasonable times, &c. Sealed with the seal of the Lord John, bishop of Lincoln. Witnesses, Sir Robert de Flixthorp, Philip de Paunton, Theobald de Neville, John de Foleville, Roger de Morteyn, Ralph de St. Lo, Geoffrey de Brunne, knights," &c.

Sir Geoffrey Luterel, knight, was deceased at his manor of Saltby on the 23rd day of May, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, 1345, and as he was born on the first day of June, 1276, he will have been in the sixty-ninth year of his age. His two sons, Andrew and Geoffrey, were made knights in his lifetime, and on a roll of the names and arms of the bannerets of England, (1308-1311,) under this title, "Le Counte de Nichole," we read at the head of the list, "Sire Andreu Loterel, de or, a une bende e vj merelos de sable. Sire Geffrey Loterel, de azure, a une bende e vj merelos de argent." Pursuant to a writ of *Diem clausit extremum* for Geoffrey Louterel, tested at Westminster, 26th day of May following, an inquisition was taken at Hooton Paynell on Thursday next after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul (June 30th), before Thomas de Rokeby, escheator of Yorkshire, by twelve jurors. "They say upon their oath that Guy Luterel had been seized of the manor of Hooton Paynel with the appurtenances in his demesne as of fief, and the same Guy granted to Geoffrey Luterel and Agnes his wife the aforesaid manor with the appurtenances and rendered it to them in the court of the lord the king, before the justiciaries then there present, to hold for the whole lives of the same Geoffrey and Agnes, and after the decease of the same Geoffrey and Agnes, the aforesaid manor shall remain entirely to Andrew, son of the said Geoffrey and Agnes, and to Beatrice, his wife, and to the heirs issuing of the bodies of the same Andrew and Beatrice; and if it happen that the same Andrew and Beatrice die without heirs issuing of their

bodies, then after the decease of the same Andrew and Beatrice, the aforesaid manor shall remain entirely to Geoffrey, brother of the same Andrew, and to Constance his wife, and to the heirs issuing of the bodies of the same Geoffrey and Constance, and if it happen that the same Geoffrey and Constance die without heirs issuing of their bodies, then after the decease of the same Geoffrey and Constance, the aforesaid manor with the appurtenances shall remain to the right heirs of the aforesaid Geoffrey Luterel for ever. And they say that the aforesaid Geoffrey Luterel held the aforesaid manor with the appurtenances of the lord the king in chief by homage and fealty and the service of one fief of a knight only for all service. And they say that the aforesaid manor with the appurtenances is worth yearly thirteen pounds in all issues according to the true value of the same. And they say that the same Geoffrey died on Monday on the morrow of the Holy Trinity last past; and they say that the said Agnes, wife of the said Geoffrey, died on Monday next after the feast of St. Barnabas the apostle five years elapsed (12 June 1340). And they say that the aforesaid Geoffrey Luterel had not been seized of any other lands or tenements in his demesne as of fief in the said county of York on the aforesaid day when he died. And they say that Andrew Luterel, son of the same Geoffrey, is the next heir of the same Geoffrey and is of the age of thirty-two years and more. Dated at Hooton Paynel the day and year aforesaid." Pursuant to a writ of the same date to Saier de Rochford, escheator of the county of Lincoln, an inquisition was taken at Irnham on Thursday after the octave of the Holy Trinity (June 4th), which contains a similar recital of the settlement of the manor of Irnham as that given above; and describes it as held by the service of half a fief of a knight only for all service, and as being of ten pounds annual value. The other findings accord with the preceding inquisition in every respect. Pursuant to a writ of the same date to Gervase de Clyfton, escheator of the county of Nottingham, an inquisition was taken at Nottingham, on the 30th day of June, as to the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford, and six bovates of land in Basingfield, which recites the grant made by Guy Luterel of the same to Geoffrey Luterel for his life, with the same remainders as above; and describes these manors as held of Sir John Tybtoft by homage and service, and the six bovates of land in

Basingfield as held of Sir Edmund Pierrepont, knight, by homage and fealty and a rent of twelve pence or a pound of cumin annually. The value of Gamston and Bridgeford fourteen pounds yearly. Pursuant to a writ of the same date to John de Windsor, escheator of the county of Leicester, an inquisition was taken at Bescoby on the 12th day of June, by twelve jurors, who say upon their oath "that Geoffrey Luterel deceased had not held any lands or tenements in his demesne as of fief of the lord the king in chief on the day on which he died, in the said county of Leicester nor of any one else. But they say that the same Geoffrey held on the day on which he died at Saltby in the same county, the manor of Saltby with the appurtenances for the term of his life of the demise of Guy Luterel, who thereof had enfeoffed the aforesaid Geoffrey to hold for the term of his life only, and that after the decease of the aforesaid Geoffrey the aforesaid manor with the appurtenances was to remain to Andrew, son of the same Geoffrey, and to Beatrix his wife and to the heirs issuing of the bodies of the same Andrew and Beatrice, to be held of the capital lords of the fief by the service which belongs to the aforesaid manor; which said manor is held of Roger Peverell by the service of one pair of gilt spurs annually for all service. (Extent.) And they say that Andrew Luterel, son of the aforesaid Geoffrey Luterel, is the next heir of the same Geoffrey, and was of the age of thirty-two years and more on the feast of Easter last past." It is evident from this last inquisition that Sir Geoffrey Luterel was resident at Saltby at the time of his decease, and the statement of the jurors that Sir Andrew Luterel attained his age on the 27th day of March, Easter-day last past, makes it probable that he was born at this manor on that day, in the sixth year of the reign of Edward the Second, 1313.

In the church of Irnham is a monument consisting of three arched and recessed compartments, between pinnacled buttresses, the finials of which merge in a projecting embattled cornice of niche-beads, and alternate with those of three triangular canopies, which rise behind as many others of a projecting ogee form, and surmount the arched compartments. The whole space from the crowns of the latter to the cornice is one luxuriant confusion of crockets, finials, and exquisitely-carved open-work, in the form of foliage of various devices and composition, such as oak-leaves and acorns, roses, &c. At the

two extremities below the cornice, are two sculptured shields, a bend between six martlets, the arms of Luterel; and a lion rampant, the arms of Sutton; for "Sire Richard de Sottone," father of Agnes Luterel, bore "de or, a un lion rampaund de verd." The roof under the recessed compartments, and the inside of the projecting canopies, is finely groined; and upon two of the finials surmounting the latter are diminutive figures of the Saviour on the cross, and the Blessed Virgin and Child. The sides or ends are filled up with open-work, representing a rose-tree creeping and intertwining amongst trellis-work. Below the arched recesses the workmanship is of a much plainer character, and the basement, from some mutilations upon it, appears to have been stripped of its exterior ornaments. The proportions are eight feet and a half in height by seven and a half in width, and it projects at present from the wall about two feet. It is clear, however, both from its present appearance, and from a description of it on the authority of Gervase Holles in 1790, that a great part of this fine fabric has been intercepted by the masonry which blocks up the chantry-arch under which it stands on the north side of the chancel.

Pursuant to a writ, dated at Westminster 22nd day of November, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Edward the Third, 1361, addressed to the same John de Windsor, escheator of Leicestershire, an inquisition was taken before him at Waltham-in-the-Wolds, on Monday next after the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, in the thirty-seventh year of this reign, June 12th, 1363, by twelve jurors, and contains this finding. "They say upon their oath that it is not to the loss or prejudice of the lord the king nor of any one else, if the same lord the king concede to his beloved and faithful Andrew Louterell of Irnham that he may give and assign his manors of Bescoby and Saltby to the abbot and convent of Croxton in pure and perpetual frankalmoign to find two chaplains to celebrate the divine service for the good estate of the same Andrew, whilst he shall be alive, and for his soul, when he shall have migrated from this light, and for the soul of Henry, late duke of Lancaster, and the souls of his ancestors and of all faithful deceased. And they say that the aforesaid manor of Bescoby is held of the said king in chief by the service of the fourth part of one fief of a knight, and is burdened with a payment to Roger de Belleres, fermor of the

hundred of Framland, of 18d. annually for sheriff's aid, and with suit to the aforesaid hundred of Framland from three weeks to three weeks, and to find two mainpernors to present to the hundred aforesaid from three weeks to three weeks, and is worth £5. 12s. 3d. And they say that the manor of Saltby is held of the lord the king in chief by the service of two parts of the fief of one knight, and is burdened with a payment to Roger de Belleres, fermor of the hundred of Framland, of two shillings annually for sheriff's aid, and with suit to the aforesaid hundred from three weeks to three weeks, and to find two mainpernors to present to the hundred aforesaid from three weeks to three weeks, and is worth £4. 6s. 8d. And they also say that no mesne tenants are between the lord the king and the aforesaid Andrew in regard of the aforesaid manors. And they say that there will remain to the same Andrew, beyond the grant and assignation abovesaid, one hundred shillings of annual rent in Garthorp issuing from lands and tenements in Garthorp in the said county of Leicester, which are held of the said king in chief by the service of the twentieth part of one knight's fief; and the manor of Irnham in the county of Lincoln, which, as is said, is held in chief of the lord the king by military service, and which manor is worth yearly forty pounds; and the manor of Hooton Paynel in the county of York, which is held of the lord the king in chief by military service, as is said, and is worth annually twenty pounds." This extensive grant to the abbey of Croxton seems to confirm the supposition that the family of Luterel was considered by the abbot and monks as their founders from the time of the grant made to Geoffrey Luterel of the escheated barony of Croxton. In Leland's *Collectanea* we read as follows; "Leicestershire. Crokeston, abbey of St. John the Evangelist of the order of Premontré. First founder, Andrew Luterelle, knight." (The arms of this founder, or, a bend and six martlets, sable, are engraved in the margin.) "Modern. The Lord de Berkeley. They have a cell and three brethren at Hornby in Lancashire."

Beatrix, the wife of Sir Andrew Luterel, was in declining health in the year 1350, for on the Close roll of this the twenty-fourth year of Edward the Third, is a licence of the king, tested at Rotherhithe 8th day of September, for Beatrix Luterel with a maid-servant, a chaplain, John de Hengham, and a boy, to proceed to Rome on a pilgrimage, and to

embark at Dover. By writ, tested at Durham, 22nd day of December, 29 Edw. III., 1355, Sir Andrew Luterel was summoned to meet the king at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the first day of the ensuing year, with horses and arms and all his power, to set out from thence with him against the Scots. In the forty-third year of the reign of King Edward the Third, Sir Andrew Lutterel, knight, had a letter of protection and general attorney during his absence in the king's service in France, tested at Westminster, 26th day of May, 1369. By his second wife, Hawisia, daughter of Sir Philip le Despencer of Goxhill, in the county of Lincoln, knight, he had issue a son of the same name as himself, who was made a knight in his life-time, and hence the father acquired the distinctive appellation of *Senior*.

In the lifetime of Sir Andrew Lutterel, patron of the priory of the Holy Trinity or Christ Church at York, an inquisition and extent were made before Lawrence de Allerthorp, one of the barons of the king's exchequer, and William de Mirfield, escheator of the king in the county of York, at York on Monday the feast of the Assumption of blessed Mary the Virgin, in the third year of the reign of King Richard the Second, (15th Aug. 1379,) by the oaths of Robert de Manston, of John Scotte of Newton, of William de Grenefeld and of others, who, being chosen and sworn, say upon their oath, "that there is at York a certain priory of the Holy Trinity, alien, in which are halls and divers other houses, which are worth nothing yearly beyond reprises. They also say that the church of the Holy Trinity, appropriated to the same priory, together with the chapel of St. James without the city of York, are worth annually eight pounds. Also there are assised rents of divers tenants in the same city, which are worth yearly fourteen pounds. Also in the manor of Sturton, belonging to the same priory, are three carucates of land, which for the greater part lie in pasture, and are worth annually five pounds six shillings and eight-pence and no more, because the said land is stony. Also at Leeds are divers lands and tenements of divers tenants, which are worth annually eight pounds and two shillings. Also there are at Seacroft certain annual quit rents, issuing from divers tenants, holding of the duke of Lancaster there, which are worth annually thirty-eight shillings. Also the manor of Holbeck with the appurtenances is worth yearly

five pounds six shillings and eight-pence. Also the church of Leeds, appropriated to the same priory, as in the tythe of grain and hay, is worth annually eighty pounds. And that the prior and convent of the aforesaid priory receive annually from the vicar of the same church of Leeds one pension of ten pounds a year. Also from the church of Addle a certain annual pension of six pounds fourteen shillings and four-pence. Also from the church of Wintringham a certain annual pension of three pounds six shillings and eight-pence. Also from the church of Crambe a pension of two pounds a year. Also from the church of All Saints of North-street in York a pension of twenty shillings. Also from the church of Newton-upon-Ouse one annual pension of sixteen shillings. They also say that a moiety of the church of Hooton Paynell, appropriated to the aforesaid priory, is worth yearly beyond reprises seventeen pounds six shillings and eight-pence. Also the free chapel of Bilborough, belonging to the aforesaid church of the Holy Trinity, is worth yearly six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. Also a certain plot of pasture at Hedley is worth yearly two pounds. Also a certain plot at Hessay, with one carucate of land there, is worth yearly two pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. Also a parcel of land at Angram is worth yearly one pound six shillings and eight-pence. Also a certain grange, together with a certain parcel of arable land, at Coneysthorp, are worth yearly ten pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. And they say upon their oath that there are not any other possessions belonging to the priory aforesaid, in the aforesaid county, which can be extended in any manner, whereof the sum total of the value of the priory aforesaid yearly is one hundred and eighty-nine pounds and sixteen shillings. As to the burdens and reprises of the same priory, the same jurors say upon their oath that the said priory is charged with the finding for the aforesaid chapel of Bilborough of one chaplain to celebrate divine service daily there, who takes yearly for his stipend five pounds six shillings and eight-pence. Also for the stipend of one chaplain to be found at Holbech for three days in each week of the year, two pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. They also say that Walter de Askham takes a certain corrody from the priory aforesaid, which was worth annually four pounds, &c. They also say that the reparation of the churches and chapels and houses

and tenements of the aforesaid priory amounts annually to twenty-six pounds. Also the support of the prior there, of three English monks, of two chaplains celebrating daily divine service in the aforesaid church of the Holy Trinity, and of two deacons and of four clerks ministering in the said church of the Holy Trinity, together with the hospitality to divers guests visiting there, amounts annually to one hundred pounds. And they say that no waste, sale or destruction have been made in the possessions aforesaid after they fell into the hands of the king. Whereof the sum total of the burdens and reprises aforesaid is annually one hundred and sixty-eight pounds eleven shillings and one halfpenny. And thus there remains of clear profit twenty-one pounds four shillings and eleven-pence halfpenny." John de Casiaco was prior of the Holy Trinity of York in 1358, and John de Castello in 1399; hence this extent will have been taken after the decease of the former.

On the Close roll of the eleventh year of the reign of Richard the Second is a letter addressed to Anketil Mallory, and to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, requiring them to administer the following oath to the noble and gentle men, as well as to the mayors, bailiffs and aldermen of the cities and boroughs of the county of Lincoln, dated at Westminster on the 11th day of March, 1388. "You shall swear that you will guard and cause to be guarded the good peace, quiet and tranquillity of the realm, and if any one is disposed to act to the contrary that you will restrain and hinder him to the best of your power. And if any persons are disposed to do anything detrimental to the bodies of the persons of these five lords, to wit, Thomas duke of Gloucester, Henry earl of Derby, Richard earl of Arundel and Surrey, Thomas earl of Warwick, and Thomas, earl marshal, or of any one of them, that you will abide with the said five lords until the end of this present parliament, and will uphold and support them to the best of your power to live and die with them against all, no person nor no other thing excepted in the manner abovesaid, saving nevertheless your allegiance towards our lord the king and the prerogative of his crown, and the laws and good customs of the realm." The answer of Anketil Mallory, and of William de Bolesby, sheriff of Lincolnshire, notifies the names of those, who had taken before them this oath to support the lords appellants, by virtue of the brief of the lord the

king to the same directed. The first name on the schedule inclosed with the brief is that of Andreu Luterell, chevaler, and the fifth name is that of Andreu Luterell le fitz, chevaler.

The elder of these knights was deceased on the 6th day of September, in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Richard the Second, in the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1390. Pursuant to a writ of *diem clausit extremum* for Andrew Loterel, *senior*, chivaler, addressed to Thomas de Newton, escheator of the king in the county of Nottingham, tested at Westminster on the 16th day of September following, an inquisition was taken at Nottingham on Saturday next before the feast of St. Luke the evangelist (15th day of October), before him by twelve jurors, whose verdict was to this effect. "They say upon their oath that Sir Andrew Loterel, chivaler, *senior*, deceased, held no lands nor tenements in his demesne as of fief nor in service of the lord the king in chief nor of any other person in the county of Nottingham on the day on which he died. But they say that the aforesaid Andrew in his lifetime by his charter enfeoffed Richard de Salteby of Grantham, John de Hengham of Corby *senior*, Robert Arnald of Swafield and John de Broughton, chaplain, in his manors of Gamston and Bridgeford in the county of Nottingham with their appurtenances, together with the advowson of the church of Bridgeford, and in all his lands and tenements with the appurtenances in the vills of Bridgeford, Gamston, Basingfield, Normanton, Tollerton, Keyworth and Nottingham, to have and to hold to them, their heirs and assigns of the capital lords of the fiefs by the services due therefrom; the date of which charter is Sunday next after the feast of St. Matthias the apostle in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Edward the Third from the conquest, (27th day of February, 1362.) And afterwards the aforesaid Richard de Salteby, John de Hengham and Robert Arnald by their charter enfeoffed Sir Andrew Loterel, knight, and Hawisia, his wife, in the aforesaid manors of Gamston and Bridgeford with their appurtenances, together with the advowson of the church of Bridgeford, and in the aforesaid lands and tenements with their appurtenances in the vills of Bridgeford, Gamston, Basingfield, Normanton, Tollerton, Keyworth and Nottingham, to have and to hold to the aforesaid Andrew and Hawisia, his wife, and to the heirs of the bodies of the same Andrew and Hawisia begotten in lawful matrimony of the

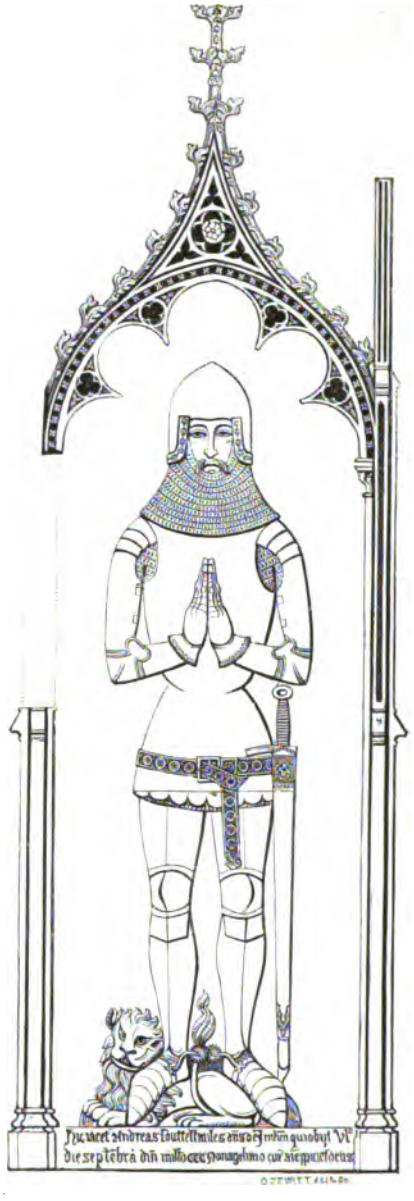
capital lords of the fiefs by the services due and accustomed, and in default of such issue to the right heirs of Sir Andrew Loterell, knight. They say that the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford are held of Sir John Typtoft, knight, by homage and service; that the six bovates in Basingfield are held of Sir Edmund Pierrepont, knight, by homage and fealty and by an annual rent of twelve-pence or of a pound of cummin; that the four bovates of land in Tollerton are held of the duke of Lancaster, as of the fief of Tickhill, by service of suit of court from three weeks to three weeks. The sum total of the annual value of these manors, lands and tenements is stated at twenty pounds. And they say that the said Andrew Loterel died on Tuesday next before the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, in the fourteenth year of the reign of the lord the now king (6th day of September), and that he had no other lands in the county. And they say that Sir Andrew Loterell, chivaler, is son and next heir of the aforesaid Sir Andrew Loterell, chivaler, *senior*, and is of the age of twenty-six years." A second inquisition was taken before William Pole, escheator of the county of Lincoln, at Thurlangton (Lavington) on Friday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist (21st day of October) by twelve jurors, whose verdict was this. "They say upon their oath that the lord the now king by his charter granted and gave licence to Sir Andrew Luterell, *senior*, that he might enfeoff Sir Philip le Despencer, knight, *senior*, and Thomas le Ware clerk, of the manor of Irnham with the appurtenances in the county of Lincoln, which is held of the lord the king in chief, to have and to hold to them, their heirs and assigns of the king by the services due and accustomed; so that the same Philip and Thomas, having full and peaceable seizin of the aforesaid manor, might give and grant that manor to the aforesaid Andrew and to Hawisia his wife, to have and to hold to the said Andrew and Hawisia and to the heirs of the same Andrew Luterel of the same lord the king by the services due and accustomed; whose charter is dated at Westminster, 26th day of August, in the eighth year of the reign of the same king (1384). They also say that afterwards the aforesaid Andrew Luterel, knight, *senior*, by his charter enfeoffed the aforesaid Philip le Despenser and Thomas le Ware clerk in the aforesaid manor of Irnham with all reversions of all tenants, as well for term of life as for years, with all its appur-

tenances, in the county of Lincoln, except all lands and tenements, rents and services together with reversions, which are held of the aforesaid Philip, as of the fief, which is called Gousill Fee, in the county aforesaid, to have and to hold to the same Philip and Thomas their heirs and assigns for ever of the same lord the king by the services due and accustomed, as his charter thereof made testifies, of which the date is at Irnham fourth day of September, in the eighth year of Richard the Second. They also say that the said feoffers demised the same manor and its appurtenances to the said Andrew and Hawisia and to the heirs of the same Andrew, by their charter dated at Irnham on the twenty-ninth day of September, in the eighth year of Richard the Second. And they say that the aforesaid Andrew Luterel, knight, *senior*, died seized conjointly enfeoffed with the aforesaid Hawisia his wife, who is now surviving, of the aforesaid manor of Irnham with the appurtenances, except what is excepted above, which are held of the said Philip le Despenser of the fief of Gousill (Goxhill). They say that the aforesaid manor is held of the king in chief and of the annual value of ten pounds. They also say that Sir Andrew Luterel by his charter enfeoffed Thomas le Ware, clerk of the court of Lincoln, Thomas de Kirkby, parson of the church of Irnham, Thomas Claymound of Hale, knight, William de Beeston of Heckington and John Rothewell of Boothby, their heirs and assigns in Gousill Fee in the vill of Irnham, of which charter the date is at Irnham sixth day of September, in the eighth year of the reign of King Richard the Second. They also say that these feoffees demised these premises to the aforesaid Andrew Luterel and Hawisia his wife for the term of their lives, and after their decease the same to revert to these feoffees, whose charter is dated at Irnham, 29th day of September, in the eighth year of the reign of King Richard the Second. They also say that the aforesaid Andrew died seized conjointly with Hawisia, his wife, of this Fee. And they say that these lands and tenements are held of Philip Le Despencer, by military service, as of the fief of Gousill, and are worth annually forty shillings [h]. They also say that Sir Andrew Luterel by his charter

[h] The land in the parish of Irnham here described as "Gousill fee" had belonged to Alured de Lincoln at the time of the survey of Domesday, the tenant of the manor of Goxhill (Golse) in the wapentake of Yarborough, parts of Lindsey, Lincolnshire, and is thus surveyed. "Manor. In Irnham (Greneham) and Auuartorp (Hawthorpe) and Bolebi (Bulby) Aldene had two caru-

enfeoffed Thomas de Haverthorp, chaplain, and Robert Atte Kirke, chaplain, their heirs and assigns in lands and tenements in the vill of Corby, of which the date is Thursday, the feast of the Holy Innocents, in the thirty-seventh year of King Edward the Third, 28th Dec., 1363; who thereupon

cates of land and eight bovates subject to Danegeld. Land to as many ploughs and oxen. There Alured has two ploughs and four sokemen of ten bovates of this land and two villains with two ploughs and eight acres of meadow and three hundred and twenty acres of wood pasturable in places. In the time of King Edward it was worth thirty shillings, now forty. Tallage twenty shillings." The successor of Alured de Lincoln had name Alan de Lincoln, who was living in 1131, as appears by these entries on the Pipe roll of Lincolnshire (5th Aug. 1130—4th Aug. 1131). "Rannulf de Baieux renders accompt of twenty marks of silver for the daughter of Alan de Lincoln and of forty marks of silver for the land of Humphrey de Aubigny. He has acquitted himself to the king of sixty marks of silver by the king's brief and he is quit. And the same Rannulf owes two hundred marks of silver after the decease of Alan; but he ought not to be summoned in the lifetime of Alan. Alan de Lincoln rendered accompt of half a mark of gold for the land, which he gave to Humphrey de Aubigny with his daughter. In the treasury sixty shillings for half a mark of gold and he is quit." This daughter and heiress of Alan de Lincoln had name Margaret, and of her and Rannulph de Baieux the fief of Goxhill was held by Peter de Goxhill, the founder of the abbey of Newsome in the parish of Habrough, wapentake of Yarborough. In the catalogue of tenants of lands in the wapentake of Jerburc (Yarborough) of the reign of Henry the First, we read, "Alan of Lincoln in Golsa (Goxhill) one carucate and two bovates, and in Barua (Barrow) one carucate, and in Neosum (Newsome) five bovates, and in Broclesbi (Brocklesby) one bovate, and in Haburc (Habrough) two bovates." In the charter of Hugh de Baieux, in 1168, he describes the tenure of Peter de Goxhill as follows, among those holding of the old feoffment. "Peter de Goxhill of the fiefs of five knights; but Peter in that fief founded a certain abbey in the fief of one knight, in which frankalmoign my father willing to share, enfranchised that abbey from the service of the fief of that knight, where it was founded. And took the service of that knight upon his demesne and thereof quitclaimed Peter and his heirs. Peter therefore has the fiefs of four knights." Margaret de Goxhill, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Goxhill, married first Philip le Despencer, whose son Philip le Despencer had the Goxhill Fee, and secondly John de Ros. Thoresway in the wapentake of Walshcroft, com. Lincoln, was the chief seat of the family of Baieux, which ended in two heiresses, daughters of Stephen de Baieux, the eldest of whom, Matilda, married first Elias de Rabayn, and secondly Peter Mallory; and Joan, the second daughter, was the wife of a Poitevin and mother of Peter Baudrant of Poitou, an alien, who granted his moiety to King Edward the Second, by whom it was given to Isabella de Beaumont, the wife of John de Vescy. Matilda de Rabayn, in the ninth of Edward the Second, 1316, was tenant of a manor in Edmondsham in the county of Dorset, and left a son and heir, Peter de Rabayn, who with Isabella, his wife, was tenant of the manors of Waye and Piddle, in Dorsetshire, in the first year of the reign of Edward the Third, 1327. The grant to Isabella de Vescy was made in the eighth year of Edward the Second, and comprised the manors of Thoresway, Linwood, Stewton, Kelstorn and Welborn, held of the barony of Baieux in Lincolnshire, and the moieties of Waye and Piddle in Dorsetshire. At her decease these manors went by entail to her brother, Henry de Beaumont, who held the entire barony of Baieux inclusive of the manor in Irnham, of whose descendant John, Lord Beaumont, Philip le Despenser held half a fief in Irnham, in the 20 Ric. II., 1396.



BRASS OF SIR ANDREW LUTTREL, IRNHAM, LINCOLNSHIRE.

demised the same to the said Andrew and Hawisia his wife, and to the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to the right heirs of Andrew Luterel. They also say that they are worth annually forty shillings, and are held of John, bishop of Lincoln, as of the castle of New Lafford (Sleaford). They also say that Andrew Luterel died on Tuesday next before the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin last past, (6th Sept.) and that Andrew Luterel, knight, is his son and next heir, and of the age of twenty-six years and more."

Sir Andrew Luterel was interred in the centre of the nave of the church of St. Andrew of Irnham, and over his remains was placed a sepulchral brass, since removed to a chantry chapel on the north side of the chancel of later erection. The dimensions of this splendid brass are not less than eight feet nine inches in length, by two feet seven inches wide; the length of the effigy five feet five inches. The brass is in excellent preservation, with the exception of the supporters to the canopy or arch, with crockets and finials, of which that on the right hand of the effigy is much mutilated, and the pinnacles which surmounted them are entirely gone. The knight is represented armed at all points in the style used in the reign of King Edward III. Upon the head is the bacinet or conical steel cap, to which is attached the camail or short tippet of chain mail. The arms are encased in brassarts or rerebraces, fastened by straps underneath, and having gussets of mail below the shoulders[1], which are protected by epaulieres of three jointed lames. Below the elbows, which are defended by coutes, the arms are vambraced, and the hands, raised in the attitude of prayer, have gauntlets with divided fingers defended by plate, and with embroidered cuffs. Below the cuirass or breastplate, a richly-ornamented baudrick or sword-belt, confines the jupon closely over the thighs; and below this, which entirely covers the cuirass, and is escalloped round the lower edge, is just visible the edge of the shirt of mail, which hung from the shoulders over the hips. The baudrick is fastened in front by a square buckle, and the end, turned in a loose knot, hangs down in front ornamented with roses. From this depends a ponderous sheathed sword, with the hand-guard or cross-bar projecting from the hilt on one side only.

[1] These gussets are a portion of the habergeon or short shirt of mail, appearing below the jupon.

The thighs are protected by cuisses, the knees by genouailles, the shins by greaves or steel boots; and the feet are cased in pointed sollerets of five lames. The spurs have short necks and rowels of sixteen points. The effigy rests upon a lion couchant. The face of the effigy is uncovered, and on the upper lip is a moustache. Underneath is this legend; Hic jacet Andreas Loutterellus, miles, dominus de Irnham, qui obiit VI^to^ die Septembris anno Domini Millesimo CCC^o^ nonagesimo, cujus anime propicietur Deus[j].

Sir Andrew Loterell, knight, son and heir of the above,

[j] In the lifetime of Sir Andrew Loutterell the following Copie des Lettres du Roy d'Angleterre et de l'evesque fermier de la Prieurie de Yveroic (Eboracensis) were sent to Marmoutier.

"Walter par la grace de Dieu evesque de Duresme a notre chier et bien amée Johan de Hyldiard, notre procureur de la priorie de la Seinte Trinite en Everwyk, saluz et dileccion. Nous avons loialment receu les tres honorables et tres gracieuses lettres a nous directes depar le roy, notre seigneur, sou prive seal, contenans la teneur qui sensuit.

Reverent pere en Dieu, nous vous prions que, en lieu d'aucuns des ministres de Sainte Eglise, quelx vous estes tenu a trouver dentz la priourie de la Sainte Trinité en notre cite d'Everwyk a prier pour les almes par quelx la dite priourie fu fundée et des bienfesours a ycelle; la quele priourie vous avez par une certein ferme a nous ent rendant par an, en sustenant et faisant faire entre auters charges les divins services en mesme la priourie, sicomme vous savez; vous veulliez retiner frere Johan de Coue, moigne de l'abbacie de Meremouster, dont la dite priourie est membre, a y demeurer et estre sustenu deinz mesme la priourie pour prier pour lour dites almes, si long, come vous pourrez savoir qu'il croit que notre seint per Boneface est vrai pape, receu primerment serment du dit Johan, qu'il ne croit par ulle voie en l'antipape Clement. En quel chose fesant vous ferez eovre bien meritorie a notre avys et pour ce nous vous voulons bon gré savoir. Donne soulz notre prive seal à Westmouster, le xxix iour de Mars.

A la reverence de queles lettres et auxi desirans en tant come il nous touche et pourra appartenir, que la service du priorie et touz charges selon les ordinances des fundours d'icelle priourie a plesir de Dieu et remedie des almes de ceux fundours y soient honorablement, devotement, et duement faits, maintenuz et supportez. Nous avons accepte le dit pere Johan pour y prier et servir par forme et maniere surdites, receu premierement par nous de celui Johan son serment fait publiquement sur les saintz evangiles de Dieu par luy touchez par forme es dites lettres declare. Pourquoy vous mandons en chargeant que le dit Johan facez estre receu et admys en la dite priourie pour y demeurer et prier come dit est, lui faisant estre assignez les necessaries pour sa sustenance, come ad et prent le confrere de present y demeurant, et voulons qu'il soit traicte et demesne honestement et favorablement le plus avant que faire ce poura de raison, considere son estat et son grant age, pourveu qu'il se governe et conteigne selon ce que sa religion et les ordonnances de la dite prioure requirent et demandent. En tesmoign de ce a cestes presents nous avons fait mettre notre seal. Donne a Loundres le xxx^me^ jour de Mars, l'an Mil CCCLXXXX. Et de notre translation secund."

Walter de Skirlaw was translated from Bath and Wells to Durham, 3rd April, 1388; and at this time Boniface IX., successor of Urban VI., 2nd Nov. 1389, and crowned the 9th of that month, was acknowledged as the legitimate pope in England, in opposition to Clement VII., the anti-pope.

held his possessions for only seven years, three months, and twenty-five days, dying in his mother's lifetime, on the 31st day of December, 1397; and a writ of *diem clausit extremum*, tested at Westminster, on the 12th day of February, in the twenty-first year of King Richard the Second, was sent to John de Routh, escheator of the county of York, to take the lands of Andrew, son of Sir Andrew Loterell, knight, into the king's hands. Pursuant to the same writ an inquisition was taken at Doncaster before this escheator, on the 22nd day of April next following, by twelve jurors, who found "that he died seized of two parts of the manor of Hooton Paynell, settled upon him and the heirs issuing of his body and of the body of Joan, his wife, together with the reversion of the third part of the same manor, which his mother Hawisia, still surviving, held in dower as the relict of Sir Andrew Loterell, her husband, which two parts were worth annually sixteen pounds. They say that he died on the last day of December last past, and that Geoffrey Loterell, son of Andrew, son of Andrew Loterell, begotten of the bodies of the aforesaid Andrew, son of Andrew, and of Joan, late his wife, is his next heir, and of the age of thirteen years and more." Another inquisition was taken at Grantham on the 1st day of March following, before William Cole, the escheator of Lincolnshire, by a jury of twelve men, who found that Hawysia, his mother, had all the lands of his inheritance in Irnham, and which were worth annually ten pounds, and state the decease of her son, and the age of his son and heir, Geoffrey, as above.

Pursuant to a writ of King Henry the Fourth, tested at Westminster, on the 6th day of October, in the first year of his reign, 1399, for Andrew Lotterell, *senior*, another inquisition was taken at Doncaster, on the 4th day of March, before Thomas de Bromflete, escheator of the lord the king in the county of York, which contains this finding of the jurors. They say, "that Sir Andrew Lotterell *senior* was seized in his demesne as of fief of the manor of Hooton Paynell in the same county, and that he took to wife Hawisia, daughter of Sir Philip le Despenser, knight, still surviving, between whom was issue Andrew their son. And afterwards that Andrew Lotterel *senior* gave the aforesaid manor with the appurtenances to Andrew his son, and to Joan his wife, and to the heirs issuing of their bodies, by the licence of the lord Richard,

late king of England, had and obtained, as is said. And they say that the aforesaid Andrew Lotterel senior died on the sixth day of September, in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Richard the Second, and the aforesaid Andrew, his son, occupied the manor aforesaid by virtue of the feoffment aforesaid, and of it died seized, the aforesaid Joan his wife being previously deceased; and the same Andrew the son died on the last day of December in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Richard the Second. They also say that the said manor with the appurtenances by the decease of the said Andrew descended to a certain Geoffrey, son of the same Andrew, son of Andrew, within age, and existing in the wardship of the Lord King Richard abovenamed, and that the said king granted the wardship of the son and heir aforesaid to a certain Oliver de Stoneley by his letters patent. And the same Oliver afterwards granted this wardship to Sir Henry de Grene, knight[k], by whose forfeiture the said custody fell into the hands of the king who is now. They say that Geoffrey Luterel is now of the age of fourteen years, and that the said manor is worth annually six pounds ten shillings and eightpence, and that after the decease of Andrew, Oliver had it to ferm until the feast of Pentecost last past, and Henry to the end of his life." Sir Henry Grene, knight, was beheaded at Bristol, together with William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, and Sir John Bussy, knight, in September, 1399.

The Lady Hawisia Loterell, daughter of Sir Philip le Despencer, survived to the 10th day of April, in the second year of Henry the Fifth, 1414, on which day she was deceased; and pursuant to a writ, tested 18th day of April, an inquisition was taken at Doncaster, before Edward Fitzwilliam, the escheator, on the 1st day of May following, as to the tenure of a third part of the manor of Hooton Paynell, by Hawisia, wife of Sir Andrew Loterell, knight, on which the jurors say, that Geoffrey Loterell is heir of the same Hawisia, namely, son and heir of Andrew Loterell, son of the aforesaid Sir Andrew Loterell, knight, and of the aforesaid Hawisia, and is of the age of twenty-nine years and more[l]. She also died

[k] Among the records of Michaelmas term, 13th Henry the Fourth, rot. 19, is an entry of a summons to John Grene, "To account of the issues of the manor of Hooton Paynell, in the county of York, which had been that of Andrew Lutterell, deceased." He was probably a brother of Sir Henry Grene.

[l] Among the records of Easter term, third year of the reign of Henry the Fifth, rot. 16, is this entry; "of Geoffrey Lutterell, son of Andrew Lutterell,

seized of the manor of Irnham; and of a messuage and lands in Corby held of the bishop of Lincoln, as of his castle of Sleaford, in the county of Lincoln, and of the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford, with the advowson of the church, and of the six bovates of land in Basingfield, held of Sir Edmund Pierrepont, knight, as parcel of his manor of Holme, in the county of Nottingham, which estate she had held for her life under the feoffments above cited."

Sir Geoffrey Loterell, knight, only survived his grandmother four years eight months and twenty-three days, as his decease occurred on the 3rd day of January in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, 1419, leaving no issue by Mary, his wife, who survived him, and had dower of his lands. Pursuant to a writ of *diem clausit extremum* with the *teste* of John, duke of Bedford, guardian of England, at Westminster on the 10th day of February following, an inquisition was taken at the castle of York before William Chaunceler, escheator of the lord the king in the county of York, on Tuesday in the second week of Lent (14th March), in that same regnal year, by twelve jurors; "who say upon their oath that Sir Geoffrey Loterell, chevaler, named in the writ sewn to this inquisition, held in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died the manor of Hooton Paynell with its appurtenances in the county aforesaid; and it is worth yearly in all issues according to the true value thereof beyond reprises ten pounds to be paid at the feasts of St. Martin in winter and at Pentecost, and is held of the lord the king in chief by military service. And they say that the aforesaid Geoffrey died on Tuesday next before the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord last past, and that the Lady Hawisia de Belesby, wife of Godfrey de Hilton, is sister and next heir of the same Geoffrey and of the age of twenty-four years and more, on the day of the caption of this inquisition, and that the deceased had no other lands in the same county." A second inquisition was taken at Nottingham on Wednesday in the week of Easter, (19th April,) in the seventh year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, before Peter de la Pole, escheator of the lord the king in that county, by twelve

charged to answer to the king of his relief of the lands and tenements in the county of York, which Hawysia, his grandmother, had held of the king in chief on the day on which she died, being exonerated by the pretext of the pardon of the king."

jurors, "who say upon their oath that Sir Geoffrey Loterell, chevaler, deceased, in the same brief named, had not held any lands or tenements of the lord the king in chief or of any others in his demesne as of fief nor in service in the said county on the day on which he died. But they say that the same Geoffrey long before his death by his charter shewn in evidence to the aforesaid jurors upon the caption of this inquisition, of which the date is Sunday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist in the third year of the reign of the lord the king now, (22nd Oct. 1415,) by the name of Geoffrey Louterell, lord of Irenham, gave, granted, and by his said charter confirmed to certain William Belers, bishop of Suloton[m], Sir Hugh Louterell, knight[n], Thomas Melreth of the county of Buckingham, William Babyngton, Thomas Greteham, chaplain, and Thomas de Repynghale now surviving, the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford with their appurtenances together with the advowson of the church of Bridgeford, to hold to the same William Belers, Hugh,

[m] William Belers was apparently a suffragan bishop, and had title from a see *in partibus Infidelium*, named *Sulotonum*.

[n] Sir Hugh Lutterell, knight, was son of Sir Andrew Lutterell of Chilton, com. Devon, by the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh de Courtenay, earl of Devon, and of Margaret de Bohun, his wife, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, by Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward the First, and widow of John de Vere, knight, a younger son of Aubrey, earl of Oxford, who died without issue. After the decease of her second husband in the 48th of Edward III., 1374, she purchased the manors of Stonehall and Woodhall with lands in Debenham, com. Suff.; and likewise soon after the barony, honour and manor of Dunster, together with the manors of Minehead, Carhampton, Kilton, and the hundred of Carhampton, reversional after the life of Joan, relict of John, Lord Mohun, and daughter of Bartholomew de Burghersh, of the same Lady Mohun, in the fiftieth year of Edward the Third, and died in the nineteenth year of King Richard the Second. Joan, Lady Mohun, was deceased in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth, leaving three daughters and coheiresses by her husband; Philippa, married to Edward duke of York, Elizabeth to William de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, and Maud to John, Lord Strange of Knocking, who claimed the inheritance, which had been purchased by the mother of Sir Hugh Lutterell. The latter also succeeded to the manor of East Quantockshead, under an entail made by Sir John Lutterell, his cousin, who had been a ward of Sir Andrew Lutterel of Irnham, to the exclusion of the cousin and next heir, the Lady Elizabeth Harrington. In the eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, Sir Hugh Luterel, chivaler, died seized of the castle and borough of Dunster, of the manor and hundred of Carhampton, of the manors of Minehead, Kilton, East Quantockshead and Samford Arundell, with ninety-five acres of land in Heathfield Durborough in the county of Somerset, which last-named manor was of the dower of his wife Catharine, daughter of Sir John Beaumont of Shirwell in the county of Devon, knight, and widow of Sir John Streche, knight, of Sampford Arundell; and in Norfolk of a manor in Feltwell, called Southall, member of the honour of Castleacre; and in Suffolk of the manors of Stonehall in Moulton, and of Woodhall in Little Waldingfield.

Thomas Melreth, William Babyngton, John Greteham and Thomas de Repynghale, their heirs and assigns, for ever simply without any condition, to be held of the capital lords of the fiefs by the services due and of right accustomed for ever. By virtue of which charter to the same William Belers, Hugh, Thomas Melreth, William Babyngton, John de Greteham and Thomas de Repynghale seizin of the manors aforesaid was delivered, and moreover all and singular the tenants of the manors aforesaid attorned to the same feoffees by virtue of the charter aforesaid. And they say that the said manors with the appurtenances and the advowson of the church are held of the lord the king, as of the honour of Peverell, which is an escheat of the king, by military service, and they say that the said manors are worth in all issues beyond reprises forty marks. And they say that the said Geoffrey Loterel died on the eve of the Epiphany of the Lord last past (5th Jan., 1419), and that Hawisia, wife of Godfrey Hilton, is his next heir and of the age of twenty-six years and more." A third inquisition was taken at Lincoln in the castle before John Heneage, escheator of the lord the king in the county, on the 5th day of May in the same regnal year, by twelve jurors, "who say upon their oath that Geoffrey Loterell, named in the writ sewn to this inquisition, held in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died the manor of Irnham with all its appurtenances in the county aforesaid and that it is worth yearly in all issues according to the true value of the same beyond reprises ten pounds to be paid at four terms of the year, namely, on the feasts of the Nativity of the Lord, Easter, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and St. Michael by equal portions, and that it is held of the lord the king in chief by military service, but the quantity of the same they know not. They also say that the aforesaid Geoffrey had in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died six messuages and eight roods of land with the appurtenances in Corby in the aforesaid county, and that they are worth yearly in all issues according to the true value thereof beyond reprises three pounds, and that they are held of Philip (de Repingdon) bishop of Lincoln, as of his castle of Sleaford, but by what service they know not. They also present that the aforesaid Geoffrey died on Tuesday next before the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord last past

(3rd Jan., 1419), and that Lady Hawisia de Belesby, wife of Godfrey de Hilton, is sister and next heir of the same Geoffrey, and is of the age of twenty-four years and more on the day of the caption of this inquisition, and that the deceased held no other lands of the king in chief or of any other person in the same county."

On rolls called *Communia*, of Trinity Term, in the eleventh year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, 1433, is this entry on rot. 1. "Of warning Godfrey Hilton by writ of *Scire facias* to show wherefore he ought not to be charged of one hundred marks towards the king, of the relief of Geoffrey Lutterell, in the county of Lincoln, as it were for his barony." From this entry we may infer that Sir Geoffrey Lutterell, knight, the last of this family, had died a debtor for the relief of his barony; and that Godfrey Hilton was deemed liable for this sum after his marriage with his sister and heiress, Hawysia.

The Lady Hawisia de Belesby, wife of Sir Godfrey de Hilton, knight, was deceased on the 24th day of March, in the tenth year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, 1422; and pursuant to a writ of *diem clausit extremum* for Hawisia, who had been the wife of Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, who had held of the king in chief, with the *teste* of John, duke of Bedford, guardian of England, at Westminster on the 26th day of April following, an inquisition was taken at Great Grimsby in the county of Lincoln on Thursday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew, in the same regnal year, (27th Aug.), before Richard Denton, escheator of the lord the king in the said county, by twelve jurors. "These say upon their oath that Hawisia, who had been the wife of Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, deceased, named in the said writ, held on the day, on which she died, the manor of Beelsby with all its appurtenances, which extend themselves into Beelsby, Waltham, Bradley, Keelby and Ravendale, together with a messuage in Beelsby and the messuage in the East Garth, called Maundevyle Thing, in the same°, as

° On the Hundred rolls of the third year of Edward the First, 1330, is record of an inquisition before Sirs William de St. Omer and Warine de Chaucomb, justiciaries, deputed to enquire as to the chapters underwritten by twelve jurors of the wapentake of Hawardhou, of which one was what manors were wont to be in the hands of the kings, predecessors of the king. "They say that the whole soke of Waltham was wont to be in hand of the lord the king, Henry, father of the king, who now is, by escheat after

also capital messuages in Laceby, Thorganby, Stickford, Nocton and Horsington with tofts in Branston and Brauncewell

the decease of Alan, son of the count of Brittany of England in the time of the war moved between John, king of England, predecessor of the king, who now is, and his barons. And afterwards Henry de Capella held of the same soke thirty librates of annual rent of the gift of King Henry the Third. (A charter of the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Third, 1231, in favour of Henry de Capella specifies these librates to be issuing from the vills of Beelsby, Hatcliffe, Fenby, Waithe and Waltham.) And after the death of Henry they descended hereditarily to Bartholomew, his son and heir. (Henry de Capella was deceased before the 3rd day of April, 32nd Henry III. 1248, on which day the king took the homage of Bartholomew de Capella of all the tenements of his father, which he had held of the king in chief in the county of Lincoln). And now John de Bohun, who married the daughter and heir of the said Bartholomew (deceased before 10th March, 43rd Henry III. 1259, seized of the above lands and tenements and of the serjeantry of the king's chapel) holds through his wife (Joan) twenty librates of annual rent of the king; and Nicholaa, wife of the said Bartholomew, in the name of dower ten librates of rent a year, by what service they know not." John de Bohun of Midhurst, com. Sussex, was deceased in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward the First, 1284, leaving a son and heir John, nine years of age, and his wife surviving, who was living in the ninth year of the reign of Edward the Second, 1316, and lady of the vill of Newtimber, com. Sussex, in right of dower. John de Bohun died in his minority, and was succeeded by James de Bohun, his brother, who married Joan, one of the two daughters of William de Braose of Bramber, com. Sussex. He died in 1306, leaving a son and heir, John de Bohun, whose borough of Midhurst was in the custody of Edmund earl of Arundel in 1316 by reason of his minority. Upon this John de Bohun the lands of his grandmother devolved, and after his decease in the forty-first year of the reign of King Edward the Third, 1367, the following writ occurs on the rolls, called *Originalia*, of the following regnal year. "Lincolnshire. The king to Walter de Kelby, escheator of the king in the county of Lincoln. When by the inquisition &c. we have learnt that John de Bohun of Midhurst, chevaler, deceased, had held formerly a manor and a bovate and the fourth part of a bovate of land with the appurtenances in the county aforesaid and thirty librates of rent to be annually received from divers free tenants in Waltham, Beelsby, Hatcliff, Fenby, and Waithe of the king in chief by the service of the fourth part of one fief of a knight, and that all the tenants of the manor aforesaid owe suit to the court of the same John de Bohun in Waltham from three weeks to three weeks, and that the aforesaid John for five pounds gave to John Gogh, clerk, and to John Seys the aforesaid manor and lands with the appurtenances, and twenty-eight librates of annual rent out of the aforesaid thirty pounds of rent, and the service of Sir William de Belesby, chivaler, who had held of the said John de Bohun one messuage nine tofts and the site of a messuage and two bovates of land with the appurtenances in Beelsby, as of the said manor of Waltham, by fealty and the service of suit of court of the aforesaid John de Bohun of Waltham from three weeks to three weeks and by the service of eight shillings a year; as well as the service of Robert Maundevill, who had held of the same John de Bohun one messuage and two carucates of land with the appurtenances in Beelsby, as of the manor of Waltham, by suit of court of the same John de Bohun from three weeks to three weeks and by the service of forty shillings, which, indeed, Robert Maundevill died before the said John Gogh and John Seys had been enfeoffed of the said manor, lands and twenty-eight pounds of rent with the appurtenances, &c. And therefore it is enjoined him to cause Philippa, who

and two bovates of land in Immingham for the term of her life of the gift and concession of John Barde made to the same Hawisia, of which the reversion after the decease of the aforesaid Hawisia, was belonging to the right heirs of Sir Thomas de Belesby, knight, deceased, late the husband of the aforesaid Hawisia. They also say that the manor of Beelsby yielded annually a rent of ten pounds, and that it was held of the bishop of Lincoln (Richard Fleming); that East Garth was held of Patrick Langdale in socage, as of his soke of Waltham, and worth annually four marks [p]; that the

had been the wife of Edward, son and heir of John de Bohun, having received her fealty, to have seizin of the same." This entry explains the origin of the name, Maundevile Thing.

[p] At the time of the compilation of Domesday, Waldin the engineer had a manor in Beelsby of one carucate of land subinfeuded to William, his vassal, and Odo the cross-bow-man, a manor of half a carucate, and Agemund, a Saxon thane, a manor of four bovates, subinfeuded to Godric, his son. Four carucates of land in Beelsby were soke of Waltham, a manor then belonging to Alan, count of Brittany. In the catalogue of tenants of lands in the several wapentakes of Lindsey made in 1108, are these entries; "In the wapentake of Hawardeshou in North Riding, the count of Brittany in Waltham six carucates, and in Barnoldby le Beck six carucates, and in Beelsby four carucates and four bovates, and in Hatcliff four carucates, and in Gunnerby two carucates, and in Ravendale three carucates, and in Brigsley one carucate and four bovates, and in Ashby six bovates, and in Waithe one carucate and three bovates, and in Audby one carucate and one bovate, and in Fenby three carucates, and in Beesby three carucates, and in Cadeby three carucates, (Walter), and in Hawerby two carucates and two bovates, and in Wold Newton three carucates and four bovates, and in Grainsby three carucates (Wimund), and in Newton two bovates, and there are three hundreds and six carucates and two bovates in the demesne of the count. The bishop of Lincoln in Beelsby one carucate, and in Ravendale two bovates. Carbonellus four bovates in Beelsby. In the wapentake of Walshcroft the bishop of Lincoln in Thorganby five bovates (Gerard de Belesbi), and in North Owersby two carucates, and in Kingerby two carucates, and in Claxby one bovate;" a proof of the early date of the tenure of the family of Beelsby of the see of Lincoln. On the Great roll of the thirty-first year of the reign of King Henry the First, among those who had been amerced for suits before Richard Basset and William d'Aubigny, is this entry; "Godric de Belesbi renders accompt of five marks of silver of the same pleas. In pardon by the king's brief to the same Godric twenty shillings for the love of Stephen, count of Brittany. And he owes £2. 6s. 8d." Waltham and its soke was afterwards the appanage of Henry, count of Treguier and of Guingamp, second son of Stephen, count of Brittany and earl of Richmond, who married in 1151 in the town of Mayenne, Mathildis, daughter of John, count of Vendome, by whom he had three sons, Alan, Stephen and Conan. In 1202 the abbey of Beauport on the sea-shore, in the vicinity of Plouezec, a parish in the diocese of Brieuc in Brittany, of the order of Premontré, was founded by the eldest of these sons by this charter. "Be it known to all as well present as to come, that I, Alan, lord of Goello, son of Count Henry, by the assent of Petronilla, my wife, and of Stephen and Conan my brothers, and by the advice of my barons, have built an abbey according to the order of Premontré on the site, which is called Beauport, to the honour of God and St. Mary and All Saints for the redemption of my soul and of those of Count Henry,

messuage in Laceby was held of John Skipwith and worth annually forty shillings, that the messuage in Thorganby was

my father, and of Mathildis, my mother, and of Petronilla, my wife, and of these of all my predecessors and successors. And I have given to God and to the canons regulars serving God in the aforesaid abbey in pure and frank and perpetual almoign, the site, in which the same abbey is situate, which I bought of my own money, and the vill of the countess (Hawisia) my grandmother, which is called Combourg, &c. Moreover I have given to the aforesaid abbey in England in the bishopric of Lincoln, namely, in the soke of Waltham, all the churches belonging to my presentation, namely, the church of All Saints of Waltham, the church of Barnoldby le Beck (St. Helen), the church of Beelsby (St. Andrew), the church of Hatcliffe (St. Mary), the church of West-Ravendale (St. Mary), the church of Brigsley (St. Helen), the church of Hawerby (St. Margaret), the church of Audby *alias* Overby (St. John Baptist), the church of Beesby with all their appurtenances, and to the cloathing of the canons I have given ten pounds of sterlings to be annually received by the aforesaid canons in my manor of Ravendale. I have given, &c. This has been done publickly in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord, 1202. But that all these gifts may be held ratified and unshaken for ever, I have sanctioned them by the corroboration of the present charter and of my seal. Present, Geoffrey bishop and H. archdeacon of Treguier, and Geoffrey of Begar, Ludo of Coetmaloen, Ansgot of Lucerne, abbots, Oliver, archdeacon, William Rabin, precentor, William, dean of St. Brieuc, Nicholas, priest, Hervey, clerk, Eudo the black, Cadoreck, knights, and many others, clergy and laymen."

Conan, son of Count Henry, had been enfeoffed by his brother in the manor of West Ravendale; and by a charter of the same date he granted to the aforesaid abbey for the redemption of his soul and those of his father and mother, and of Alianora, his wife, and of his boys and kindred, the whole manor of Ravendale with all appurtenances situate in the bishopric of Lincoln to be possessed by the canons of this abbey for ever with all entirety, freedom and acquittance. An alien priory was established in this manor, which continued down to the reign of King Henry the Sixth, when it was dissolved, and the land and churches above-named transferred to the college of Southwell in Nottinghamshire. In the *Testa de Nevill* are these entries; "The whole soke of Waltham is of the escheat of the lord the king on the part of Alan, son of the count of Brittany, of which Adam de St. Martin has forty marks worth of land in Beelsby, Hatcliffe and in Fenby. Walter de Evermue holds of the same soke eleven pounds worth of land in Beelsby, Fenby and Ashby. The bishop of Lincoln has in Beelsby one carucate and a half, and in Keelby three bovates, and in Hol two bovates, and in Ravendale two bovates, and in Thorganby one bovate, which Simon de Kyme holds by the service of one knight. Scutage of the lord the king in the county of Lincoln. From William de Belesby twenty shillings of half a fief, which he holds of the earl of Ferrers in Beelsby, and the same earl of the lord the king in chief. Wapentake of Hawardhou. Beelsby. William son of Walter holds in the same, in Thorganby, Ravendale, in Hol and in Keelby one fief of a knight of Simon de Kyme, and the same Simon of the bishop of Lincoln, and the bishop of the lord the king in chief. Wapentake of Yarborough. Keelby. Stephen de Keelby holds there the sixth part of the fief of one knight of William son of Walter de Beelsby, and the same William of the bishop of Lincoln, and the bishop of the lord the king of the old feofment. Walter de Belesby was in the seventh year of the reign of King John, 1205—6, one of the mainpernors of Thomas de Multon, who had made fine with the king in five hundred marks and five palfreys for having the county of Lincoln, in regard of one palfrey. Gartree wapentake. The earl of Chester holds in chief of the lord the king in Horsington two carucates of land, of which Walter de Belesby holds one carucate by military

held of the prior of St. John of Jerusalem and worth annually forty shillings, that the messuage in Stickford was held of the king, as duke of Lancaster, of his honour of Bolingbroke, and worth annually four marks, that the two bovates of land in Immingham were held of the prior of Kyme, and worth annually four shillings, that the messuage in Horsington was held of the same honour of Bolingbroke and worth annually sixty shillings, that the messuage in Nocton was held in chief of the lord the king by the service of the eighth part of one fief of a knight and worth annually four marks; that the toft in Branston was held of the Lady Deincourt (Joan, daughter and heiress of Robert, Lord Grey of Rotherfield, co. Oxon.) and worth annually six shillings and eight-pence, and that the toft in Brauncewell was held of the prior of St. John of Jerusalem and worth annually as much. They also say that the aforesaid Hawisia held on the day on

service, whereof eleven bovates make the fief of one knight. Fiefs of the countess of Chester, of Bolingbroke in 1242. William de Belesby holds one fief in Horsington and Stickford of the old feofment. Alan de Belesby holds three parts of one fief in Thorganby. Fiefs of the earl of Ferrers. William de Belesby holds three parts of one fief in Beelsby, Huttoft and elsewhere. Fiefs of Henry de Hastinges. William de Belesby holds a fourth part of a fief in Billesby." By charter dated at Nottingham on the 25th day of August, in the fifty-second year of his reign, King Henry the Third granted to Sir William de Belesby and to his heirs free warren in all his demesne lands in Horsington, Beelsby and Thorganby. On occasion of the Pleas of Liberties and *Quo warranto* before John des Vaux and his associates justices in eyre at Lincoln in the octave of Holy Trinity, in the ninth year of the reign of King Edward the First, 1280, William de Belesby was summoned to answer the lord the king of a plea by what warranty he claimed free warren in his lands of Horsington without licence and consent of the lord the king or his predecessors. And William came and produced the above charter, and by a jury of twelve men of the wapentake of Gartree it was proved that he had not enlarged his warren beyond his demesne lands, and so he had a discharge from this suit. And it was enquired of the aforesaid William if he claims other liberties in this county, who said that he did not, except fines for the assise of beer from his tenants of Beelsby, Horsington and Thorganby, in use from ancient time. Therefore of this judgment was for him. Enquiry was also made of him if the aforesaid lands were geldable; and he said that Beelsby is geldable in nothing, because it is of the fief of the bishop of Lincoln, nor also Thorganby, because it is of the fief of the Templars. And as to Horsington he said that the land is geldable to sheriff's aid only, to which it gives annually 3s. 4d. And for that fine he is quit of suit of counties, wapentakes and ridings, of view of frankpledge, together with amercement and fine for murder and all other royal loan, as all his ancestors had been quit from time beyond memory. In 1185 an inquisition was taken of the churches, mills and assised lands of all Lindsey in the possession of the Templars, and contains these entries; "in Ravendale *Hermerus* one bovate and one toft of the gift of Ivo de Belesbi, 4s. In Thorganby Walter one carucate with the appurtenances of the gift of Roger de Tholebu, one mark."

which she died in her demesne as of fief two parts of the manor of Irnham with all their appurtenances, and two parts of six messuages and of eight roods of land with the appurtenances in Corby in the aforesaid county, as of her own right and inheritance. And they say that the aforesaid two parts of the aforesaid manor of Irnham are worth annually in all issues according to the true value of the same ten marks to be paid at four terms, namely on the feast of Easter, the nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the archangel, and the Nativity of the Lord, and are held of the lord the king in chief by military service, of the quantity of which they are ignorant. And they say that the aforesaid two parts in Corby are worth annually two pounds and are held of the aforesaid bishop of Lincoln by service, of the quantity of which they are ignorant. And they say that the aforesaid Hawisia died on the eve of the Annunciation of Blessed Mary the Virgin last past, and they say that Thomas de Belesby, son of the aforesaid Sir Thomas de Belesby and Hawisia, is next heir to the aforesaid Thomas and Hawisia, and is of the age of ten years and more. And they say that the aforesaid Godfrey and Hawisia had issue between them, to wit, Godfrey and Hawisia still surviving. And that the aforesaid Sir Godrey Hilton, knight, is still surviving, and by reason of the aforesaid issue he ought to hold the aforesaid two parts of the manor of Irnham and the aforesaid two parts of the six messuages and eight roods of land in Corby for the term of his life by the curtesy of England."

King Henry the Fifth was deceased on the last day of August next following the date of this inquisition; and pursuant to a writ of his successor to the escheator of the county of York, reciting the previous writ of the reign of King Henry the Fifth of *diem clausit extremum*, tested at Westminster, fourth day of November, in the first year of his reign, an inquisition was taken at Doncaster on the ninth day of the same month before Richard Wymeworth, escheator of the lord the king, by twelve jurors. "These say upon their oath that Hawisia, who had been the wife of Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, in the said writ named, held on the day on which she died of her demesne as of fief two parts of the manor of Hooton Pagnell with their appurtenances in the said county, which were held of the Lord Henry, late king of England, father of the now king, in chief, but by what service they are utterly ignorant. (Extent of these two parts follows.) And they

say that Thomas de Belesby, son of the aforesaid Hawisia, and of a certain Sir Thomas de Belesby, knight, deceased, late the husband of the aforesaid Hawisia, is the next heir of the aforesaid Hawisia and is of the age of ten years and more. And they say that the aforesaid Godfrey is still surviving and ought to have and hold the aforesaid two parts of the manor of Hooton Paynell, and all the lands and tenements in the same for the term of his life by the curtesy of England by reason of the issue born of his wife Hawisia." Pursuant to a writ of the same date to the escheator of the county of Nottingham, an inquisition was taken at Nottingham on Monday in the eve of the Conception of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, in the first year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth (Dec. 7th, 1422), before Nicholas Goushill, escheator of the lord the king, by twelve jurors. "These say upon their oath that Hawisia, who had been the wife of Sir Godfrey de Hilton, knight, in the said writ named, held on the day on which she died in her demesne as of fief two parts of the manor of Gamston with the appurtenances of the Lord Henry, late king of England, father of the king now in chief, as of the honour of Peverell, but by what service they are ignorant. And they say that the aforesaid two parts extend themselves into the vills of Gamston, Bridgeford, Basingfield, Tollerton, Keyworth and Normanton. (Extent of the two parts follows.) They also say that certain lands in Gamston, Basingfield and Tollerton are held of Sir Edmund Pierpoint; but by what service they are ignorant. And they say that Thomas de Belesby, son of the aforesaid Hawisia and of a certain Sir Thomas de Belesby, knight, deceased, late the husband of the aforesaid Hawisia, is the next heir of the same Hawisia, and is of the age of ten years and more. And they say that the aforesaid Godfrey ought to have and hold the aforesaid two parts of the manor of Gamston for the term of his life by the curtesy of England by reason of the issue born of his wife Hawisia."

Pursuant to a writ to the escheator of the county of Lincoln of *diem clausit extremum* for Thomas Belesby, knight, tested at Westminster, on the 26th day of November, in the eighth year of this reign, 1429, an inquisition was taken at the castle of Lincoln before Thomas Meres, escheator of the lord the king in the same, on Monday next before the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle in that year, (Dec. 19th,) by twelve jurors. "They say upon their oath that Sir Thomas Belesby,

knight, named in the said writ, held on the day he died conjointly with Hawisia, late his wife, the manor of Beelsby with the appurtenances (the description is in the same terms as that given above) and one croft in Great Grimsby, three bovates of land in Stallingburgh, and two manors in Harlaxton, called Breux Fee and Swynford Fee, extending into Woolsthorp and Colsterworth in the soke of Grantham, of the gift and concession of John Barde thereof made to the aforesaid Thomas and Hawysia and to the heirs issuing of the body of the same Thomas, with remainder thereof for default of such heirs to the right heirs of him Thomas for ever. And they say that the aforesaid Thomas de Belesby died on the twentieth day of September in the third year of the reign of the Lord Henry, late king of England, father of the lord the king now, (1415). And that Thomas Belesby, son of the aforesaid Sir Thomas Belesby named in the writ, at that time had been his next heir and of the age of four years and more, and that he died within age without heir issuing of his body. And that Elizabeth, now the wife of John Pygot, esquire, is sister and heir of the same Thomas son of Thomas, and is daughter and heir of the said Thomas Belesby named in the said writ, and is of the age of eighteen years. And they say that Godfrey de Hilton took to wife the aforesaid Hawisia after the death of the aforesaid Thomas Belesby, named in the said writ, and that the aforesaid Godfrey and Hawisia, his wife, occupied the aforesaid manor of Beelsby with the appurtenances and the aforesaid messuages in Beelsby &c. from the time of the death of the said Thomas named in the said writ down to the eve of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary in the tenth year of the reign of the Lord Henry, late king of England, father of the lord the king now, and received the issues and profits arising from these premises, on which day the said Hawisia died. From the time of whose death the aforesaid Godfrey Hilton occupied the aforesaid manor of Beelsby with the appurtenances and the aforesaid messuages in Beelsby &c. down to the day of St. Katherine in the eighth year of the reign of the lord the king now, (Nov. 25th, 1429), and received the issues and profits therefrom; but by what title the aforesaid jurors say that they are utterly ignorant. On which day and year the said Thomas, son of Thomas Belesby named in the writ, died. After whose death the aforesaid manor of Beelsby with the appurtenances and the aforesaid messuages in Beelsby &c.

had been seized into the hand of the lord the king now, and they still remain so seized."

Pursuant to a second writ of *diem clausit extremum* for Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Belesby, knight, addressed to the escheator of the county of Lincoln, tested at Westminster on the 29th day of January, in the eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth (1430), an inquisition was taken at the castle of Lincoln on Saturday next after the feast of St. Agatha the Virgin (11th Feb.) in the same regnal year before him by twelve jurors. "They say upon their oath that the manor of Beelsby, with the appurtenances and the messuages aforesaid in Beelsby &c. after the death of Hawisia, late wife of Thomas Belesby, knight, named in the said brief, and by reason of the minority of Thomas Belesby, son and heir of the aforesaid Thomas Belesby, fell into the hand of the Lord Henry, late king of England, father of the lord the king now, and are in the hand of the lord the king now, because the aforesaid Hawisia had held on the day, on which she died, the aforesaid manor of Beelsby with the appurtenances and the aforesaid messuages in Beelsby &c. of the gift and feoffment of John Barde to the aforesaid Thomas Belesby, knight, and Hawisia and to the heirs issuing of the body of the same Thomas, with remainder over for default of such issue to the right heirs of the same Thomas for ever. And they further say that the aforesaid Thomas Belysby, son of the aforesaid Sir Thomas Belysby, knight, died on the eve of St. Katharine last past in the eighth year of the reign of the lord the king now. And that Elizabeth, daughter of the aforesaid Thomas Belysby, knight, now the wife of John Pygot, esquire, is sister and next heir of the aforesaid Thomas son of Thomas, and that the aforesaid Thomas Belysby, the son, died without heir issuing of his body, and that the aforesaid Elizabeth is of the age of eighteen years and more." According to a fine in Hillary Term, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, (1457) Agnes, daughter and heir of John Kevermond [q], relict of Thomas, son of Sir Thomas de Belesby, knight, was then alive.

The family of Hilton had their surname from Hilton, a site

[q] The parish of Kirmond-le-Mire in the now hundred of Walshcroft has the name of Chevremont in Domesday, and the manor was of the land of William de Percy; and hence the local name of this family.

in the parish of Monk-Wearmouth in the county of Durham, and a younger branch was resident in Holderness in the county of York, where they had the manors of Swine and Winstead. Sir Robert Hilton, knight, by his wife Joan, daughter of Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough, com. Ebor., knight, had four sons, Sir Robert Hilton, knight, who by his will, proved Dec. 22nd, 1431, desires interment in the south part of the chancel of Swine, Alexander, William, a clerk, and Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, who had a grant of the manors of Swine and Winestead for his life from his elder brother prior to his decease. In the eleventh year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, 1432-3, Humphrey duke of Gloucester, and Eleanora his duchess, who then had the signiory of Holderness, confirmed to Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, for the term of his life, his whole estate in the manors of Swine and Winestead, and William de Hilton, clerk, granted letters of attorney to deliver seizin to him of the manors aforesaid. By his charter, 13th Henry VI., 1435, Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, released to his nieces Isabel, wife of Robert Hildyard, and Elizabeth, wife of John Melton, all his right in the manors of Winestead and Swine. In a copy of a list of names delivered into the office of the privy seal by the Lord Humphrey of Gloucester, is that of Sire Godfrey Hilton; and again among the names of the knights and gentry of the county of Lincoln, in the return of the commissioners, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, 1434, is that of Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight. Among the proceedings in chancery in the same reign is this record of a suit commenced by Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, against Nicholas Pollard and John Mathewe, the executors of John Hech, late his servant, for restitution of certain plate, which had been in his custody, concerning which these particulars are learnt from this petition to the chancellor of England.

"To the right reverent fader in God, and full graciouse lord the Bisshop of Winchestre, Chaunceler of Inglond.

Mekely besechith Godfrey Hylton, knyght, that where he of confidence and trust that he had to oon John Hech, late his servaunt, nowe ded, the tyme of the insurreccion of the grete traytour John Cade, delyvered to the seid John certeyn juelx, that is to sey, a basyn of sylver weyng xi. marc of troy weght chased with a sone in the bothum, and an ewer of sylver marked with an S peisyng iiij marc of troy weight,

ii quartletz of silver peisyng an c. s. marked with an S, iiij copes of silver gilt covered peisyng xx marc of troy weight and a cope of silver covered peisyng v marc of troy weight, to be sure and safly kept; the which John in the absence of your seid suppliant at diverse tymes leid parcels of money, which drue to the some of xx marc for your seid suppliant, for such thing as was behovefull and necessarie as your seid suppliaunt perceyved well: and the same John lying seke in his dethe bed made his executours Nicholas Pollard and John Mathewe, and sent for your seid suppliaunt, and ther before your seid suppliaunt and the seid executours confessed all the seid juelx by name, that he had in kepyng of your seid suppliaunt, requiryng and charchyng his seid executours, that when so ever your seid oratour wold content them of the said xx mark, they shuld holy delyvere him his seid juelx. And howe be it that your seid suppliaunt diverse tymes sith the decesse of the seid Jhon Heck hath offred to content the said executours of the seid xx marc, and required hem to delivere him his seid juelx, the seid executours that utterley refusen, ayenst feyth and conscience. Please it your lordship, the premisses considered and howe that your seid oratour is withoute remedy at the comyn lawe in this cas, to graunt severall writs *subpena*, directed to the seid Nicholas and John Mathewe to do hem appere before the kyng in his chauncerie, at a certeyn day, and under a certeyn peyn, ther to be examined upon the premissis, and to be gyded there as feith and conscience requiren in this behalve, at the reverence of God and in wey of cheritee.

Plegii de prosequendo { Johannes Wolf de London, armiger. / Henricus Uvedale de London, armiger."

The insurrection of John Cade took place in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, 1450, and William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, was made chancellor, on the 11th day of October, in the thirty-fifth year of the same reign, 1456; hence this suit is of subsequent date. Pursuant to a writ, tested at Winchester, 4th day of September, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, (1459) of *diem clausit extremum* for Godfrey Hilton, knight, an inquisition was taken at Corby, before Hugh Tylney, escheator of the county of Lincoln, on the 30th day of October following, by twelve jurors. "They say upon

their oath that Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, named in the said writ, held by the curtesy of England on the day on which he died, after the decease of Hawisia, his wife, of the inheritance of Godfrey Hilton, esquire, son and heir of the same Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, and of Hawisia, the manor of Irnham, with its appurtenances in the county aforesaid; namely, the manor of Irnham, called Loterel's Fee, and the manor of Irnham, called Gaunt's Fee, constituting the aforesaid manor of Irnham. And they say that the manor of Irnham, called Loterel's Fee, is held of the lord the king in chief by military service, namely, the fief of one knight; and that the manor of Irnham, called Gaunt's Fee, is held of John, Viscount Beaumont; but by what service the aforesaid jurors are utterly ignorant. And they say that the aforesaid manor with all its appurtenances is worth yearly in all issues according to the true value thereof beyond reprises five pounds and no more; because all the houses, as well those on the site of the said manor, as all the houses of all the tenants of the same manor, are so ruinous as well in walls as in roofs and timber, that they are worth nothing beyond reprises. And they say that the said Godfrey, named in the said writ, died on the fifth day of August, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the king, that now is, (5th Aug. 1459). And they say that Godfrey Hilton, esquire, is son and next heir, as well of the said Godfrey, named in the writ, as of the said Hawisia, and is and was of the age of thirty-nine years on the ninth day of the month of November, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the lord the King Henry, that now is." Hence Godfrey Hilton will have been born on the 9th day of November, 1419, and was only two years, four months, and fifteen days old, at the time of the decease of his mother Hawisia. The barony of Baieux had been united with that of Gaunt in the family of Beaumont; and hence the reason of this description applied to the tenure of one manor in Irnham. A second inquisition was taken at Pontefract, on the 16th day of November following, before William Stoke, escheator of the king in the county of York, by twelve jurors, who "say upon their oath that Godfrey de Hilton, knight, named in the said writ, died seized in his demesne as of fief of three librates of rent issuing from lands and tenements with their appurtenances in the vill and demesne of Ellerton, and that the aforesaid lands and tenements were held of the

lord the king in chief by the service of the hundredth part of one fief of a knight, and that the aforesaid Godfrey died on the fifth day of August last past, and that Godfrey Hilton is the son and next heir of the aforesaid Godfrey, and is of the age of forty years and more, and that the deceased had no other lands in the county."

Ellerton is a parish in Harthill wapentake, Holme Beacon division, East Riding of Yorkshire, and at the time of the survey of William the Conqueror of the land of the count of Mortain. Nigel Fossard had in Ellerton, a berewick of Aughton, six bovates, and in the same vill other ten bovates, soke of Aughton; but he had relinquished two carucates of land in Ellerton, which had been those of Bar and Ulf. Hence under Cave Hundred is this entry; "In Ellerton the count of Mortain two carucates. In the same place the king two carucates." In the time of King Edward the First, Roger de Lasceles made this statement on a plea of *Quo warranto*, before John des Vaux and his associates justices in eyre in the seventh, eighth, and ninth years of his reign, "that he holds his manor of Ellerton, as the frankmarriage of Elizabeth his wife, of William son of Thomas, who will defend and acquit thereof against all men." This William, son of Thomas de Greystock, ancestor of the lords de Greystock, was living at the time of Kirkby's inquest, in the fifteenth year of the same reign, as this entry shews; "Roger de Lasceles and Thomas de Greystock hold one carucate of land in Ellerton of the baron de Greystock, who held the same of Gilbert de Gaunt, and he of the king in chief." Sir Roger de Lasceles was deceased in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Edward the First, leaving Elizabeth *alias* Isabella, his wife, surviving, and four daughters his coheiresses, Johanna, wife of Thomas de Culewenne of Workington, com. Cumb., Avicia, wife of Sir Robert Constable of Halsham, com. Ebor., and Matilda, wife first of Sir William Hilton of Swine, knight, and secondly, of Sir Robert Tilliol of Uckmanby, com. Cumb., and Theofania, wife of Ralph Fitz-Ranulph. The arms of Hilton were argent, two bars azure, differenced by a fleur-de-lis on the upper bar; and after this marriage the coat of Lasceles argent, three chaplets, gules, was quartered with the above. This connection explains the descent of these lands in Ellerton to this family, and accounts for this apportionment to Sir Godfrey Hilton. In the

Nomina villarum of the ninth year of the reign of Edward the Second, 1316, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, wapentake of Birdforth, Kirkby Knoll is put down as the vill of Elizabeth de Lasceles; yet in the inquisition taken after her decease she is described as Isabella, these names being synonyms.

Godfrey Hilton, esquire, had married a lady of the name of Margery, whose lineage is unknown; and the only particulars of his acts that have come down to us are derived from the statements of the jurors on the several inquisitions taken after his decease on the 18th day of May, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, 1472. Pursuant to writs of *diem clausit extremum*[r] for *Godefridus Hilton*, addressed to the

[r] Pursuant to a writ of King Edward II., of *diem clausit extremum*, for Isabella de Lanceles, addressed to Thomas de Burgh, his escheator hitherwards of Trent, tested at Bisshopthorp on the 25th day of May, in the sixteenth year of his reign, 1323, an inquisition was taken at York before him on Tuesday next after the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, in the same year (14th June) as to her tenure of the manor of Escryk, in the name of dower, of the inheritance of Joan, who had been the wife of Thomas de Colewyn, deceased, of Avicia, wife of Robert le Conestable, and of Matilda, who had been the wife of Robert Tillol, and of Ralph, son and heir of Theofania, who had been the wife of Ralph Fitz-Ranulph, daughters and heirs of Roger de Lanceles, under the abbot of St. Mary of York. Sum total of the aforesaid manor £103. 7d., out of which in rent paid to the aforesaid abbot 30s., and so there remains clear £101. 10s. 7d. The jurors also say "that the aforesaid Isabella had held the manor of Kirkby under Knoll in the same county in the name of dower, of the inheritance of the aforesaid heirs, of Geoffrey de Upsale by the service of rendering annually 26s. 8d. at the terms of Pentecost and St. Martin for all service. Sum £18. 13s. 9½d., out of which the rent being deducted there remains clear £17. 7s. 1½d. They also say that the aforesaid Isabella held the manor of Ellerton in the same county for the term of her life in fief entailed, of the inheritance of the aforesaid Avicia, Matilda, and Ralph, of Ralph de Graistok without any certain service being done thereof, and it is worth annually in all issues £13. 6s. 8d. They also say that the aforesaid Joan de Colewyne, the eldest of the daughters and heirs of the aforesaid Roger de Lanceles and of the aforesaid Isabella, long since enfeoffed Simon Ward of her purparty belonging to her of the aforesaid manors of Eskrik and Kirkby, which said Simon thereof enfeoffed Roger Damory, by whose forfeiture that purparty ought to remain to the king, as it were his escheat. And they say that the aforesaid Avicia, second of the daughters and heirs of the aforesaid Roger and Isabella, whom the aforesaid Robert le Constable had taken to wife, is of the age of forty years. And the aforesaid Matilda, who had been the wife of Robert Tilliol, third of the daughters and heirs of the aforesaid Roger and Isabella, is of the age of thirty-six years, and the aforesaid Ralph, son of Theofania, fourth of the daughters and heirs of the aforesaid Roger and Isabella, is of the age of twenty-four years, and they are the next heirs of the aforesaid Roger and Isabella." Pursuant to a second writ to the same escheator for fiefs of knights and advowsons of churches held by the deceased, tested at Cowyc, on the 15th day of June, in the same regnal year, an inquisition was made at Escryk, on the 15th day of July, in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Edward the Second, by twelve jurors, who say "that Isabella, who had been the wife of Roger de Lasceles, held no fiefs of

escheators of the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, and York, tested at Westminster on the 8th day of June next following, these inquisitions were taken; one at Newark on Friday next after the feast of St. Faith the Virgin, (10th Oct.) before John Fraunces, escheator of the lord the king in the first-named county, on which the twelve jurors "say upon their oath that Sir Richard Bingham[a], lately one of the justiciaries of the bench of the lord the king, Richard Willughby, Robert Willughby, esquires, John Ingelby, Thomas Hunston, chaplain, and Thomas Bingham had been seized in their demesne as of fief of the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford near Nottingham, with their appurtenances, and together with the advowson of the church of Bridgeford, and of other demesnes and lands with their appurtenances in Basingfield, Normanton,

knights; but the aforesaid Isabella had the advowson of the church of Escryk on the day on which she died, of the inheritance of Johanna de Culwenne eldest daughter, of Avicia second daughter, whom Robert le Conestable had taken to wife, of Matilda third daughter, who had been the wife of Robert Tylliol, and of Theophania, fourth of the daughters, coheirs of Roger de Lasceles and Isabella, which said Joan, eldest daughter, long since enfeoffed Simon Ward of the purparty belonging to her of the manors of Escryk and of Kirkby under Knoll, which said Simon enfeoffed Roger Damory, by whose forfeiture that purparty ought to remain to the lord the king as his escheat. And they say that the advowson of the aforesaid church is worth annually forty pounds in all issues." By her charter, dated at Halsham in Holderness, on Monday in the feast of St. George, Martyr, in the year of grace, 1325, Matilda, who had been the wife of Sir Robert de Tilliol, knight, granted to Sir Robert le Constable of Holderness, and to the Lady Avicia, his wife, all her purparty of the manor of Kirkeby under Knoll, with a messuage, one bovate, forty-six acres, and half a rood and ten perches of land, and 4s. 8¾d. and a pound of pepper rent in Eskrik, saving to herself, her heirs, and assigns, a fourth part of the demesne of the vill of Eskrik, and of the advowson of the church of the same vill, in exchange for the whole purparty of the aforesaid Sir Robert le Constable, and of the Lady Avicia his wife, of the manor of Ellerton upon Derwent, with all and singular its appurtenances belonging hereditarily to the same Lady Avicia. Witnesses, Sirs William de Tweng, John de Sutton, William de la Twyer, Thomas de Pykering, knights, Walter de Fauconberg, Roger de la Kaye of Aughton, John de Gunneby, and others. To this charter is appended a seal of red wax of the grantor, containing within a circle three shields, their base points meeting in the centre, and between each shield a fleur-de-lis. The uppermost shield bears the arms of a lion rampant, debruised by a bend; that on the dexter side two bars, and that on the sinister side three chaplets: and at foot the letters R. S. The coat, gules, a lion rampant argent, a baton azure, belonged to her second husband, Sir Robert Tyllol; the coat, argent, two bars azure, belonged to her first husband, Sir William Hilton, and the coat, argent, three chaplets gules, belonged to her father, Sir Roger Lasceles, baron of parliament.

[a] Sir Richard Bingham, knight, a judge of King's Bench in 1471, married Margaret, daughter of Sir Baldwin Frevill, of Midleton, com. War., and widow of Sir Hugh Willoughby, of Wollaton, com. Notts, and was probably uncle of Thomas Bingham, of Carcolston, com. Notts. Richard Willoughby was of Risley, com. Derb., and Robert Willoughby was son and heir of Sir Hugh.

Tollerton, and Keyworth; and being thus seized of the same manors and same demesnes and lands, the same feoffees by their charter, shewn to the aforesaid jurors in evidence, of which the date is the twelfth day of August, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth (1460), delivered, demised, and by their same charter granted the aforesaid manors and lands and demesnes to Godfrey Hilton, esquire, named in the said writ, and to Margery, his wife, to have and to hold to them and to the heirs legitimately begotten of their bodies. By virtue of which livery, demise, and concession, the same Godfrey and Margery have been seized of the same manors and lands in their demesne as of fief entailed, and of such estate the aforesaid Godfrey died seized of the manors and lands abovementioned. And the aforesaid Margery, still surviving, survived the said Godfrey, and is now sole seized of the manors and lands abovementioned in her demesne as of fief entailed by virtue of the livery, demise, and concession aforesaid. They say that the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford are held of John, earl of Worcester, and Lord Tiptoft, by the service of the fief of one knight, and are worth annually ten pounds; that the lands in Normanton are held of the king as parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, and are worth annually sixteen-pence and one farthing; that the four bovates of land in Tollerton are held of the king, as parcel of the honour of Tickhill, by the service of a third part of one fief, and are worth annually sixteen shillings; that the six bovates in Basingfield are held of Sir Henry Pierrepont, knight, and are worth annually twenty-four shillings, and that the three bovates in Keyworth are held of Robert Willoughby, esquire, and are worth annually ten shillings. They also say that the aforesaid Godfrey died on the eighteenth day of May last past, and they say also that Godfrey Hilton is son and heir of the bodies of the aforesaid Godfrey and Margery begotten and their next heir, and of the age of fifteen years and more."

Another inquisition was taken at Hickleton, in the county of York, on the 11th day of October, in the same regnal year, before Guy Vyncent, escheator of the king, by twelve jurors, who "say upon their oath that Alured Mauleverer, gentilman, had been seized of the manor of Hooton Paynell, with the appurtenances in the county of York, in his demesne as of fief, and being thus seized thereof, the same Alured, by his

charter, shewn to the same jurors in evidence, of which the date is the second day of April, in the thirty-first year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, late in fact but not of right king of England, (1453), the licence of the lord the king for the same being first obtained, gave and granted, and by the aforesaid charter confirmed the same manor to Godfrey Hilton, named in the said writ, and to Margery, his wife, by the name of Godfrey son and heir of Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, and of Margery his wife, to have and hold the aforesaid manor with the appurtenances to the aforesaid Godfrey son of Godfrey, and to Margery, their heirs and assigns. By virtue of which gift and concession the same Godfrey and Margery had been seized of the manor aforesaid with the appurtenances in their demesne as of fief, and of such estate the same Godfrey afterwards thereof died siezed. And the aforesaid Margery survived the said Godfrey and is still surviving, and by right of accruing by virtue of the aforesaid grant and concession she has held the said manor and still holds it in dower, and has received the issues and profits from the time of the decease of the aforesaid Godfrey until this day, and still receives them. They say that the manor of Hooton Paynell is held of the lord the king in chief by the service of half a fief of a knight, and that it is worth annually twenty pounds. The aforesaid jurors say also that the aforesaid Godfrey died on the eighteenth day of May last past, and that Godfrey Hilton, esquire, is his son and his next heir, and is of the age of fifteen years and more." This feoffment was made in the lifetime of his father, Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, and hence the day of this feoffment was probably that of the marriage between these parties. This transfer accords with the omission of any mention of this manor on the inquisition after the decease of his father.

The third inquisition was taken at Folkingham before Thomas Tyrell, esquire, escheator of the lord the king in the county of Lincoln, on the 6th day of November in the same regnal year, by twelve jurors, "who say upon their oath that Godfrey Hilton, esquire, named in the writ, had been seized in his demesne as of fief of the manors of Irnham and Corby with the appurtenances in the county aforesaid, and of the advowson of the church of Irnham to the same manor of Irnham belonging. And being so seized thereof by his charter, of which the date is the first day of July in the seventh year

of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the Conquest, (1467), shewn to the aforesaid jurors in evidence at the caption of this inquisition, gave the same manors with the appurtenances and the advowson of the aforesaid church to certain feoffees, Sir Richard Bingham, knight, Henry Ferreis, esquire, and Richard Willoughby, esquire, and to their heirs and assigns for ever; by pretext of which gift, in fact, the same Richard, Henry and Richard have been and yet are seized of the said manors with their appurtenances in their demesne as of fief, and of the advowson aforesaid as of fief and right. Which manors, to wit, with their appurtenances are held of the lord the king in chief by the service of the fourth part of one fief of a knight, and are worth annually thirteen pounds six shillings and eight-pence beyond reprises. And they say that Godfrey Hilton died on the twenty-sixth day of May last past, and that Godfrey Hilton, esquire, is his son and next heir, and is of the age of fifteen years and more." This discrepancy as to the day of the decease is of frequent occurrence in other instances; but the earlier inquisitions are doubtless correct, and Godfrey Hilton probably resided at Hooton Pagnell.

Under these settlements Margery, the widow of Godfrey Hilton, esquire, retained possession of the manors of Gamston and Bridgeford, and of the advowson of the church of Bridgeford, and of the manor of Hooton Pagnell during her life; and subsequently remarried William Walrand. Godfrey Hilton, esquire, the only son born of her first marriage, died in her lifetime without having been married, in the twentieth year of his age, on the 12th day of September, 1476, and pursuant to a writ of *diem clausit extremum*, tested at Westminster on the 28th day of October in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth, an inquisition was taken at Bourne in the county of Lincoln before Robert Hungerton, esquire, escheator of the lord the king, on the twelfth day of November following, by twelve jurors. "They say upon their oath that Godfrey Hilton, named in the said writ, neither held lands nor tenements of the lord the king in chief nor of any other person in the county aforesaid on the day on which he died in his demesne as of fief or in service. And they say that the same Godfrey died on the twelfth day of September last past, and that Elizabeth, the wife of Richard Thymelby *junior*, esquire, and Hawisia, wife of Lawrence Brewern, gentleman, are the sisters and next heirs of the same Godfrey

named in the said writ. And the said Elizabeth is of the age of twenty-two years and more, and the said Hawisia is of the age of twenty years and more. They also say that Sir Henry Ferys, knight, is now enfeoffed and seized of all the lands and tenements, which had been those of the aforesaid Godfrey in the county of Lincoln, on the day on which he died. They also say that the said lands and tenements were worth yearly twenty marks in all issues."

In the register of Lawrence Booth, archbishop of York, is this note of an inquisition as to the right to the patronage of the church of West Bridgeford over the bridge of Nottingham, and of the verdict. The jurors say "that Sir Godfrey Hilton, knight, had presented to the same church the last parson, and that Godfrey Hilton, esquire, son and heir of the same Godfrey, took to wife Marjoria, who, as his relict, by reason of her jointure, ought to present to the same, which Marjoria, to wit, William Walrand had to wife at this present time. Dated on the first day of April, 1479, in the nineteenth year of King Edward the Fourth." Owing to these manors being held in jointure by his mother, namely Gamston and Bridgeford, which last is adjacent to the bridge of Nottingham, as also Hooton Pagnell, no inquisition was taken as to them after the decease of Godfrey Hilton, in the counties of Nottingham and York.

According to Gervase Holles there were these arms in the church of Irnham in his time; namely, the first escutcheon, quarterly, first and fourth sable, a saltier or, for Belesby; second and third argent, on a chevron sable, three boar's heads couped and erected, or, for Swinford, impaling azure, a bend between six martlets argent, Lutterell; and the second escutcheon argent, three pallets and four mullets in bend sable, for Thimelby, quartered with the bearings as above of Belesby, Swinford, and Lutterell, impaling a lion rampant. As Richard Thimelby had succeeded to the inheritance of the family of Belesby, it is probable that he quartered their coats[t]; and

[t] Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Thomas Belesby, knight, and eventually his heir after the decease of Thomas Belesby, her brother, under age, successively the wife of Sir John Pigott of Dodington Pigott, com. Linc., knight, and of John Stanley, esquire, died on the third day of November in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth without issue. Pursuant to a writ of *diem clausit extremum* for Elizabeth, who had been the wife of John Stanley, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Belesby, knight, tested at Westminster on the 20th day of November, 1473, an inquisition was taken at Spittal-on-the-Street in the county of Lincoln, before John Harington, escheator, on the 20th day of May in the fourteenth year of

the impalement of the lion rampant would indicate that Godfrey de Hilton bore this last coat, and not his paternal

the same reign, 1474. By the jurors she was found to have died seized of the inheritance of her first husband of the manors of Doddington Pigott, and of Thorpe-on-the-Hill, held of the abbot of Westminster, and worth annually twenty pounds, in her demesne as of fief, of which manors the reversion had been sold by her to Sir Thomas Burgh, knight, for three hundred marks, to hold to him and his assigns for ever after her decease to the exclusion of Thomas Brundysh, next heir of the said Sir John Pigott, knight. Of her own inheritance she was found to have been formerly seized of the manor of Beelsby, held of the bishop of Lincoln, and of divers messuages, lands, tenements, rents, &c. in Beelsby, Immingham, Stalingburgh, Laceby, Bradley, Waltham, Hole, East Ravendale, Keelby, Branston, Brauncewell, Stickford and Great Grimsby, of the manor of Thorganby, held of the prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England, of the manor of Horsington, held as a member of the honour of Bolingbroke, and of the two manors in Harlaxton, respectively named Braux Fee and Swynford Fee, extending into Woolsthorpe and Colsterworth, members of the demesne or soke of Grantham; which manors, messuages, &c. by fine levied in the king's court at Westminster in Trinity term, in the twentieth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, 1442, between Richard Smith, querent, and Sir John Pigott, knight, and Elizabeth, his wife, deforcients, were settled upon them for their lives and upon the heirs of their bodies, and in default of such issue, remainder over to Margaret Farnell and to Richard Thymelby, and to the heirs of the same Richard begotten of his body, and upon the decease of Richard Thymelby without heirs of his body, remainder over to the right heirs of Elizabeth Belesby. "The jurors also say that the aforesaid Elizabeth died on the third day of November last past, and that John Martyn is her cousin and next heir, and upon the caption of this inquisition of the age of forty years and more. They also say that Sir John Pigott, knight, died without issue of his body, as did also the aforesaid Elizabeth. After whose death the aforesaid manors and tenements with their appurtenances should remain and ought to remain to the aforesaid Richard Thymelby and to his heirs begotten of his body by virtue of the aforesaid fine, because Margaret Farnell, mother of the same Richard, died in the lifetime of the aforesaid Elizabeth, and which manors &c. are of the annual value of twenty pounds." At the time of the Domesday survey Doddington and Thorpe-on-the-Hill were the land of St. Peter of Westminster, the former being a manor and the latter its berewick, as we learn from this entry. "Manor. In Dodinctone Ailric had six carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to four ploughs. There St. Peter of Westminster has one plough and thirteen villains and six boors with four ploughs. There a priest and a church, meadow half a league long and a half broad. Wood pasturable one league and a half long and half a league wide. In the time of King Edward with all things belonging to this manor, it was worth twenty pounds. Now what St. Peter has is worth four pounds. Berewick. In Torp six carucates of land and two bovates subject to Danegeld. Land to six ploughs. Soke of the same manor. There thirty sokemen have seven ploughs and a half. Meadow two furlongs long and two broad." In the *Testa de Nevill*, under the heading 'this is the inquisition of those who hold of the lord the king in chief in Ketsteven, Raperhelu,' is this entry; "The abbot of Westminster holds Dodington and Torp in frankalmoign before the Conquest, and William Piccot holds that land of the same abbot for twelve pounds annual rent;" so that this manor will have descended in the line of this tenant from the reign of King John. Sir John Pigot, knight, died in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, 1452, seized of the manor of Doddington and of Thorp-on-the-Hill and of the advowson of the church of Doddington. This church, dedicated to St. Peter, was a rectory in the deanery of Graffoe and arch-

coat. There was a fine levied in Trinity term in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Seventh, 1498, and also in Michaelmas term, 1499, between Sir Henry Willughby, knight, Thomas Hunston, and Thomas Hartwell, que-

deaconry of Lincoln. Harlaxton at the survey was a member of Grantham, then land of the king, and thus entered; "Soke and berewick. In Herlavestune there are twelve carucates subject to Danegeld. Land to sixteen ploughs. Nine are in the soke and three in the demesne of Grantham. The king has now there ten villains and two boors with two ploughs and fifty-eight sokemen having fourteen ploughs. There two mills of two shillings and sixty acres of meadow and sixty of land covered with briers." The following is the statement of the jurors of the vill of Grantham in Kesteven, com. Linc., on an inquisition made at Grantham, in the third year of the reign of King Edward the First, 1309; "that Matilda, queen and heir of England, formerly had Grantham with the soke in her hand, and afterwards gave it to the chamberlain of Tancarville (Rabel), and the same chamberlain enfeoffed ten knights within the soke, each one of ten librates of lands, which lands others now hold, whose names they do not recollect; and when Normandy had been lost the Lord John, the king, grandfather of the king now, because the said chamberlain (William) had rebelled against him, took the vill of Grantham into his hand; but for what time he held it they know not. And he afterwards (15th April, 1205) gave it with all the demesne of the aforesaid soke to William, Earl Warren, who held it for the whole of his life, and after the decease of the said William the Countess Matilda, Countess Warren, held Grantham with the demesne of the aforesaid soke in dower in lieu of two parts of Stamford: and after the decease of the said Matilda, the Lord Henry, our king, father of the king now, took Grantham with the demesne of the aforesaid soke into his hand and held it for five years, because the aforesaid William the earl had it not except at the will of the aforesaid king, as they understand. And afterwards King Henry aforesaid gave it with the demesne of the aforesaid soke to the Lord Edward, his son, now king, who held it for six years, and afterwards gave it with the demesne of the aforesaid soke to John, Earl Warren, who now holds it, doing thereof the service of four knights for Grantham and Stamford, and the vill of Grantham is worth yearly, with the demesne of the aforesaid soke, 110 pounds." In the *Testa de Nevill* are these entries; "Winnibriggs. William de Mortemer holds ten librates of land in Harlaxton, which the lord King John gave to Robert de Mortemer, his father, of the land of the Normans. Wapentake of Winnibriggs. Herlauston. William Pycher holds in Herlauston a sixth part of a fief of one knight of the prior of Haverholm, and the same prior of the heirs of Peter Malet, and they of Earl Richard (of Cornwall), and it is of the honour of Eye. Also William de Mortimer holds there in Harlaxton one hundred shillings' worth of land and does not give scutage, because it is of the honour and free socage of Grantham. Also Henry de la Mare holds there one hundred shillings' worth of land of the same socage. Also John Maudut holds there one hundred shillings' worth of land of the aforesaid socage." On the Hundred rolls, wapentake of Wymerbrygg, 4 Edw. I., 1276, Thomas de Shefcote and William de Mortimer were claimants to have warren in the vill of Harlaxton, of whom the latter was lord of Kingston, com. Camb., and Milborough, com. Linc. In the 16th year of Edw. II., 1322-3, John de Blyton of Lincoln, in right of Emma, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Shefcote, died seized of the manor of Harlaxton, as parcel and member of the manor of Grantham and the soke of the same. In the 42nd year of Edward III., 1368, Edmund de Swinford gave twenty marks for licence of acquiring the manor of Harlaxton with its appurtenances. By marriage with an heiress of this family the manor called Swinford Fee came to the family of Belesby, and the name of Breux or Braux is probably a corruption of the name of Blyton.

rents, and Lawrence Brewern and Hawisia, his wife, deforcients, of the moiety of the manor of Gamston with the appurtenances in Bridgeford, Basingfield, Normanton, Tollerton and Keyworth; and a recovery suffered in Hillary term, nineteenth year of the same reign, 1504, of the said moiety, with the moiety of the advowson of Bridgeford and the appurtenances in the same vills, wherein the said Lawrence and Hawisia were called to warrant. Apparently the same parties exchanged their moiety of the manor of Irnham for the moiety of the manor of Hooton Pagnell with Richard Thymelby and Elizabeth his wife, and that by them that manor was alienated. In some collections respecting the manor last named, it is stated that King Richard the Third bought it of them in 1486; and afterwards gave it to Sir Richard Wortley for good services performed. In 1495, the eleventh of Henry the Seventh, Hooton Pagnel was indisputably in the crown, and in the custody of the king's bailiff.

Thimbleby is a parish in the soke of Horncastle, parts of Lindsey, Lincolnshire, and is thus surveyed in Domesday. "Land of Drogo de Bevrere. Westreding. Manor. In Stimblebi Osmund had three carucates of land and six bovates subject to Danegeld. Land to five ploughs. There Goisfrid, the vassal of Drogo, has one plough and fifteen sokemen of two carucates and six bovates of this land and four villains with two ploughs and two ploughing oxen, and one mill of nine shillings and four-pence and two hundred and forty acres of meadow and two hundred and forty acres of brushwood. In the time of King Edward it was worth four pounds, now three pounds. Tallage twenty shillings. Land of the king. Manor. In Hornecastre (Horncastle) Edith, the queen, had three carucates of land without Danegeld. Land to four ploughs. There the king has two ploughs in demesne and twenty-nine villains and twelve boors having three ploughs. There two mills of twenty-six shillings and one hundred acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth twenty pounds, now forty-four pounds. Soke of this manor. In Stimblebi four carucates of land. There twenty-two sokemen and eighteen villains have four ploughs and a half and two hundred and forty acres of meadow. Land of the bishop of Baieux. In Langetone (Langton) and Torp (Thorpe) Lepsi had one carucate of land subject to Danegeld. Land to one plough and a half. There a vassal of the bishop has one plough, and

twenty-six villains and three sokemen, having five ploughing oxen, and sixty acres of meadow and eighty acres of wood pasturable in places. In the time of King Edward it was worth forty shillings; now likewise. In Stinblebi is inland and soke of this manor. Ten bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to fourteen oxen. There five villains and three sokemen have two ploughs, and twelve acres of meadow and thirty acres of brushwood. In the reign of King Henry the First in Horncastle wapentake Stephen de Aumale held between Thimbleby and Langton and Coningsby five carucates and six bovates. Walter de Gaunt held in Thimbleby four carucates. Alan de Lincoln held between Langton and Thimbleby and Bochelanda two carucates. Alan, the kinsman of Alan, holds them."

The following charter is proof of the descent of the land in Thimbleby and Bockland to a vassal of the count of Aumale, the lineal descendant of Goisfrid, and has to it an original seal, bearing the impress of a knight on horseback with shield and a drawn sword, and inscribed *Sigillum Gaufridi de Walterivilla, Dapiferi Consulis*, having this surname from Vatierville in the vicinity of Aumale in Normandy.

"Geoffrey de Vatierville to all his vassals and friends, greeting. Be it known to you that I have granted and demised to the abbey of St. Mary of Kirkstead and to the monks there serving God all my land of Thimbleby and of Bocland, which is of the fief of the count of Aumale, with all its appurtenances in tofts and crofts, in meadows and pastures, in woods and plains and in moors and marshes and with a mill and all other things, which belong to the said land. All the aforesaid I have granted and demised to the aforesaid monks in frankalmoign and fee-farm, namely, for eight marks of silver annually, four at Easter and four at the feast of St. Michael for all things and services, which belong to me and to my heirs, except only the doing of foreign service, and we will warrant it to them for ever against all men. But this convention is made in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord one thousand one hundred and fifty-four. These witnesses, Ascelina, my wife, Ralph, my son, William, chaplain of Burton, Ralph, priest of Timberland, Thomas, my chaplain, William my clerk, Drogo de Vatierville, Henry, son of Helias, Ralph de Lindesey, Ralph, son of Alberic, brother Walter de Marton, Godwin de Broughton, and Reiner de Harton."

In the *Testa de Nevill* are these entries under Horncastle wapentake; "Count Baldwin de Bethune (1194—1212) holds in Thimbleby and in Langton and in Coningsby five carucates and six bovates, whereof Herbert de St. Quintin holds two carucates and three bovates and a half in Langton for the tenth part of one knight of the gift of Count Stephen of Aumale, and Gilbert de Langton of the aforesaid Baldwin in Coningsby two bovates; but we know not by what service. Richard de Sanford holds in Langton and Thimbleby and in Bocland two carucates, which William de Rowell holds of him, by two parts of one fief of a knight, of the gift of Alan de Lincoln. The monks of Kirkstead hold six bovates in frankalmoign, saving nevertheless the foreign service. Gilbert de Gaunt holds of the gift of the king in Edlington and in Poolham and in Baumber twenty-four carucates, and in Ashby one carucate and a half; but we know not by what service. Robert de Barkwith holds in Poolham one carucate for the fifth part of one knight's fief of Gilbert de Gaunt. Roland de Woodhall holds half a carucate for fifteen shillings and a pound of pepper in Woodhall." In 1242 in the wapentake of Horncastle, in Thimbleby the abbot of Kirkstead and Anselm de St. Quintin held the twentieth part of the fief of one knight of the count of Aumale, and the same count of the lord the king in chief of the old feoffment. Amand de Woodhall and the Lady Alicia de Thimbleby held in Woodhall, Langton and Thimbleby the fortieth part of the fief of one knight of Anselm de St. Quintin, and the same of the count of Aumale and the count of the lord the king in chief. Alan de Rowell held in Langton and in Thimbleby half a fief of one knight of John de Baieux, and the same of the lord the king of the old feoffment. William de Thimbleby, *alias* Thymelby, was mainpernor of Simon Fitz Ralph and Rannulph de Friskney, knights of the shire of Lincoln in the first year of King Edward the Second, 1307. His son and successor was Nicholas de Thymelby, who was deceased on the feast of the Purification of Blessed Mary in the sixth year of the reign of Edward the Third, Feb. 2nd, 1332. Pursuant to a writ to Matthew Brown, escheator in the counties Lincoln, Rutland, and Northampton, for Nicholas de Thymelby of *diem clausit extremum*, tested at York on the 23rd day of January following, an inquisition was taken before him at Haltham on Friday next after the feast of St. Mathias the apostle in the seventh

year of the same king's reign, Feb. 26th, 1333, by twelve jurors. They say upon their oath "that Nicholas de Thymelby had not held any lands or tenements in his demesne as of fief of the lord the king in chief on the day on which he died. But they say that the same Nicholas and Matilda, his wife, had held on the same day one messuage with the appurtenances in Haltham, as of the right of the said Matilda, of the lord the king in chief, as parcel of the manor of Scrivelsby, which is held of the lord the king in chief by great serjeanty, to wit, to find on the day of the coronation of the lord the king, who shall be for the time, a knight on horseback armed to prove by his body, if it shall be necessary, against whomsoever, that the lord the king, who had been crowned, is on that day true and right heir of the kingdom; and that messuage is worth yearly two shillings[u]. And they say that the said Nicholas

[u] At the time of the survey of Domesday the land of Robert *Dispensator* comprised the manors of Thornton with soke in Roughton, of Scrivelsby with the berewicks of Coningsby, Wilksby, and soke in Mareham-on-the-hill and in Wood Enderby, of Addlethorpe with soke in Ingoldmells, Partney, Steeping, Tric and Burgh, of Butegate with a berewick in Langton, of Tathwell, of Haltham-on-Bain and Fulstow; and was also mesne-tenant of the manors of Cherry Willingham, and of Wintringham, and of one in Appleby, Risby and Sawcliffe, under Gilbert de Gaunt. In the catalogue of tenants of lands in the parts of Lindsey, in the reign of King Henry the First, we read as follows: "Westriding. In Manly wapentake Walter de Gant in Wintringham twelve carucates, which Robert Marmion holds. Roger Marmion twelve carucates in Wintringham. In Lauress wapentake Roger Marmion in Willingham one carucate and six bovates. In North Riding in Hawardeshou wapentake Roger Marmion in Fulstow one carucate and six bovates, which Picot holds. In South Riding in Wraghehou wapentake, Roger Marmion between Langton and Butegate one carucate and four bovates, and Ansgodby two bovates. In Ludesc wapentake Roger Marmion in Tathwell one carucate, which Turold de Bolebec holds. In Horncastle wapentake Roger Marmion between Scrivelsby and Thornton and Roughton and Dalderby and Wilksby and Coningsby and Haltham seventeen carucates and two bovates. The same Roger holds in demesne nine carucates and six bovates, and Ulmet holds thereof three carucates and four bovates, and Turold and Alsie two carucates." Robert Le Despenser was brother of Urso de Abbetot, whose other surname Marmion is equivalent in Norman French to the Latin word Dispensator; and as Robert Marmion died in 1107, it was probably in the following year that this *Catalogue* was written. In the reign of Henry the Third the earl of Chester was tenant of the land of Scrivelsby, which had been that of Robert Marmiun the elder, a Norman, and it was worth twenty-four pounds. The same earl had the land of Coningsby and it was worth forty-four shillings. The same earl had the land of Thornton, which was that of William Marmiun the clerk, through the king, and it was worth ten pounds. His descendant Philip Marmiun married first Joan, one of the daughters and coheirs of Hugh de Kilpeck, by whom he had three daughters, Joan, afterwards wife of William Mortein, and Mazera, wife of Ralph de Cromwell, and Maud, the wife of Ralph Boteler, of Wemme, senior, and secondly Maria, daughter of William de Cantilupe, by whom he had an only daughter Joan, who was eight years of age at the decease of her

had held in his demesne as of fief, on the day on which he died, one messuage, four acres of land and two acres of mea-

father in the twentieth year of the reign of Edward the First, 1292. Of these daughters Joan de Morteyn died without issue in the twenty-third year of the same reign, and Mazera, the second sister, was already deceased in her father's lifetime, leaving an only daughter Joan, wife of Alexander Frevill; and the youngest daughter by the second wife was successively the wife of Sir Thomas de Lodelowe, knight, and secondly of Henry Hillary. The first husband died in the sixth year of the reign of King Edward the Second, 1313, seized of the manors of Tooting Gravenel and Walton in Surrey, leaving Thomas his son and heir, aged 14; and his widow, who had the manor of Scrivelsby, as her portion of the inheritance, married her second husband prior to the close of the fifteenth year of the same reign, as appears by this entry on the rolls called Originalia. "The king to Richard de Rodeneye, escheator hitherwards of Trent, greeting. When lately wishing to be certified what lands &c. and you returned to us that you had taken into our hands the third part of the manor of Tooting in the county of Surrey, which Henry Hillary and Joan, his wife, had held of the dower of the same Joan &c. which is worth annually six pounds, and the manor of Scrivelsby with the appurtenances in the county of Lincoln, which is worth annually one hundred pounds, and the third part of the manor of Middleton with the appurtenances in the county of Warwick, which is worth yearly six pounds, thirteen shillings and four-pence, which said manor and third part are of the inheritance of the same Joan, for this reason because the aforesaid Joan without our licence married herself to the aforesaid Henry, we enjoin you, that, having received security for payment of their fine, you cause them to have the aforesaid land and tenements." Joan, late wife of Thomas de Ludelawe, was charged for the manor of Langton with the several escuages of the armies of Scotland assessed in the twenty-eighth, thirty-first, and thirty-fourth years of King Edward the First, as if it had been holden of the king by the fourth part of a fief of one knight. She alleged that the manor of Langton was a member of the manor of Scrivelsby, and that the manor of Scrivelsby with its members was holden of the king by grand serjeanty, and not by knight's service. Hereupon the king by his writ to the barons of the exchequer for Joan, who had been the wife of Thomas de Ludelawe, tested at Ditton on the 13th day of October, in the ninth year of his reign, 1315, enjoined them that if it appeared to them that the manor of Scrivelsby was holden of the king by grand serjeanty, and that the manor of Langton was a member of the manor of Scrivelsby, and that Joan or her ancestors had not formerly paid escuage for the said manor of Langton, then they should discharge her of the said demanded escuages. By this second husband she had a son named Edward Hillary, a knight, who died seized of two acres in Scrivelsby in the 40th Edw. III., 1364. Her sister Joan, the wife of Sir Ralph Boteler of Wemme, senior, died in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Edward the First, leaving a son and heir, Ralph Boteler, thirty years of age. Sir Alexander Frevill, and Joan his wife, Ralph Boteler, and Joane, formerly wife of Thomas Ludlow, complained of John Bracebridge for diverting the course of the water of Thame from the race and spoiling the mill of Middleton in the eleventh year of Edward the Second. It was of Henry Hillary and Joan, his wife, that the messuage in Haltham was held by Nicholas de Thymelby in right of Matilda Curtays, his wife. Joan was deceased in the fifteenth year of Edward the Third, 1342, when the lands of her dower reverted to Margaret, only daughter and heiress of Thomas Ludlow, her son; but her husband Henry Hillary, as tenant by the curtesy of England, continued in possession of the manor of Scrivelsby until his decease in the twenty-third year of the same reign, 1349. The only daughter and heiress of her son, Thomas Ludlow, by Catherine, his wife, Margaret, married Sir John Dymmok,

dow in Stixwold of the dean and chapter of Lincoln, by the service of rendering to the same 2s. 6d. annually, and they are worth yearly in all issues over and above the said service twelve-pence [x]. And they say that the same Nicholas held in his demesne as of fief on the day, on which he died, two messuages and 40 acres of land in Thymelby of the bishop of Carlisle by the service of rendering to the same two pounds five shillings and four-pence annually, and they are worth yearly in all issues beyond the service due therefrom six marks [y]. They also say that Thomas, son of the said Nicholas de Thymelby, is his next heir and had been at the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary last past of the age of nineteen years, and that the said Nicholas died on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary in the sixth year of the reign of the king now." In testimony of which verdict the aforesaid jurors had affixed their seals to this inquisition. This Matilda was the daughter and heiress of William Curtays of Haltham, and was herself deceased in the eighth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, seized of this one messuage in Holtham, parcel of the manor of Scrivelsby. The following entry on the Hundred Roll of the third year of the reign of Edward the First, 1275, among the returns made by the jurors on an inquisition in regard of the soke of Horncastle doubtless refers to the father of Nicholas de Thymelby, and is headed "He who shall have maliciously injured others by the power of his office &c. They say that whilst Richard son of Thomas de Thymelby had been imprisoned at Lincoln, William Aster, then bailiff of Horncastle, made Alice, the wife of the said Richard, come to his house in Horncastle and make a certain charter in the name of her husband to the

knight, who died seized in her right of the manor of Scrivelsby, and of the advowsons of the churches of Scrivelsby, Haltham, Roughton, Conyngsby, Wilkesby and Dalderby, in the fourth year of the reign of King Richard the Second, 1380; and she was living his widow in the seventeenth year of the same reign, 1393.

[x] Stixwold is a parish in the hundred of Gartree, and had been chiefly of the fief of the earl of Chester, but this detached portion of it had it seems been annexed to the see of Lincoln by either Richard de Sandford, who held six bovates there of the king in chief, or by Roger de Stixwold, who held one carucate of land there of Gerard de Camvill, as parcel of the honour of La Haye, in the time of King John.

[y] The manor of Horncastle with its soke was sold to Walter Mauclerc, bishop of Carlisle, elected Oct. 27th, 1223, and to his successors by Ralph de Rodes of the concession and confirmation of King Henry the Third; and of this see John de Kirkeby was bishop in the seventh year of Edward the Third, 1333.

use of the said William, and to seal the charter with the seal of her husband, he being ignorant of the act because he had been in prison, of four acres of land, by the power of his office, which he still has and detains to the loss of the said Richard of two marks now ten years ago; but by what warranty they say that they know not."

Pursuant to a writ addressed to Walter de Kelly, escheator of the county of Lincoln, tested at Westminster on the 26th day of May, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Edward the Third of England and the twenty-first of France, 1360, an inquisition was taken at Horncastle on Tuesday next after the feast of the translation of St. Benedict following (July 14th) before him, by the oaths of twelve jurors. "They say that it is not to the damage nor to the prejudice of the lord the king nor of others, if the lord the king grant to Gilbert bishop of Carlisle and to the prior and convent of the church of Blessed Mary of Carlisle and their successors, that they may remit and release the service of electing and being provost and takman of the said bishop at Horncastle and at Over Toynton, when they shall have been chosen to this office appurtenant to the manor of Horncastle, to Thomas son of Nicholas de Thymelby and to John, his younger brother, and their heirs, and all other services and servitudes due from two messuages and a moiety of three messuages and of the third part of three tofts, of seventy acres of land, and of thirteen acres of meadow in Horncastle and Over Toynton, which the same Thomas and John hold of the aforesaid bishop, except a rent of twenty-five shillings a year and the service of doing suit at the court of the same bishop from three weeks to three weeks; so that the same Thomas and John may be able to have and to hold themselves and their heirs exonerated and released for ever from the aforesaid service of choosing and being provost and takman and from all other services and servitudes due therefrom, except the rent and service aforesaid, without annoyance or impediment of the lord the king or of his heirs or of any others whomsoever. And they say that the said tenements with the appurtenances are worth yearly in all issues beyond the rent and the aforesaid suit, seventeen shillings and ten-pence and not more, because the aforesaid tenements are empty and in ruin."

According to a pedigree of this family, Thomas Thymelby of Poolham, a manor in the parish of Edlington, immediately

adjacent to Thimbleby, was deceased in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of King Edward the Third, 1363, leaving Richard Thymelby his son and heir, who was living in the fiftieth year of the same reign, 1376. This manor of Poolham had belonged to a family of the name of Barkworth from a very early period, and at the time of the Domesday survey it was parcel of the manor of Edlington belonging to Gilbert de Gaunt, and Ivo Tailbois. In the *Testa de Nevill* under Horncastle wapentake are these entries; "Gilbert de Gaunt holds of the gift of the king in Edlington and in Poolham and in Baumber twenty-four carucates; and in Ashby one carucate and a half; but we know not by what service. Robert de Barkworth holds in Poolham one carucate for the fifth part of one knight of Gilbert de Gaunt. Ranulph earl of Chester holds in Edlington one carucate and a half, of which Robert de Barkworth holds one bovate of the gift of Earl Ranulph, but we know not by what service." Pursuant to a writ of *diem clausit extremum* for Robert de Barkeworth to Walter de Gloucester, escheator beyond Trent, tested at Carlisle on the 16th day of May, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward the First, 1307, we have this inquisition returned. "Lincolnshire. Polum. Inquisition of the lands and tenements which had been those of Robert de Barkeworth in the county of Lincoln before the escheator of the lord the king at Horncastle on the fourth day of June, 35 Edw. I. by the oath of twelve jurors. Who say upon their oath that the aforesaid Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died certain lands and certain tenements in Polum of the lord the king in chief as of the barony of Gaunt, then being in the hands of the same king, by the service of the fifth part of the fief of one knight and by suit to the court of the king of Folkingham from three weeks to three weeks, namely, a certain capital messuage there which is worth yearly two shillings, as in the fruit and herbage of the garden, and eighty acres of arable land which are worth yearly forty shillings, price of the acre sixpence, and three acres of meadow, which are worth four shillings and sixpence, price of the acre eighteenpence. And are there two customary men, who hold two bovates of land and render annually thirteen shillings and fourpence at the four principal terms, each one by equal portions. And the said customary men do fourteen days' works in haytime and autumn, which are worth fourteen-pence, price of the

day's work one penny, and they are bound to give at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord three cocks and nine hens, which are worth twelve-pence, price of each one penny, and seventy eggs at Easter which are worth twopence. And are there two cottiers, who render yearly twenty shillings and sixpence at the terms of Easter and of St. Michael by equal portions, and seven of the aforesaid cottiers do fourteen days' works in autumn which are worth yearly fourteen-pence, price of the day's work one penny, and seven hens at the Nativity of the Lord of the price of eight-pence. Sum four pounds, four shillings and five-pence. Polum. The said jurors also say that the said Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day he died certain lands and tenements in the same vill of the earl of Lincoln by the service of paying twelve-pence annually at the feast of St. Michael, and by the service of the tenth part of the fief of a knight, namely, sixteen acres of arable land there, which are worth ten shillings and eight-pence, price of the acre eight-pence, and five acres of wood, of which the profit of the underwood is worth sixpence yearly and no more, because it ought not to be felled from now for five years to come. Sum, eleven shillings and twopence [z].

Horsington. They also say that the said Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died one bovate of arable land and a half and four acres of meadow and a half and one rood in Horsinton of William de Belesby

[z] In Domesday under land of Gilbert de Gand we have this survey of Edlington in the wapentake of Gartree. "Manor. In Ellingetone Ulf had ten carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to ten ploughs. There Egbert, vassal of Gislebert, has four ploughs and twenty-five sokemen and seven villains and fourteen boors with six ploughs and one mill of sixteen shillings and ninety acres of meadow and two hundred and ten acres of brushwood. In the time of King Edward it was worth ten pounds, now eleven pounds. Tallage three pounds." Also under land of Ivo Taillgebose this survey. "Manor. In Ellingeton Gamel had two carucates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to two ploughs. There Walter, vassal of Ivo, has two ploughs and four villains and six sokemen and three boors with one plough and one mill of eight shillings and thirty acres of meadow and thirty acres of brushwood and a church. In the time of King Edward it was worth forty shillings, now sixty shillings." The wapentake of Horncastle say that Robert Le Despencer unjustly makes claim upon Gislebert de Gand of half a carucate of land in Badeburg, and of another half a carucate of land in Ellingetone. In the time of King Edward Tonna had this land. In the catalogue of tenants of land in the several wapentakes in 1108, we read, "In Hornecastra wapentake, Walterus de Ganto between Baburc and Hedlingtuna and Ascbi (one carucate and a half), and Timlebi, twenty-four carucates. Ranulphus Mischinus one carucate and four bovates, which Ralph de Stichesweld holds in Edlington."

by the service of the twelfth part of the fief of one knight, and rendering yearly to the same William for the meadow aforesaid eight-pence at the feast of St. Botolph, and the aforesaid land is worth annually in all issues nine shillings, and the aforesaid meadow annually four shillings and nine-pence, price of the acre twelve-pence. Sum, thirteen shillings and nine-pence.

Horsington. The said jurors also say that the aforesaid Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died one bovate of land in Horsington of Philip de Withren, by what service they say that they are ignorant; and that bovate of land is worth annually in all issues three shillings. They also say that the said Robert held in the same vill six tenements in villenage of whom or of what persons they are held or by what service they know not; and they render twenty-one shillings and nine-pence annually at the four capital terms aforesaid, and render six shillings in hay time, and perform twenty days' works in autumn, which are worth twenty-pence, price of the work one penny. And they say that the perquisites of the court are worth nothing there annually. Sum, thirty-two shillings and five-pence. Sum of the whole extent, seven pounds two shillings and three-pence, out of which are paid . . . . . [a].

Asheby. The aforesaid jurors also say that the aforesaid Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died certain lands and certain tenements in Asqeby of Ralph

[a] At the time of the survey of Domesday the parish of Horsington was in the soke of three manors. Of land of Hugh, earl of Chester, nine bovates of land in Bucknall and Horsington were soke of his manor of Hemingby, then in the tenure of his vassal Baldric. Of the land of Ivo Taillgebose one carucate of land in Horsington was soke of his manor of Belchford. Of the land of Hugh Fitz-Baldric two carucates of land and six bovates and a half in Horsington, was soke of his manor of Hemingby. The land of Hugh Fitz-Baldric was afterwards in the family of Fitz-Erneis, and was an escheat of the land of the Normans. Part of Witherne was of this land, and Philip de Witherne will have been enfeoffed in this land of Horsington. In the *Testa de Nevill*, under Gartree wapentake, are these entries; "The earl of Chester holds in chief of the lord the king in Horsington two carucates of land, of which Walter de Bleseby holds one carucate by military service, of which eleven bovates make the fief of one knight. And Sir Simon de Kyme holds the other carucate by military service, of which twenty bovates make the fief of one knight. Geoffrey Fitz-Piers holds in chief of the lord the king two carucates of land in Hemingby of the escheat of the Normans, of the lands which had been those of Robert Fitz-Erneis, and in Horsington and Bucknall four carucates of land, which the nuns of Stixwold had held of the vassals of the aforesaid Robert to ferm for ever by ten pounds a year."

de Nevill, by the service of the third part of the fief of one knight. And they say that are there certain free tenants who render annually one hundred and five shillings two-pence and one halfpenny at the four principal terms by equal portions, and the pleas and perquisites of the court there are worth two shillings yearly [b].

Barkeworth. Also the aforesaid jurors say that the aforesaid Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died certain lands and certain tenements in Barkeworth of the heir of John Wurth, now being within age and in the wardship of the king, by the service of paying two shillings and four-pence yearly at these terms, twelve-pence on Easter Day, four-pence on the feast of Pentecost, and twelve-pence on the feast of St. Michael, and by suit to the court of the same John at Barkeworth from three weeks to three weeks; namely, a certain messuage there, which is worth yearly twelve-pence, and eighty-four acres of arable land, which are worth yearly twenty-one shillings, price of the acre four-pence, and three acres of meadow, which are worth three shillings, price of the acre one shilling. Sum, twenty-five shillings. They also say that the said Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day on which he died two bovates of land of the aforesaid heir, as of the barony of Scotteny, being in the hand of the king; by what service they say they are ignorant. And they say that the said bovates are worth annually ten shillings in all issues. Also the said jurors say that the said Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day he died one bovate of land there of Nicholas Tuchet by the service of twelve-pence to be paid annually at the feast of Pentecost, and the said land is worth yearly five shillings in all issues. Sum, fifteen shillings. The aforesaid jurors also say that the said Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day he died two

[b] West Ashby and High Toynton were soke of the manor of Horncastle, and after that manor had escheated to the crown, King Henry the Second had given land of the value of fifteen pounds annually to Geoffrey de Nevill on these two vills, which King John confirmed to his son, Henry de Nevill, by a charter dated at Seez on the 7th day of August, in the first year of his reign, 1199. In the *Testa de Nevill*, under Horncastle wapentake, are these entries; "Gerard de Rodes in the soke of Horncastle eighty-six librates of land of the gift of King John, but we know not by what service. Henry de Nevill in the same soke in Askebi and in Tington fifteen librates of land of the gift of the lord the king by the service of one knight, whereof Ralph de Barkeworth holds one hundred shillings' worth for the third part of one knight of the gift of the same Henry de Nevill."

bovates of land there of John de Orreby by the service of twenty-four pence to be paid annually at the term of St. Martin in the winter, and are worth annually in all issues fourteen shillings. Sum, fourteen shillings. Sum of the whole extent two pounds fourteen shillings, out of which are paid five shillings and eight-pence, and there remains clear two pounds eight shillings and four-pence [c].

[c] Barkwith (Barkeworth) gives name to two villages in the now hundred of Wraggoe, distinguished as East and West. At the time of the survey of the Conqueror in Barkwith six bovates of land were soke of South Willingham, and other six of Panton, manors belonging to the see of York. Of the land of Roger de Poitou were two manors in Hainton, one held by Albert, ancestor of the family of Grelle or Gresley, with soke in Sixhill, Barkwith, and Southry, which is thus entered. "Second manor. In Haintone Clac and Sendi had one carucate and half a bovate subject to Danegeld. Land to two ploughs. There Albert, the vassal of Roger, has one plough and three villains ploughing with three oxen, and fifty-four acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth fifty shillings, now sixty shillings. In Barcuurde and Sutrei, inland two bovates, and soke three bovates of this manor subject to Danegeld. There six sokemen and two villains have two ploughs. There one fishery and sixteen acres of meadow, and twenty acres of wood pasturable." Under the land of Rainer de Brimou is this entry; "Manor. In Barcvorde Code had four bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to one plough. There Girard, the vassal of Rayner, has five oxen in a plough and one villain with one ox in a plough and nine acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth ten shillings and now." Of the land of the bishop of Baieux was another manor in Hainton having soke of three bovates in Bacuurde, and in the tenure of Ilbert de Lacy. Of the land of Erneis de Burun was the manor of Wragby with "soke Barcourde, two carucates of land and two bovates of land subject to Danegeld. Land to three ploughs. There ten sokemen have one plough. In demesne Ernegis one plough and a church and thirty-three acres of meadow." In the Catalogue of tenants of lands in Wraghehou wapentake, in 1106, the archbishop of York is said to have in Panton and Barkwith two carucates and six bovates, which Gislebert Tyson had-held, and six bovates in Barkwith, which Richard de Verli holds. The count of Mortain in Hainton three carucates, which Albert holds. Ralph de Criol in Willingham one carucate, and in Strubby two bovates, and in Kingthorpe the third part of one carucate of land, and the fourth part of one bovate, and in Barcworth and Hainton one carucate, and in Ludford half a bovate, and five bovates in Sixhills. Ralph Paganel between Hainton and Barkwith and Strubby and Fotherby two carucates and five bovates. Geoffrey Fitz-Payn in Barkwith two carucates and two bovates. Robert Greslet one carucate and four bovates and a half in Caldecote of the king. In his descendants the manor of Hainton with the inland in Barkwith, held by Albert, father of Robert, remained, and was held by this John de Wurth of Thomas de Grelle, together with the barony of Scoteny, acquired by descent from Ralph de Criol. The chief seat of the family of Grelle or Gresley, in Lincolnshire, was at Swineshead in the parts of Holland, Lincolnshire, which was belonging to Robert Gresle in 1185, then in his minority, and son of Albert de Gresle and of a daughter of Thomas Basset. Robert de Gresley and Albert, his son, were the founders of the abbey of St. Mary of Swineshead in 1133, endowing it with the mill of Caldecote and one bovate of land in Hainton. Another of this family, probably the same Robert, founded the priory of Sixhill, for nuns and canons of the order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, and lands at Barkwith were parcel of

Harpswell. The aforesaid jurors also say that the said Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day he died cer-

the endowment. Thomas de Gresley, named in the text, was a baron of parliament in the reign of King Edward the Second, but dying without issue in the seventh year of this reign, Joan, his sister, the wife of John de la Warre, succeeded to his inheritance in Lincolnshire, comprising the manors of Swineshead, Sixhill and Bloxham. The descent of the barony of Scoteny is thus set forth in the Testa de Nevill, and proves this family to have been heirs of Ralph de Criol, who in 1108 held in the wapentake of Louthesk in Alvingham two bovates and half a bovate, and in Cockerington one carucate and six bovates, and in Somercotes one bovate, and in Saltfleetby one bovate and a half, and in Keddington four bovates, and in Wykeham one carucate, and in Withcall one carucate and seven bovates, and the third part of one bovate; in the wapentake of Aslacoe in Ingham four bovates; in Walshcroft wapentake in Stainton-le-Hole five bovates and a half, and in North Willingham one bovate, and in Otteby one carucate, and in Newton three bovates; in Bradley wapentake in Holton le Clay seven bovates; in Yarborough wapentake in Great Limber two carucates; in Calceworth wapentake in Mawthorpe, and Cumberworth and Sutton, and in Ulceby one carucate and six bovates and half a bovate, and in Wraggoe wapentake in South Willingham one carucate, and in Strubby two bovates, and in Kingthorpe the third part of one carucate of land, and the fourth part of one bovate, and in East Barkwith and Hainton one carucate, and in Ludford half a bovate, and in Sixhill five bovates. Louthesk wapentake. Ralph de Criholla held in chief of the lord the king one carucate and six bovates in Cockerington, and in Somercotes one bovate, and in Saltfleetby one bovate and a half, and in Keddington four bovates, and in Wykeham one carucate, and in Withcall one carucate and seven bovates and the third part of a bovate. And Hugh de Scoteny, heir of the aforesaid Ralph, afterwards held the fiefs and tenements. And of the aforesaid tenements the aforesaid Hugh gave to the priory of Markby in pure frankalmoign two bovates of land in Wykeham. And afterwards Thomas de Scoteny, who had been the heir of the aforesaid Hugh after Lambert de Scoteny, gave to the aforesaid priory one bovate in Wykeham in pure frankalmoign. By a charter Hugh de Scoteny, with the assent of Lambert, his son, and of Beatrix, his wife, gave to the priory of Blessed Mary of Alvingham the third part, which he had in the church of Blessed Mary erected on that site, where the same convent remains, and all the lands which the men of his fief had given in frankalmoign to the same church, and to the church of St. Leonard of Cockerington, and to the church of St. Margaret of Keddington, together with the church of Cockerington, and a mill and lands there, with his daughter, in the chapter-house of the cathedral of Lincoln, in the presence of Robert de Cheney, bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of King Stephen. Lambert de Scoteny, the son of Hugh, died without issue in the seventh year of the reign of King John, leaving the sons of his two sisters, Thomas, son of Berta, and William, son of Aumirais, his heirs, whereupon Thomas de Scotteny gave the lord the king one hundred pounds and one palfrey for having his reasonable part, then in the king's hand, of the barony, which was belonging to him, which had been that of Lambert de Scoteny, with the elder sister's share, in the bailiwick of the sheriff of Lincolnshire. He was deceased in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Henry the Third, 1246, seized of fiefs, which extended into Stainton-le-Hole, Great Limber, Wykeham, Cockerington, Ingham, Kingthorpe, Hainton, and Barkwith. Peter de Scoteney, his son and heir, was deceased in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward the First, 1277, seized of the barony of Scoteney, comprising fiefs in Stainton-le-Hole, Otteby, Great Limber, and North Willingham, leaving a son and heir, Peter de Scotney, by his wife Isabella, who had dower of his lands. This second Peter de Scotney was summoned from the county of Lincoln to perform military service against the

tain lands and certain tenements in Harpswell of Sir William le Breton, knight, by the service of a pair of spurs price six-pence to be paid at the term of Easter, namely, a certain capital messuage there, which is worth annually two shillings, and eight bovates of arable land there containing one hundred and twenty-four acres, and they are worth annually forty-two shillings and eight-pence, price of the acre four-pence, and seven acres of meadow, which are worth annually seven shillings, price of the acre twelve-pence. And there are certain free tenants, who render annually fifty-one shillings and seven-pence at the terms of Easter and St. Martin by equal portions. Sum, one hundred and two shillings and three-pence. The said jurors also say that the same Robert held in his demesne as of fief on the day he died certain lands there of John Netelton by what service they say they are ignorant, and they say that certain free tenants there hold those lands in fief, and render for the same to the aforesaid Robert yearly half a mark at the two terms aforesaid of Easter and St. Martin by equal portions. Sum, six shillings and eight-pence. Sum of the whole extent one hundred and eight shillings and eleven-pence, out of which are paid six-pence, and there remains clear one hundred and eight shillings and five-pence[d].

Scots in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of King Edward, 1301, and apparently was deceased without issue in the same reign, leaving Joan, the daughter and heiress of John de Wurth, and wife of Richard Knyvet of Southwick, com. North., his niece and heiress. The land of Nicholas Tuchet in Barkwith was of the fief of Paynell, which was held by Ralph in 1108, the lineal descendant of Odo and Simon Tuschet. In the *Testa de Nevill*, under wapentake of Wraghou, are these entries; "Richard Tuschet holds in Hainton the fief of one knight of Geoffrey de Beninworth, and the same Geoffrey of Hugh Paynell, and the same Hugh of the lord the king in chief. Grace de L'Isle holds in Hainton, Barkwith, and Strubby, the fief of one knight of Thomas de Scoteny, and the same Thomas of the lord in chief. The same Grace holds the fief of one knight of Thomas de Greyley, and the same Thomas of the lord the king in chief. The land of Geoffrey Fitz-Payn descended to his son William Trussebut, who enfeoffed Richard Trussebut in nine carucates and two bovates of land in Panton and Hatton and Barkwith, for the service of two knights. His daughter and heiress Constantia Trussebut, held these same knight's fiefs of William de Ros, the heir of William Trussebut, in 1242, and was afterwards the wife of John de Orby, descended of the family of that local surname, founders of the abbey of Hagnaby, and which had of the gift of John de Orby, subsequent to this marriage, certain lands in Barkwith, yielding one pound four shillings annually.

[d] Harpswell was at the time of the survey partly in the soke of Kirton in Lindsey to the extent of two carucates and six bovates and a half; and the archbishop of York had a manor of five bovates and a half, and Gozelin, son of Lambert, a manor of two carucates and a half, with a moiety of the advowson of the church. In 1108 Gilbert, son of Gozelin, had in Harpswell two carucates and four bovates, and the archbishop of York five bovates and a half. Matilda, the daughter and heiress of Gilbert, married Regi-

The aforesaid jurors also say that Ralph de Barkeworth is son of the aforesaid Robert, and his next heir, and is of the age of ten years and more." The following writ was issued upon the receipt of this inquisition by the king for further inquiry.

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to our beloved and faithful Walter de Gloucester, his escheator beyond Trent, greeting. Although by the inquisition, which we have caused to be made by you, we have learnt that Robert de Barkeworth, deceased, had held of us in chief, on the day on which he died, as of the barony of Gaunt, being in our hand, by military service, nevertheless because that inquisition does not make mention whether the barony aforesaid is in our hand, as of the crown, and whether the same Robert had held elsewhere of us in chief on the day on which he died or not, we enjoin you that by the oath of honest and lawworthy men of your bailiwick, by whom the truth of the matter may be better known, you diligently enquire whether the said barony be in our hand, as of the crown, or whether the said Robert might have held elsewhere of us in chief, on the day on which he died, as of the same crown, as is abovesaid, or not: and if so, then in what manner the same barony may be in our hand as of the crown and by what means, and what lands and what tenements the said Robert had held of us in chief on the day of his decease as of the same crown, and where and by what service, and how much those lands and tenements are worth yearly in all issues. And do you send without delay the inquisition thereof distinctly and openly made to us under your seal, and the seals of those by whom it shall have been made and this writ. Witness myself at Carlisle, on the fifteenth day of June, in the thirty-fifth year of our reign.

Lincoln. Inquisition made before the escheator of the lord the king at Wragby, on the first day of July in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward the First, after the conquest, according to the tenor of the writ of the lord the king, attached to this inquisition, by Richard King of Edlington, Thomas Clerk of Barkworth, John de Wragby, Adam Futemer of Barton, Roger Daug of Benniworth, William

nald de Crevecuer, and this line ended in a daughter Cecilia, the wife of Walter de Nevill, brother of Geoffrey de Nevill the chamberlain, who held the fief of half a knight in Harpswell of her gift. Hence the land held of Sir William le Breton, knight, was doubtless that in the soke of Kirton, as also that of John Nettleton.

West of the same, James le Fennur of the same, Richard le Coupert of the same, Richard Foyle of the same, William Maresall of Poolham, William de Poolham and Alan Devyle of the same, who say upon their oath that the barony of Gaunt is not in the hand of the lord the king as of the crown, but by reason of a certain feofment, which Gilbert de Gaunt, deceased, who had held the said barony formerly of the king in chief, long before his death, had made thereof to the lord the king, who now is, and not in any other manner. And they say that Robert de Barkeworth, deceased, held no lands or tenements of the lord the king in chief as of the crown on the day on which he died. In testimony of which verdict the aforesaid jurors had affixed their seals to this inquisition.

Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to his beloved clerk, Roger de Wellesworth, his escheator beyond Trent, greeting. Richard Knyvet of Suthwyck, and Joan, his wife, daughter and heir of John de Wurth, deceased, have shewn to us that when Robert de Barkeworth, lately deceased, had been tenant on the day he died of certain lands and certain tenements with the appurtenances in Barkworth of them Richard and Joan by military service by reason of the lands and tenements, which the same Richard and Joan hold in Haynton of Thomas de Grelle, of which the same Richard and Joan had been seized on the day on which the same Robert died, as of the inheritance of the same Joan, and the custody of the same lands and tenements by reason of the minority of William, son and heir of the aforesaid Robert, ought to belong to the same Richard and Joan, until the legitimate age of the same heir, nevertheless Walter de Gloucester, late escheator of the lord Edward, formerly king of England, our father, beyond Trent, took into the hand of the king, our father, the same lands and tenements, for the reason that twenty acres of land with the appurtenances in Haynton, which had been in like manner of the inheritance of the same Joan, and which are held of us by the service of the seventieth part of the fief of one knight, as of the honour of Scotenny, then had been and are now in our hands, because the said Joan had not then proved her age, although she was of full age. By which pretext the same lands and tenements are still in our hand, to the great prejudice and to the manifest danger of the disinherison of the same Richard and Joan,

wherefore they have earnestly supplicated us that we cause our hand to be taken off from the said lands and tenements, which so belong to them, as is alleged. (After this statement of the allegations of these parties follows an injunction for taking an inquisition.) Witness myself at Berwick-upon-Tweed, sixth day of July, in the fourth year of our reign, (1311).

Lincolnshire. Inquisition made before the escheator of the lord the king at Lincoln, on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward the Second, after the conquest, according to the tenor of the writ of the lord the king attached thereto by twelve jurors; who say upon their oath that the aforesaid Robert de Barkeworth held on the day on which he died one messuage and six bovates of land and a half with the appurtenances in Barkeworth of the aforesaid Richard Knivet, and Joan, his wife, by reason of the aforesaid lands and tenements in Hainton by the service of the eighth part of a fief of one knight. They also say that the aforesaid Richard and Joan held the aforesaid messuage and lands, together with other lands and tenements in Hainton, of Thomas de Grelle by the service of the fief of one knight. They also say that the aforesaid Richard and Joan had been seized of the same lands and tenement, which are held of the aforesaid Thomas in Hainton, as is abovesaid, on the day on which the aforesaid Robert died. They also say that Robert de Barkworth had not held on the day aforesaid other lands and tenements of the lord the king in chief in the county of Lincoln or elsewhere."

From this inquisition we learn that the elder brother, Ralph de Barkeworth, had died under age, as did also this William, for the successor to the patrimony was John de Barkeworth, knight of the shire of Lincoln, in the twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Second, 1326, who married Elizabeth, third daughter and coheir of William de St. Croix, and of Agnes, his wife, daughter and coheir of Robert de Marcham, with whom he had a share in the manor of Tuxford, com. Notts. Having survived his wife, Elizabeth, Sir John de Barkeworth was deceased in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, 1354, seized of eighty acres of land in the vill of Tuxford by the curtesy of England of the inheritance of Elizabeth, his wife, leaving John, son of Robert, son of the aforesaid John de Barkeworth,

his grandson and next heir of the age of twenty-one years. John, son of Robert de Barkeworth, was deceased in the thirty-first year of the same reign, 1357, without issue, leaving Joan, his sister and next heir, of the age of twenty-five years. This lady married first Thomas Thimelby of Thimbleby, who died in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Edward the Third, 1353, by whom she had a son of the same name, and secondly, Edward Lovetoft, who, in the thirty-seventh year of Edward the Third, 1363, held the lands, which were those of John, son of Robert de Barkeworth, the third part of the third part of the manor of Tuxford. Joan survived also this second husband, and an inquisition, *post mortem*, in the sixth year of Henry the Fourth, 1405, describes her to have died seized of the manors of Skillington and of Owmby, held of the castle of Bytham, com. Linc., and certain messuages, lands and rents in Souche and Overton Watervill, and the manor of Bowdon, com. Hunts., held of the honour of Huntingdon. As there is no mention of the manor of Poolham, it had probably been transferred by her to Thomas Thimelby, her son, who was living 50 Edw. III., 1376, and in the fourth year of the reign of Richard the Second, 1380, was sheriff of Lincolnshire. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Hugh Swinford of Coleby and Kettlethorpe, com. Linc., knight, and sister of Sir Thomas Swinford, knight[e], by whom he had issue two

[e] Coleby was land of the king at the survey, and was afterwards annexed partly to the honour of Richmond and partly to the honour of Huntingdon. In the *Testa de Nevill* is this entry under wapentake of Boby; "William Caperun holds as well in demesne as in homage nineteen carucates of land of the gift of the lord the king of the lands of the Normans, but it is unknown by what service; but it is of the honour of Brittany, and the said land had been given anciently in marriage with Theophania, daughter of Count Stephen, and was again given in marriage with Oliva, sister of William the chamberlain of Tancarville. Also John de Sproxton holds there as well in demesne as in homage five carucates of land of the Lady Isabella de Brus, by the half of a fief of a knight of the honour of Huntingdon of the old feofment." In the reign of King Edward the First the manor of Colby held of the honour of Brittany, was in the king's hands after the decease of Herbert Peche; and in the 18th of Edw. II., 1324, Roger de Cubeldik died seized of a messuage, sixty acres of land, and fifteen acres of meadow in Coleby near Harmston, com. Linc., leaving Alexander, his son and heir, aged thirty years. Alexander de Cubbeldyk died seized of these same lands and tenements in the eighth year of Edward III., 1334, held of the honour of Huntingdon, leaving Roger, his son and heir, who in the nineteenth year of the same reign, 1345, made fine with the king in 20s. for having licence that he might grant to Thomas de Swynford, and Nicholaa, his wife, certain lands with the appurtenances in Coleby, to hold in a certain form. He was deceased in the thirty-fifth year of Edw. III., 1361, seized of Coleby

sons, William Thimelby, ancestor of the line of Thimelby of Poolham, of whom Thomas Thimelby of Poolham, esq., deceased 24th Eliz., 1582, was descended, leaving Katharine, his daughter and heir, married to Thomas Tilston, second son of Peter Tilston of Huxley, in the parish of Waverton, com. Chester; and Thomas, the second son, father of Richard Thimelby, and of John Thimelby, whose names occur among those in the parts of Lindsey, in the county of Lincoln, who, by writ tested at Westminster, 29th day of May, in the third year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, 1416, were appointed to array the forces previous to the expedition to France. Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas Tamworth, knight, is also mentioned in the pedigree as daughter of these parents. Richard Thimelby, by his wife Margaret Farnell, apparently nearly allied to the family of Belesby, and who was probably an heiress, as she retained her maiden name, was father of Richard Thimelby; and as the latter is described as *junior* in 1476, he will have survived up to that year. Longevity appears to have been hereditary in this family, as his son, Richard Thimelby of Irnham and Beelsby, com. Linc., esq., at the time of his decease, on the 24th day of April, in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, 1522, left Sir John Thimelby, knight, his son and heir, of the age of forty years and more. Other issue of this marriage with Elizabeth de Hilton, were Richard, Thomas, Anne, wife of John Booth, of Killingholme, com. Linc., esq., Eleanor, wife of Thomas Goodhall, gent., Elizabeth and Margaret, both nuns.

Sir John Thymelby, knight, married Margaret, daughter of John Boys of Conesby in the parish of West Halton, com.

manor near Harmeston, and of Kettlethorp manor, leaving Hugh de Swinford his son and heir. The latter was likewise deceased in the forty-sixth year of Edw. III., 1372, seized of the manor of Coleby as of the honour of Richmond and honour of Huntingdon, and of the manor of Kettlethorp with lands and tenements in Laughterton, Fenton, and Newton, in the wapentake of Well; leaving his son Hugh under age, who was in the custody of his mother Katherine. His son had name Thomas de Swinford, and was born at Lincoln on the feast of St. Mathias the Apostle, forty-eighth year of Edw. III., 1374, and baptized in the church of St. Margaret within the close of the cathedral of Lincoln, and whose mother was also named Katharine. This Thomas de Swinford, knight, died on Wednesday in the fourth week of Lent, April 2nd, 1432, in the tenth year of Henry the Sixth, leaving Sir Thomas Swynford, knight, his son and heir, of the age of twenty-six years. His issue was a son named also Thomas, born at Kettlethorp on Monday next after the feast of All Saints, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, Nov. 7th, 1435, and baptized in the church of the same place.

Linc., whose arms were or, a griffin segreant sable within two bordures gules, and his will bears date in 1550, the fourth year of the reign of Edward the Sixth. Their issue were Sir Richard Thimelby, knight, John, who married Elizabeth Chaderton of Wiltshire, Katharine, wife of William Armine of Osgodby in the parish of Lavington, com. Linc., and Elizabeth, who died unmarried. Sir Richard Thymelby, knight, sheriff of Lincolnshire 5 Edward VI., 1551, and 2 Eliz., 1560, married to his first wife Elizabeth Moore, by whom he had a son, John, deceased an infant; and to his second wife Katharine, daughter of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt of Kettleby in the parish of Bigby, com. Linc., whose arms were gules three lapwings or, by whom he had Edmund, deceased issueless in the lifetime of his father, John, his son and heir, Richard, living in 1592, married to Maud, daughter of William Joyce, and father of a son John and two daughters, Robert, Anne and Mary deceased unmarried, and Margaret, wife of Nicholas Empingham, and Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Welby of Gedney, com. Lincoln, esq., whose arms were sable a fess between three fleur-de-lis argent. Sir Richard Thimelby, knight, of Irnham, died on the 25th day of September, 32 Eliz., 1590.

John Thimelby of Irnham, esquire, married to his first wife Mary, daughter of George St. Paul of Snarford, com. Linc., esq., whose arms were argent a lion rampant bicaudé or double-queued gules, crowned or; by whom he had issue an only son Sir Richard Thimelby of Irnham, knight, and Elizabeth, wife of Henry Clifford of Brackenborough in the parish of Little Grimsby, com. Linc., esq., whose arms were checky or and azure a fess gules. The second wife of John Thimelby was Magdalen, daughter of Andrew Billesby of Bilsby, com. Linc., esquire, married in 1566, whose arms were argent a chevron between three mullets sable, by whom he had issue John, born 15th Feb. 1567, Katharine, born 16th Sept. 1570, who died an infant, William, born 26th Dec. 1572, George, born 4th Jan. 1574, Mary, born 1st Feb. 1575, Thomas, born 14th May, 1581, Robert, born 21st Oct. 1582, Katharine, born 10th Sept. 1584, Lucy, born 4th April 1586, and Nicholas, born 28th June, 1590. John Thimelby the eldest son of this second marriage, married Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles Jackson of Snydall in the parish of Normanton, com. Ebor., and was living in 1612, and had a son Charles, aged twenty-three years in 1612, besides John, Martin, William, Thomas,

George, Brian, Nicholas, Magdalen and Dorothy. Charles Thimelby of Snydall, esq., aged twenty-three years in 1612, married Anne, daughter of John Poulton of Desborough, com. North., and had issue a son John Thimelby of Snydall, esq., husband of Elianor, daughter of Edward Thorold, esquire.

Among the proceedings in Chancery in the reign of Queen Elizabeth is record of a suit between John Blewitt, plaintiff, and George Jackson, Henry Askewe, Thomas Brelesworth, and Thomas Page, defendants, the object of which was to establish certain manorial customs, and to search the books of survey, court rolls, &c., in regard of the manor and town of Harlaxton, and of the manor of Swinforth in the same parish in the county of Lincoln, of which John Thymeblebye was seised, who conveyed them to complainant in fee. The bill recites a survey of the manors taken when Sir John Thimbleby was lord thereof, and certain customs then determined on. Another suit was between Gilbert Burye, esq., plaintiff, and James Wadeson, the parson, Thomas Tydd and others, inhabitants of Colsterworth, com. Linc., defendants, being a bill to establish a title to waste lands in the manor of Wulsterthorpe, in the parish of Colsterworth, and in a large waste thereto belonging, purchased by plaintiff of John Thymbleby, esquire. Another suit was between John Rumney, plaintiff, and William Wentworthe, defendant, being a bill to protect title under an extent and referring to these premisses in the county of York, namely, the manor of Stubhouse, and a capital messuage and lands in Lofthouse, in the parish of Harewood, late the estate of Richard Thimilby, esquire, and which were delivered to Thomas Rumney, deceased, plaintiff's father, under an extent against the said Thimilby's lands.

Of the following reign of King James the First the annexed writ and inquisition has been preserved; "James king of England &c. to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, greeting. Because John Thymelby of Irneham in the county of Lincoln, esquire, and Richard Thymelby, son and heir apparent of the aforesaid John, on the 10th day of May in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of the Lady Elizabeth, late queen of England, (1586) before Sir Edmund Anderson, knight, then chief justice of the bench of the said lady the queen, acknowledged themselves to owe to Thomas Bedingfield of Clerkenwell in the county of Middlesex, esquire, one of the gentlemen pensioners of the said late queen, four hundred pounds, which they ought

to have paid to the same Thomas on the feast of Pentecost then next to come, and they have not as yet paid them to him, nor does either of them as yet pay, as is said; we enjoin you that you cause the bodies of the aforesaid John and Richard in your bailiwick to be arrested and safely guarded in our prison, until they shall have made full satisfaction of the aforesaid four hundred pounds to John Skellicorn, esquire, executor of the will of the aforesaid Thomas, and all the lands and chattels of the same John Thymelby and Richard in your bailiwick to be diligently extended and appraised according to the true value of the same, by the oath of honest and lawworthy men of the same your bailiwick, by whom the truth of the matter may be better known, and to be seized into our hands, so as you may deliver them to the aforesaid executor, until he shall have been fully satisfied of the aforesaid four hundred pounds according to the form of the statute published and enacted at Westminster for the recovery of debts of this kind. And in what manner this our precept shall have been executed, do you make known to us in our bench in fifteen days from the Holy Trinity, after making the aforesaid inquisition and extent, by your letters sealed and sent, together with this writ. Witness myself at Westminster on the 7th day of May in the sixteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fifty-first." (7th May, 1618).

Inquisition indented taken at Grantham in the county of Lincoln, on the twenty-seventh day of May, in the sixteenth year of the reign of King James the First, before Anthony Thorold, esquire, escheator of the county aforesaid, by twelve jurors, "who say that John Thymelby, esquire, and Richard Thymelby, son and heir apparent of the aforesaid John, named in the aforesaid writ, are seized, or one of them is seized, in their demesne as of fief of and in the manor of Irnham with the appurtenances, together with all lands and tenements with their appurtenances in Irnham in the county aforesaid, of the annual value in all issues beyond reprises of one hundred and sixty pounds; and of and in the manor of Corby with the appurtenances, together with all and singular the lands and tenements with their appurtenances in Corby in the county aforesaid, and of the annual value in all issues beyond reprises of forty pounds. And the aforesaid jurors say upon their oath that the said John Thymelby and Richard Thymelby on the tenth

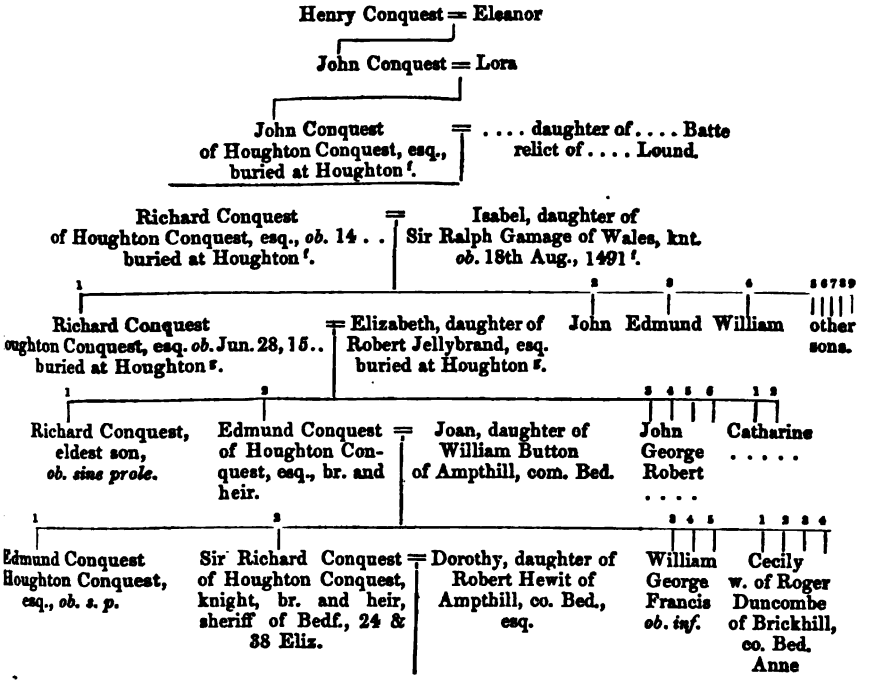
day of May, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of the Lady Elizabeth, late queen of England, (10th May, 1586,) or ever since up to the day of the caption of this inquisition, had no goods or chattels nor any thing else, or more lands and tenements in the county aforesaid, which the aforesaid jurors have been able in any manner to ascertain upon the caption of this inquisition." Indorsed as follows; "which aforesaid manors, to wit, and the rest of the premisses aforesaid, I, the aforesaid sheriff, on the twenty-seventh day of May in the sixteenth year of the reign of King James the First, have caused to be diligently extended according to the true value of the same, and to be seized into the hands of the lord the king, in order that I may cause them to be delivered to the said John Skellicorn, executor of the will of Thomas Bedingfield, named in the aforesaid writ, until he shall have been satisfied of the specified debt of four hundred pounds according to the form of the statute published and enacted thereof at Westminster."

Sir Richard Thimelby of Irnham, com. Linc., knight, married Mary, daughter of Edward Brooksby of Shouldby, com. Leicester, esq., whose arms were party per fess undee argent and sable, a canton gules; by whom he had issue three sons, John, Richard, and Edward, and a daughter Elizabeth, one of the ladies of the bedchamber to Queen Henrietta-Maria, in 1634, being then the wife of Richard Conquest, com. Bedf., esq. Sir John Thimelby of Irnham, knight, married Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir Thomas Savage, baronet, created 6th Nov., 1626, Viscount Savage of Rocksavage, co. Chester, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter and eventually coheir of Thomas D'Arcy Earl Rivers, who was herself after the decease of her husband, 20th Nov., 1635, and that of her father, 21 Feb., 1639, created Countess Rivers for life, 21st April, 1641, whose arms were argent, six lioncels, three, two, one, sable. The issue of this marriage were two sons, John and Robert, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Henrietta-Maria, named after the queen, who died unmarried. Sir John Thimelby had a residence in London in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, and, having made his will, 10th May, 1661, died there on the 13th Dec. following. At the date of this will, proved 23 Jan., 1662, his daughter Elizabeth was unmarried; but she subsequently became the wife of Francis Cottington of Fonthill Giffard, com. Wilts, esq., son and heir of Sir Francis Cottington, knight, the nephew of Francis, Lord Cottington of Han-

worth, com. Midd., prior to 1665, in as much as Francis, son of Francis Cottington, esq., and of Elizabeth, his wife, was baptized in the church of Fonthill, 23rd April, 1666, but died an infant. The 14th day of December following was that of the burial of her husband; who thus dying without issue, his brother Charles Cottington succeeded to the inheritance. Her second husband was Henry Lumley, next heir of Richard the first earl of Scarborough, and she is so described in the will of her mother, Lady Thimelby, dated 17th Nov., 1685, and proved 13th June, 1687. She died in the lifetime of this second husband without issue. Robert Thymelby, the second brother, died unmarried in 1690. John Thymelby of Irnham, esq., the eldest son, married Dorothy, daughter of Robert, third Lord Petre of Writtle, com. Essex, whose arms were gules, a bend or, between two escallops argent; by whom he had issue two sons, who died infants, and Mary, wife of Thomas Giffard of Chillington, com. Staff., esq., whose arms were azure three stirrups or, and who was deceased in the lifetime of his father-in-law in 1699. John Thimelby died on the 25th day of June, 1712, in his seventy-eighth year, and his wife Dorothy on the 9th of December, 1720, in her eighty-sixth year. In the church of Irnham is this monumental inscription. "Infra jacent corpora Joannis Thimelby, Armigeri (cujus progenitor Richardus Thimelby de Polham duxit filiam et Heredem Godfredi Hilton, militis, cujus mater erat filia et heres Andreæ Luttrel, militis, et per hoc conubium diversa maneria et hanc totam parochiam de Irnham sibi et successoribus suis per multas generationes in directo descensu inde ortis acquisivit), ac etiam Dorotheæ uxoris ejus filiæ Illustrissimi Domini Roberti Petre Baronis de Writtle, propter beneficentiam, eximiam charitatem aliasque Christianas virtutes ambo admodum insignes. Qui quidem Joannes obiit vicesimo quinto Junii anno MDCCXII, Ætatis suæ septuagesimo octavo. Dicta autem Dorothea ex hac vita migravit nono Decembris anno MDCCXX, ætatis suæ octogesimo sexto, quibus propicietur Deus. Nati sunt eis duo filii ambo in infantia surrepti et una filia Maria, nunc vidua Thomæ Giffard de Chillington in agro Staffordiensi, Armigeri, qua in memoriam Charissimorum Parentum hoc posuit."

Having no issue, Mrs. Mary Giffard by her will devised the estate of Irnham to Benedict Conquest of Houghton Conquest, esq., a descendant of the marriage above mentioned, her cousin

and heir-at-law, whose arms were quarterly, argent and sable, a label of three points, and his pedigree, as follows:


Henry Conquest = Eleanor
John Conquest = Lora
John Conquest of Houghton Conquest, esq., buried at Houghton [f]. = ... daughter of .... Batte relict of .... Lound.
Richard Conquest of Houghton Conquest, esq., ob. 14 .. buried at Houghton [f]. = Isabel, daughter of Sir Ralph Gamage of Wales, knt. ob. 18th Aug., 1491 [f].
Richard Conquest oughton Conquest, esq. ob. Jun. 28, 15.. buried at Houghton [g]. = Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Jellybrand, esq. buried at Houghton [g].
John
Edmund
William
other sons.
Richard Conquest, eldest son, ob. sine prole.
Edmund Conquest of Houghton Conquest, esq., br. and heir.
Joan, daughter of William Button of Ampthill, com. Bed.
John
George
Robert
....
Catharine .....
Edmund Conquest Houghton Conquest, esq., ob. s. p.
Sir Richard Conquest of Houghton Conquest, knight, br. and heir, sheriff of Bedf., 24 & 38 Eliz.
Dorothy, daughter of Robert Hewit of Ampthill, co. Bed., esq.
William George Francis ob. inf.
Cecily w. of Roger Duncombe of Brickhill, co. Bed.
Anne

[f] On an altar-tomb on the north side of the chancel of the church of Houghton Conquest are three effigies in brass of a lady between two men in plate armour except their heads, which are uncovered. Beneath the figure on her left hand are nine sons standing, their hands joined. Below the figure on her right hand is a shield with this impalement, quarterly, argent and sable a label of three points, the arms of Conquest, and first and fourth a bend with a chief, and second and third, checquy a fess, doubtless the arms of Gamage. The shield below the figure on her left hand is no longer remaining; but the inscription is as follows:

Hic jacent Johannes Conquest, armiger, nuper Dominus de Houghton, et Ricardus Conquest, filius et heres ejusdem Johannis, ac Isabella, uxor ejus. Qui quidem Ricardus obiit die Anno Domini MCCCCC . . . et predicta Isabella obiit XVIII. die Augusti, Anno domini, MCCCCCXCI. quarum animabus propicietur Deus.
Amen.

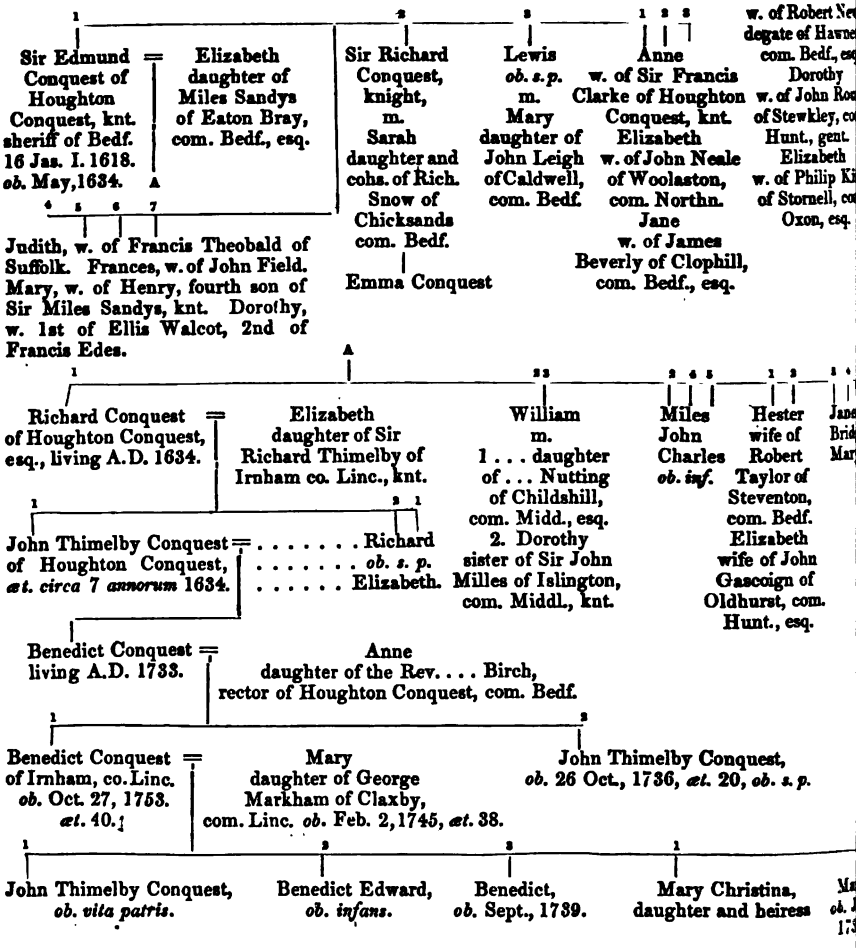
This tomb had been erected by Richard Conquest in his lifetime, after the decease of his wife, with the intention of having his own day of decease inserted after its occurrence; but which was never put in execution.

[g] On a floor-stone in the nave of Houghton Conquest church are represented in brass the effigies of Richard Conquest in plate armour without helmet, the hands joined, and of Elizabeth his wife with an angular cap on her head. On a brass label above them

Orate pro mortuis quia morientur.

Under the effigy of Richard Conquest are six sons, and under that of his lady, two daughters. Over the head of the husband is a shield of his arms: and over that of his lady, argent, two swords, saltierwise in their scabbards sable, hilts and pomels, or, the arms of Gillibrand. This inscription beneath:

Hic jacet Ricardus Conquest, armiger, et Elizabetha uxor ejus, qui quidem Ricardus obiit XVIII die Mensis Junii, Anno Domini Millesimo CCCCC°.... Et dicta Elizabetha obiit die.... Anno Domini M.C..... quarum animabus propicietur Deus.
Amen.


Sir Edmund Conquest of Houghton Conquest, knt. sheriff of Bedf. 16 Jas. I. 1618. ob. May, 1634.
Elizabeth daughter of Miles Sandys of Eaton Bray, com. Bedf., esq.
Judith, w. of Francis Theobald of Suffolk. Frances, w. of John Field. Mary, w. of Henry, fourth son of Sir Miles Sandys, knt. Dorothy, w. 1st of Ellis Walcot, 2nd of Francis Edes.
Sir Richard Conquest, knight, m. Sarah daughter and cohs. of Rich. Snow of Chicksands com. Bedf.
Emma Conquest
Lewis ob. s. p. m. Mary daughter of John Leigh of Caldwell, com. Bedf.
Anne w. of Sir Francis Clarke of Houghton Conquest, knt.
Elizabeth w. of John Neale of Woolaston, com. Northn.
Jane w. of James Beverly of Clophill, com. Bedf., esq.
Dorothy w. of John Ros of Stewkley, co Hunt., gent.
Elizabeth w. of Philip Ki of Stornell, co Oxon, esq.
Richard Conquest of Houghton Conquest, esq., living A.D. 1634.
Elizabeth daughter of Sir Richard Thimelby of Irnham co. Linc., knt.
William m. 1 . . . daughter of . . . Nutting of Childshill, com. Midd., esq. 2. Dorothy sister of Sir John Milles of Islington, com. Middl., knt.
Miles
John
Charles ob. inf.
Hester wife of Robert Taylor of Steventon, com. Bedf.
Elizabeth wife of John Gascoign of Oldhurst, com. Hunt., esq.
John Thimelby Conquest of Houghton Conquest, æt. circa 7 annorum 1634.
. . . . . Richard
. . . . . ob. s. p.
. . . . . Elizabeth.
Benedict Conquest living A.D. 1733.
Anne daughter of the Rev. . . . Birch, rector of Houghton Conquest, com. Bedf.
Benedict Conquest of Irnham, co. Linc. ob. Oct. 27, 1753. æt. 40.
Mary daughter of George Markham of Claxby, com. Linc. ob. Feb. 2, 1745, æt. 38.
John Thimelby Conquest, ob. 26 Oct., 1736, æt. 20, ob. s. p.
John Thimelby Conquest, ob. vita patris.
Benedict Edward, ob. infans.
Benedict, ob. Sept., 1739.
Mary Christina, daughter and heiress

Mary Christina, sole surviving daughter and heiress of Benedict Conquest of Irnham, com. Linc. esq., married, 31st May, 1763, Henry Arundell, eighth Lord Arundell of Wardour, com. Wilts, and count of the holy Roman empire, born 3rd March, 1740, and deceased at Wardour 4th Dec., 1808, and had issue two daughters, Mary-Christina, born 10th Aug., 1764, married to James-Everard, ninth Lord Arundell of Wardour, 3rd Feb., 1785, and deceased 14th Feb., 1805, in the lifetime of her mother, leaving issue James-Everard, tenth Lord Arundell of Wardour, and other children; and Eleanor-Mary, born March 20th, 1766,

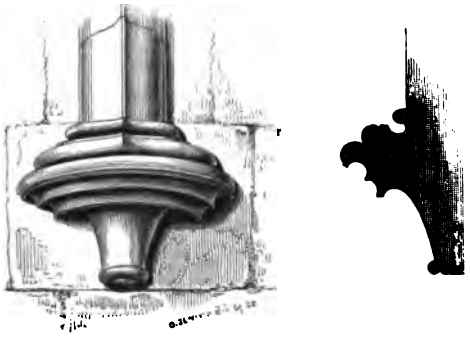
HOLY TRINITY PRIORY, YORK.

GATEWAY OF TRINITY PRIORY

CORBEL TABLE OF THE GATEWAY

SECTION OF THE ARCH.

married to Charles, sixth Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, com. Devon., Nov. 29th, 1786, who was living at the time of the decease of Mary Christina, dowager Lady Arundell, on the twentieth day of June, 1813, and by her will acquired the manor of Irnham with remainder to her second son, Charles Thomas Clifford. Charles, sixth Lord Clifford, died April 29th, 1831, leaving Hugh Charles, present and seventh Lord Clifford, his son and heir, and his widow surviving. On her decease Nov. 24th, 1835, Charles-Thomas named above succeeded to the manor of Irnham and is the present possessor. Upon the decease of James-Everard, tenth Lord Arundell, June 21st, 1834, Henry-Benedict, his brother and heir, became the eleventh Lord Arundell of Wardour, and in him and Lord Clifford the representation of Ralph Paynell, the founder of the priory of the Holy Trinity of York, and lord of Irnham, is now vested.



Early English Corbel, from the Church of the Holy Trinity, York.

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LAMBERT SYMNELL'S REBELLION IN THE SECOND YEAR OF KING HENRY VII.

SELECTED FROM THE MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF YORK,
BY ROBERT DAVIES, ESQ., F.S.A.

Of the insurrectionary movement which was headed by the Earl of Lincoln and Viscount Lovel in favour of the impostor Lambert Symnell in the early part of the reign of King Henry VII., the fullest account is given in the *Historia Anglica* of Polydore Vergil[a]; and this has been implicitly adopted by Grafton and the subsequent chroniclers. Some further particulars are afforded by the narrative of the herald whose journal is printed by Hearne with Leland's *Collectanea*[b], and one or two dates are supplied by the act of parliament[c] passed for the attainder of the persons engaged in the rebellion. The information we gather from these sources, which are the only original historical authorities that have hitherto appeared, is meagre and unsatisfactory. Many of the principal incidents of the story are left unexplained, and the whole remains involved in obscurity and perplexity.

The following documents, selected from the municipal archives of the city of York and now for the first time published[d], may not contribute very materially to the elucidation of this mysterious passage of our medieval history, but they will be found to disclose some new facts of considerable interest, and they cannot fail to be useful in establishing dates and corroborating statements contained in other narratives[e].

It appears that in the early part of the year 1487 the king had become acquainted with the arrival of the impostor in Ireland, and the favourable manner in which he had been received by the leading persons in that country[f]. In the

[a] Polyd. Verg. Ang. Hist., p. 569. ed. 1556.

[b] Lel. Coll. IV. 208. ed. 1774.

[c] Rot. Parl. VI. 397.

[d] With a single exception, which will be duly noticed.

[e] Perhaps it may be considered that not the least part of their value consists in the testimony they bear to the accuracy of the herald's narrative, and in thus serving to establish the authenticity of the MS. journals relating to this and some other historical transactions of the same period, which have been printed by Hearne from the originals in the Harleian and Cottonian collections.

[f] Soon after the birth of Prince Arthur, which took place on Sept. 20, 1486, "it chanced that one Sir Richard

month of February, Henry summoned his council to Richmond, and consulted with them as to the best mode of suppressing these rebellious proceedings. As the earl of Lincoln was present at the meeting of the council, it may be concluded that his fidelity to the king was then unsuspected: but, according to the herald, "incontinently afterwards he departed the land and went into Flanders to the Lord Lovel, and accompanyed himself with the king's rebels and ennemies, noising in that country that the earl of Warwick should be in Ireland, which himself knew and daily spake with him at Shene afore his departing." The act of attainder states that the earl of Lincoln sailed from England on the nineteenth of March, and it will be discovered from the York documents in what manner he and his adherents were employed during the interval.

We do not find that the municipal authorities at York had received any information respecting this affair, earlier than the thirty-first of March, when the lord mayor, aldermen, and others of the city council were assembled to hear the statement of James Taite which is recorded in the following document:—

Thappeching of James Taite and his confession made upon the same.

"Master Thomas Karlill personally appering before William Todde Maier of the Citie of York, Sir Robert Rither Sherid of the Shire there, Thomas Aspar Recordour Deputie, Richarff

Symond, a priest, had a child called Lambert Symenel to be his scholar, by whom he invented this craft and deceit, that he would make the child king of England, and himself archbishop or some high potentate in the realm: for he knew verily that many men supposed King Edward's children to be fled into some strange place, and that Edward the earl of Warwick, son to the duke of Clarence, either was or should be put to death shortly. And to the end he might better bring his purpose about, he taught the child both learning and good manners, and also to order himself as one lineally descending from a high progeny. Soon after, the rumour was that the young earl of Warwick was dead in prison. And when the priest heard of this he changed the child's name and called him Edward, after the young earl of Warwick, the which were both of one age, and then sailed into Ireland, there opening his mind to certain of the nobility, whom he knew to bear but little favour to King Henry, where he was promised aid of the Lord Geraldine, chancellor of all that country, and all that he could do. Which lord, first calling all his friends and lovers together, desired their help in restoring the young earl to his heritage, and did send certain into England to desire them that were King Richard's friends to continue in their love and faithfulness towards him, and help his nephew's [brother's] child to his right." —Grafton's Chronicle.

York John Tong John Newton and William Chymney Aldremen, Thomas Catoure William Taite Michael White Richard Hardsang William Barker and Nicholas Vicars of the Comune Counsaill of the said Citie, assembled in Counsaill the last day of March the secunde yere of the Reigne of oure Souverain Lord King Henry the Sevent, shewed and delivered unto the said Maier a bill writyn with thand of the said Master Thomas Karlill bering the tenour ensuyng:—James Taite said to Master Karlill and Sir William Artas, parson of Saynt Elyn at the Walles and to Sir George Mede and to John Lokyrmose, that the Erle of Lincoln wold giff the Kinges grace a Brekefast as it was enfourmed hyme by the Servaunt of the said Erle, and also that Sir Thomas Mallevery[g] wold take his part with many other moo, and when the King was at York that the Erle afforsaid wold have gone over the Walles[h] to Robyn of Redesdall[i] to take his part; thies wordes was said the xxx[ti]

[g] Sir Thomas Mauleverer, knight, of Allerton Mauleverer in Yorkshire. He was one of the 'feed-men' of the earl of Northumberland, and was in the train of that nobleman, when "with a right great and noble company consisting of thirty-three knights, besides esquires and yeomen," he met King Henry VII. at Barnesdale on the king's progress to the north in the preceding year. Herald's Journal, Lel. Col. IV. 186. Vide Plumpton Corr., pp. 46, 53.

[h] Wolds.

Robyn of Redesdale was the *nom de guerre* assumed by Robert Hildyard of Winestead in Holderness, who is said to have been a person of great note in the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. His father, Sir Robert Hildyard, knight, was one of the commanders of the Lancastrian forces at the battle of Towton, and was slain in the engagement. It appears that the son for some time afterwards adhered to the party of Henry VI. Robyn of Redesdale is first mentioned by the chroniclers of this period, as one of the leaders of the great Yorkshire insurrection which preceded the battle of Edgecote or Banbury, in the ninth year of Edward IV., and led to the flight and temporary deposition of that monarch. In Warkworth's Chronicle, Conyers of Hornby, another of the leaders of the Yorkshire insurgents, is named as the person "whiche called hymself Robyne of Riddesdale." But this is regarded as a mistake, because it is distinctly asserted by Hollinshed, Stowe, and others, that the true Robyn was Robert Hildyard. In the curious fragment printed by Hearne at the end of the Chronicle of Sprott, it is stated that the insurgents in the north country named their captain "Robin of Riddisdale." After his restoration King Edward IV. granted a general pardon to all those who had borne arms against him from the first rising in Yorkshire under Robyn of Redesdale; and the king's clemency probably had the effect of bringing over the Yorkshire leaders to his cause. Robert Hildyard was knighted at the coronation of King Richard III., and we find the name of Sir John Conyers, knight, of Hornby, in the list of persons present at that solemnity. Sir Robert Hildyard, as well as Sir Thomas Mauleverer, was one of the knights in the train of the earl of Northumberland on the occasion mentioned in the preceding note. But it is obvious from the York documents that the name of Robyn of Redesdale was a sort of watch-word in Yorkshire among those who had not yet become reconciled to the change of dynasty. The observation attributed by Taite to Lord Lincoln's servant, that "when the king was at York, the earl would have gone over the Wolds to Robyn of Redesdale,"

day of Marche the ij yere of King Herry the vij to me the said Thomas Karlill and to the Witnesse afforsaid at iiij of the clok at afternowne within his owne place in the said parisshing of Saint Elyn of York:—Wherupon the said James called personally to awnswer to the contentes of the same desired to have a clerk to hyme assigned to write what he wold say in that partye as well concernyng suche things as he hard as his langage uttred unto the said M^r. Thomas in that behalve, which he had assigned to hyme; And thereupon the said James on the departour of the said Maier Aldremen and Comune Counsaill from the Counsaill Chambre in his proper person appered before theme and to the said Maier delyvered a bille of his answere signed with his hand bering the tenour hereafter wrytyn:—I James Tayte rade to Retford, and upon oure Laidy day last past as I come homeward in Doncastre I hit with vij horssez of straungers and ther was amongs them a white horsse led shewing me by a Merchaunt servant that it was that was in saddell of that horsse gold and silver, than I herd that said soo and askid hyme fro whynce he come, and he said froo London, than another of the same Merchaunt men askid me wheder ther was any deth within this Citie or not and I said nay, than I shewed unto hyme that I shuld knowe oone of the company by his horsse He asking me where and howe I shuld knowe this horsse, and I said agane that I knewe hyme in York the last tyme the Kynges good grace was ther for I trowe that he was my Lord of Lincolne hobye for with me was he loged, than this man shewyng to hyme my saying he come bak unto me and askid me howe I fore and askid me where I knewe this horsse, and I said he was my Lord of Lincolnes, and he bad me say the truthe and I wist well than that by that same watch word he was my Lord of Lincolne horssen And tha, I askid hyme howe my Lord of Lincoln fore, and askid hyme where he was, and he told me as far furth as he culd undrestand that he was departid from the Kinges grace, And I askid hyme wheder to the see or to the lond, and he said, I trowe he nede not goo to the see for he hath frendes enogh upon the land, And I shewed unto hyme agane that my Lord had many good frendes in this Cuntree as far furth as I knew, and I said that bicause have more undrestanding of his

clearly points to the residence of the Hildyards in Holderness which could only be reached from York by crossing the range of Yorkshire hills called the Wolds.

communicacion. Than he shewing unto me, Thowe shall see not long too, that John of Lincoln shall geve theme all a brekefast that oweth hyme noo luff nor favour, I asking hyme that my Lord of Northumberland and he stode in condicion, he said agane he doth bot litill for us therfor we sett litill by hyme for thou shall here tell that right good gentelmen shall take my Lordes part, can ye ought tell me howe farre I have to Sir Thomas Mallevery place for we must have hyme writing or elles send it hyme. Then I askid hyme if he wold to York and he said nay I must to Hull and if I come to York I will call upon you. I come than to Wentbrig to an In and spird for thiez Merchaunts that wold ride forward to York and the good man of the house told me that they were sleping in their beddes and thiddre I come twise to spir after theme, And I desired to hostler for to tell me where he was that rode of the hoby and had not he bene I had there tarid long, than I departid from hyme and than I met betwix Daryngton and Wentbrig a man that was bowne to the servaunt of my Lord of Lincolne that lay at Wentbrig in his bed and I toke knowlage of that same man for he was somtyme of his company for he said he had sent for hyme in grete hast with a man that was with hyme hired for too goo for hyme And I come streght to York, Then thies same Merchauntes of London come unto York, and a servaunt of theires shewed me that they shuld mete the Priour of Tynmouthe[j] at the signe of the boore in York And I come to Master Karlill shewing unto hyme all manre of thinges that I had hard as afforsaid bicause of my discharge and for saving of the othe that I maid to God and the King and in noone othre wise bycause he was oone of the Kinges Chapleins: This servaunt of my Lord of Lincoln that shewed me this by the way as I come froo Doncaster hight Saunder. And I shewed unto Master Karlill the last tyme the King was here that two felows that dwelt about Middelham[k]

[j] Master Nicholas Boston, archdeacon of Saint Albans, was made prior of Tynemouth in the year 1478. In less than two years afterwards, he was charged with being irregular and censurable in the rule and government of his monastery, and after due inquiry he was deposed from his office, with a retiring pension of £10 per annum. In March 1483 he was restored to Tynemouth, and in the month of November following, at the instance of King Richard III. he obtained a grant of the office of Prior for his life. Vide Gibson's Hist. of the Monastery of Tynemouth, II. 86.

[k] It is not surprising that adherents of the Yorkists should be found in the neighbourhood of Middleham, which had been the favourite abode of Richard III. before he became king. The herald relates that during the first visit paid by Henry VII. to York

said that here is good gate for us to Robyn of Redesdall over the Walles, And this I said and noo word more litill nor mekill; And the same two felows resorted to my Lord of Lincolne houshold and come thiddre to mete and drink."

"This doone, the said Maier Aldremen and Counsaill sent to oone John Hoton hostler at the signe of the Boore within the said Citie where the Priour of Tynmouthe was lately loged, to undrestand if he of the same persons or such othre had any knawlege, Which personally appering bifore the said Maier Aldremen and Counsaill affirmed that on Monday last past a servaunt of the Priour of Tynmouthe accompayned with iij persons comyng out of the South parties and the said Priour was ther logid the said Monday, Wheropon it was determyned by the said Maier Aldremen and Counsaill that aswell the said James as the said John Huton, with the said Master Thomas Karlill and an officer of the said citie, shuld be sent with the comyssions aboveseid unto my Lord of Northumberland to take furthre examinacion in that partie, and therupon to understand his pleasur in the same, and that also furthwith oone shuld be sent with the copies of the said confessions unto the king to shewe the same unto his grace and to have knowledge of his pleasur therin and othre thinges wherwith his highnesse woll charge the said Maier Aldremen Counsaill and Comonaltie of the said Citie, which they wolbe redye to perfourmne according to ther duties."

The information contained in Taite's confession was considered by the York council of sufficient importance to be immediately despatched to the king by a special messenger, who was provided with the following letter of introduction to the bishop of Exeter, the king's secretary:—

To the right reverend Fader in God and my right especiall and singler good Lord the Bisshop of Excestre the Kinges Secretary.

Right reverend Fader in God and my right especiall and singler good Lord I comaunde me unto you with hertly thaunkes for your good Lordship shewed unto this poore

after his accession, "there were certain rebels about Ripon and Middleham which understanding the king's might and near approaching, within two days dispersed."—Lel. Coll. IV. 187.

citie at all tymes moost specially at such tymes as Maister John Haryngton hath be with you in mateirs of the same for the which we have bondon us to your continuall service. Sir, after certain reportes maid unto me concernyng langage shewed to be uttred by oone James Taite of this Citie I calling unto me certain of my brether and othre of the Counsaill of this Citie have examined the matier this day as apperith more at large in a bill herin cloused, besuching you to shew the same unto the Kinges grace and therupon undrestand furthre his pleasure therin which and all othre I shal be glad and redye to accomplisshe to the uttermast of my powre during my life by goddes grace, and that ye woll geve credence therin furthre unto this berer. And our Lord God preserve you right reverend and my right especiall and singler good Lord in felicitie. From York the last day of the month of Marche.

Youre moost humble Servant and bedeman,

WILLIAM TODDE,
Maier of the Citie of York.

The mayor also addressed the following letter to the earl of Northumberland, who was then residing at his manor-house of Leckonfield near Beverley:—

To the right prepotent and my most especiall and singler good Lord the Erle of Northumberland.

Right prepotent and my moost especiall and singler good Lord I comaunde me unto your good Lordship, and by Herry Barbour this berer send unto you such thinges as hath be doone bifore me and certain my brether, wherby ye shall undrestand such direccion as hath be taken amonges us here. Albeit I have sent John Sponer oone of oure officers unto your said Lordship, which is assigned to ride unto the Kinges Secretary with the copie of such thinges as we have sent unto you to present unto the Kinges grace if it seme to your Lordship it shall soo bee, and elles I am determyned to felow therin your pleasure froo I may undrestand the same which I beseech you that I may by writing to be delyvered unto the said John Sponer whereby I may content the myndes of my brether by whose avice it was determyned that the premissez should be shewed unto the Kynges highnesse forsaid. And as touching the furthre examinacion of Mr. Thomas Karlill and

othre more largely named in the othre writing sent unto your Lordship I trust to knawe the pleasoure of your Lordship by the said Herry Barbour, And oure Lord preserve you right prepotent and my moost especiall and singler good Lord in felicitie long to endure. From York the last day of Marche.

Your moost humble Servaunt at his litill powre

WILLIAM TODDE,

Maire of the Citie of York.

On the third day afterwards the city council were again assembled to hear the earl of Northumberland's answer to their letter:—

To the right worshipfull and my right hertly beloved frend and right trusty and welbeloved frendes the Maier of the Citie of York and his brethre Aldremen of the same and evere of tham.

Right worshipfull and right hertly biloved frende and right trusty and welbiloved frendes I comaunde me unto you and thanke you for youre curtasse writinges and message to me at this tyme sent which I have right well conceyved. And where as in part of your instruccions ye certifye me of the departour of the Erle of Lincolne, I yisterday by the Kinges moost noble lettres to me directid was asertayned of the same. And whereas ye aske myne advice in shewing the departour of the said Erle unto the Kynges Highnesse, I remitte that unto youre discrecions and wisdams. Furthermore I pray you to show your faithfull diligence for the establisshment of the good rule and peax of that citie, and to cause sure watche to be made within the said citie, and also in subduyng all ryot and riotous langage by any persone committed contrary to the well of the King oure Souverain Lord and this his realme, if any suche can be fondon to see tham punyshed. And in the performans of the premisses or in any othre thing that I may doo for the wele of you or of that citie, ye therin shall fynde me your good lord to my powre, That knoweth the blissed Trinitie who conserve you. Writyn in my Maynour of Lekynfold the first day of Aprill.

Your owne to my power

HENRY NORTHUMBERLAND.

As the letter conveying the intelligence of the earl of Lincoln's departure was not received by the earl of Northumberland until the 31st of March, it may be inferred that the fact had but recently come to the king's knowledge, and this would lead to the conjecture that Lord Lincoln was himself with his servants in Yorkshire on the 25th of March, when Taite recognised the "white hobby" he had seen the earl ride whilst he was with the king at York in the preceding year.

The king allowed three weeks to pass without noticing the important information sent to him from York. During this interval Henry was making a progress in the eastern part of his kingdom. He had left the metropolis in the second week of Lent, and passing through the county of Essex he went to Bury St. Edmunds, and thence to Norwich to keep his Easter. Leaving Norwich on Easter Monday, the 16th of April, the king proceeded by way of Cambridge Huntingdon and Northampton to Coventry, where he arrived on the 22nd of April, being the eve of the festival of St. George[1].

In the meantime the council at York had probably become uneasy under the apprehension of impending danger, and they addressed to the king the following letter, which they sent by the hands of their recorder Serjeant Vavasour, whom they provided with a letter of credence to the archbishop of Canterbury then with the king at Coventry:—

[1] "The King departede the 2d. weke of Lente, and roode into Essex, and so into Suffolke to Bery, and from thens kept his Ester at Norwiche in the bisshops paloys, and al the dyvyne servyce was al that season doon ther by the moost reverende fader in God the archebishop of Canterbury. On the Thursday the King did his halmes, and the observance of the Maundye, in the hall of the paloys. Also there wer with the King at that fest, the reverende fader in God the lorde Fox, bishop of Excester. Item, the Duc of Suffolke, the Erle of Oxynford, the Erle of Derbye, the Lorde Fitzwater, Stewarde of the King's house, Sir Robert Willoughby and a great nomber of knyghts and esquiers and in substance al the nobles of that parties, for in that time they had dayly tydings of the preparing of his rebelles and enemyes which then wer in Selande and Flawndres to the seewarde, and, (as was reportede) to lande in the realme, in what parte it was no certeynte. Wherfor the King, on the Monday in Ester weke, rode to Walsingham, and ther with good devotion did his offering. And from thens fourth towards the middes of his realme, that is to say, to Coventrye, whither dayly his true servaunts and subjects drewe towards his grace and rode by Cambrige Huntyndon and Northampton; and on Seint Georges even came to Coventrye wher he kept his fest of Seint George."—Herald's Journal. Lel. Coll. IV. 209.

To moost highe and mighty cristen prince and oure moost redoubtid souverain liege lord the Kinge.

Moste highe and mighty cristen prince and oure moost redoubtid souverain liege lord, We in oure moost humble wise recomendes us unto youre moost royall majestye, besuchinge almightye god to send your grace good and prosperoux life with the abbonndaunces of perseveraunt fortunes. Pleasit the same to be acertayned we er and evermore shal be your true and feithful subgiettes redye tobbey with oure bodis and godes any your high comaundementes aswell for the safegard of youre moost royall persone as this youre realme and in especiall in sure preservyng of this youre citie unto youre grace singulerly ayenst all othre entending the contrary. Albeit, souverain lord, youre said citie is soo greteley decayed aswell by fallyng down of the walles of the same and by takyng downe of youre Castell there by King Richard and as yet not reedified as othre in diverse wise that without the same bee more largely manned may ne cannot wel be kept ayenst youre ennymes and rebelles if they shuld as God defend approche and move werre ayenst the same; And also howe your said citie is not inhabit by the whiche ther is not half the nombre of good men within your said citie as ther hath beene in tymes past, Wherfor it wold pleas your moost noble grace if the case require that your said ennymes approche unto the same, to provide and ordane that your true citicyns therof may be conveniently assisted and releved at youre propre costes and charges, whereby we trust to God to withestond your said ennymes and kepe this youre said citie unto you souverain lord, And where also youre said citie is not well furnesshed with artilment and stuff of ordnaunce for the more diffence of the same as it hath beene heretofore soo it hath beene charged of lait in that behalve, we besuche youre moste noble grace that some of youre ordnaunce and artilment of werr might be sent hidder to the same entent, which wer a thing unto us of grete comforth and make us encouraged the more largely to withstand your said ennymes. Further to the berer herof John Vavasour, your servant at the lawe and our Recordour, we besuch your moost noble grace to geve credence in suche thinges as shall shewe unto the same upon oure behalve concernyng the premissez. And the blissed Trinitee

preserve you most highe and mighty cristen prince and oure moost redoubtid souverain liege lord evere in felicitee. From your said Citie the xxiij day of April the secunde yere of youre moost graciouse reigne.

Your moost humble subgiettes and true liegemen
the Maier Aldremen Shereffes and Comune Counsaill
of your Citie of York.

To the moost reverend Fader in God and our moost especiall and singler good lord the Archbisshop of Canterbury Chanceler of Englond.

Moost reverend Fader in God and our moost especiall and singler good lord We in our moost humble wise recomend us unto your good lordship. Pleas it the same to knowe howe at this tyme we have sent unto the Kinges grace John Vavasour, his servant at the lawe and our Recordour here, for diverse urgent causes and nececcities aswell concernyng the publique well of this his citie of York as the inhabitauntes and savegard of the same, wherein and in all other thinges which we herafter shal have to doo we besuche you to stand oure good lorde, and to geve full feith and credence unto the said John Vavasour in suche thinges as he shall shewe unto your Lordship more playnely on our behalve, And in accomplisshing thereof ye shall bynd us to be your continuall bedemen and servauntes. Moste reverend Fader in God and our moste especiall and singler good lord, the blissed Trinitie preserve you in felicite long to endure. From York the xxij day of Aprile.

Yours at ther poore powers
the Maier Aldremen Shereffes and Comune Counsaill
of the Citie of York.

The city authorities had been somewhat precipitate. On the next day after they had despatched their recorder to the king, the citizens were summoned to hear the following royal missive written at Huntingdon on the 20th of April:—

To our trusty and welbeloved the Maier Aldremen and Comones of our citie of York.

BY THE KING.

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele, and perceve wele the fast love and trouthe ye bere unto us accordingly to your dutie, and trust of your assured contynuaunce in the same, wherby ye shall cause us alwey to rest your favourable and gracious souverain lord. And for somoche peraventure as our rebelles and ther adherentes might by som crafty meanes and by espiell doo som reproche or vilany to our citie there in case ye ne wer forseying and advertised of the same, we therfor hertly pray you, and as ye tendre the welle of oure said citie and of yourself, exorte and desire you that ye have yourself from hensfurth in such await that noone espies passe by you untaken nor that any or rebelles or ther adherentes come amonges you, but that ye kepe due watche and warde for the suretie therof aswell by day as by night and from tyme to tyme as unto youre discrecions it shalbe thoght behovefull. And on this we shalbe with Godes leve be nere unto you alwey tassiste and relief you if the case require. Ye can not doo for us that we shall forget, but soo remember it hereafter that ye shall have cause of reason to thinke youre dutie unto us for wel employed. Yeven undre oure signet at oure Towne of Huntyngdon the xx day April.

The council instantly appointed proper persons to be wardens of each of the six wards into which the city was then divided, viz., Walmgate, Monkebarr, Bowtham, Castlegate, Mickillyth, and the posterne of Northstreet; and they ordered that the wardens of every ward should bring their ward in harness before the lord mayor in the Old Bayle, that "he might take a view of the whole body of the city for the defence of the same."

On Tuesday the 1st of May, a meeting of the city council was held, when the king's "noble letters was redde after the forme ensuyng:"—

To oure trusty and welbiloved the Maier Shireffes and Aldremen of our Citie of York.

BY THE KING.

Trusty and welbiloved we grete you wele, latting you wit that by sundry reportes made unto us we undrestande the faithfull diligence and wise weys that ye have used in couraging and favouring our subjiettes of oure citie there and othre for the observyng and keping of ther truthes and due obbeysaunce unto us, as to endevour them to the resistence and withstanding of oure rebelles and traitours if they arrive in thoos parties and approche our said citie, for the which your faithful acquitail and true demeanyng we thanke you hertly, praying you that like as ye have worshipfully begonne and doone ye woll persevere and continewe in the same, and ye may be assured we shalnot forget your constant trouthe and faithfull service in this partie, but soo remembre it as ye shall thinke it right welbestowed to youre wele hereafter. Yevene undre oure signet at oure citie of Coventre the xxviij day of April.

This was acknowledged by the lord mayor on the 3rd of May:—

To the moost highe and mighty cristen prince and my moost redoubtid Souverain Lord the King.

Most high and mighty cristen prince and my moost redoubtid souverain lord, in my moost humble wise I recomend me unto youre moost noble grace, and have receyved your moost graciouse letters to me direct the first day of this instant moneth of May, yeven at youre citie of Coventre the xxviij day of April of the which I am right joyus that it wold please your highnesse soo graciously to write unto me your poore subgiet in that behalve, and according to the contents therof I shall endevour me as I have begonne and doon within this your citie here to the uttermast of my powre to persevere and continewe in the same as accordith to my naturall dutie and liegeaunce as your true and faithfull subjiet redy to obbey any your highe comaundementes aswell with my bodye as

goodes at any tyme herafter. And where othrewise ye gave me in comaundement in the same youre graciouse letters to attache oone Browne within this youre said citie abiding, which I have perfourmed and hath hyme in my sure warde and keping, souverain lord soo it is that the said Browne on the tyme he was attachid was and as yet is soo evidently seck that he ne may without grete juperdie of his life travell on horsse or foote toward your highnesse furthwith. Wherfor I send unto your good grace the berer herof to undrestande your furthr pleaser threin. And if it shall please the same to have hyme conveyd in suche state as he is, I shall perfourme your high comaundement in that behalve according to my duetie in all goodly hast after perfite knowlage therof. Most high and mighty cristen prince and my moost, redoubtid souverain lord the blissed trinitie preserve you in felicitie prosperus life with the abbonndaunce of good fortunes. From your Citie of York the third day of May the secunde yere of youre moost noble reigne.

Your moost humble subgiet
WILLIAM TODDE,
Maier of this your Citie of York.

The recorder's report of the proceedings of the council was graciously received. After his arrival at Coventry, the following letters were brought to York by the king's "trusty servaunt and chaplayne, Master William Cretone:"—

To oure trusty and welbeloved the Maier Shireffes and Aldremen of our Citie of York and to the Comune Counsaill of the same.

BY THE KING.

Trusty and welbiloved we grete you wele, and have receyved your letters bering date the xxij day of the last moneth and herd your credence uppon the same by our trusty servaunt John Vavasour oone of our sergiauntes at the Lawe and your Recordour, whereby we perceve well that accordingly to your duties ye be unto us true and faithfull subgiettes for the which we tendirly thanke you and pray you of your good continuance in the same. And whereas ye desire to have assistence of us at oure costes and charges &c. knowe ye that on the comyng to

us of youre said Recordour we hadd wrtyn to diverse gentilmen that they with their company shuld addresse them to oure citie ther and have sent to them money for the same entent, as we trust ye shall shortly perceve by experience. We send to you also certayn oure letters endited to oure trusty and welbiloved William Tunstall, constable of oure Castill of Scardeburgh, chargeing hyme by the same to deliver by indentures unto you twelve serpentynes some more some less of diverse sortes garnysshed with chambre and powder therunto according, ye making the costes and charges for the cariage therof, as by the copie of the said letters herein enclosed ye may undrestand more at large. And as for the discharge in oure Eschequir that ye desire to have there for certeyne oure fefermes of oure said citie, We seeing well the true acquittaill ye be of, with your good devours diligence and hertines anempst us, be content to send and write that of the same fee ferme ye shal have due allowaunce in all goodly hast as apperteyneth. Assure yourself that ye ne shall doo unto us service nor pleaser that we shall forget but remember the same to your welles and honoures in tyme to come. Yeven undre oure signet at oure citie of Coventre the last day of April.

To my right honourable Lord the Maier of the Citie of York my masters his brethre Aldremen of the same and the Comune Counsaill of the same Citie be this deliverd.

Right honourable lord and masters I comaunde me unto you, latting you have knowlage that the Kinges grace is well pleased and content for your due obbeying of his last letter and for the keping of his intent of the same and for your politik guyding of the citee. Affore my comyng to the Kinges grace at Coventre oone of your maters was determyned, and a servant of the Kinges riden with writing and money to Sir Richard Tunstall Sir John Saville Sir Robert Rither Sheref of Yorkshire Sir Edmund Hastinges Sir John Nevill Sir Rauff Bigod and Sir Marmaduc Constable to assist your citie and the comunaltye of the same, in caas that the Kynges ennymes approche thiddre. I send you a lettre to William Tunstall for gonnys from the King and also anothre lettre to Sir Richard Tunstall for the well of the citie. Send furth ij servauntes of yours with bothe the same letters. And ye woll have any gonnez at Scarburgh ye must cary them at youre coste and

charge and this is the Kinges comaundement. And on Saint Philip day and Jacob the popes bulles wer proclamed at Coventre by my Lord Archbisshop of Canterbury and v othre bisshoppes undre stole accursing all them that holdith ayenst the Kinges title[m]. The King is gretely accompaigned and hath yit noo certain knowlage when his ennymees woll take ther shipping. As for any othre tidinges take credence to the berer of this letter. The blessed Trinitie have you in his keping. Writyn at Coventre the first day of May.—I forgat not your fraunchesse and liberties and that the knightes that the King intend to send to the citie in caas that his ennymees approche thiddreward, to be undre the rule of my Lord the Maier the which is the Kinges liuetenaunt there and he to have the chefe guyding undre the King. As to this desire the King and all his counsaill was well pleased and content therewith.

Your Servant
JOHN VAVASOUR
your Recorder.

A few days later the king wrote again from Coventry to the council at York :—

To oure trusty and welbeloved the Maier Aldremen and Comune Counsail of oure Citie of York.

BY THE KING.

" Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele. And forsomoche as we have certain knowleige in sundry wise that our rebelles bene departid out of Flaundres and goon westwardes, it is thoght by us and by oure counsaill that ye shal not nede to have any strength or company of men of werre for this season to ly amonges you, and therfore we pray you that ye woll have sad regard to the good rule and sauf keping of oure citie there,

[m] "Ther [at Coventry] the Archbisshop of Canterbury, the Bisshop of Wynchester, the Bisshop of Ely, the Bisshop of Lincoln, the Bisshop of Worcester, the Bisshop of Excester, and the priour of Coventrye, al in pontificalibus, redde and declarede the Pope's Bulls, touching the King's and the Quene's right; and ther in the Quere, in the Bisshops seete, by the auctoritie of the same bulls, cursed with boke bell and candle, al thoos that dyd any thyng contrary to ther right, and approving ther tytles good." Herald's Journal.

to the appesing of rumours and correcting of evel disposed folkes, with sending unto us youre newes from tyme to tyme. And assure your self that for this true acquitail ye have beene of unto us, wherin we pray you to continewe, we shal be soo good and gracious souverain lord unto you as of reason ye shal have good cause to thinke the same for wel employed. Yevene undre oure signet at oure citie of Coventre the iiij day of May."

King Henry had kept a strict watch over the movements of his adversaries. At the date of the preceding letter, the information he had obtained of their having departed from Flanders and gone westwards, appeared to him a sufficient reason for relaxing his vigilance, and for intimating to the authorities at York that it was no longer necessary for them to maintain the city in a posture of defence. The following letter shews that between the 4th and the 8th of May, he had left Coventry and proceeded to his castle of Kenilworth, where he was soon afterwards joined by the queen and his mother:—

To our trusty and welbiloved the Mair Aldremen and Comunaltie of oure Citie of York.

BY THE KING.

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele, and have undrestand by manyfold reportes made unto us the effectuel devoir and grete besinesses that ye put you in, for the good provision and preparacion of vitaill and othre stuff for such men of wirship and theire retenues as we late commaunded to goo thidder for the surtye and defense of our citie ther, if oure rebelles had arrived nigh thoos parties, for the which as we for many othre causes have doon, we thanke you hertely and thus by your truthes and good myndes daily to us contynued, ye have assured the favour of our good grace unto you, like as ye shall fynd in effect in such poursutes as ye shall make unto us hereafter; lating you wit that seing our rebelles, as we be ascertayned, bee departid Westwardes, we have licensid suche personnes as we comaunded to make ther repare thiddre, to depart thens for a season and to resort to you agenc if the

caas shall so require[n], and also our cousin the Erle of Northumberland entendeth hastily to be in the cuntrey nigh unto you, which we doubt not wol gladly assiste and strength you at all tymes if ye desire hym so to doo. Yeven undre ours signet at our castell of Kenelworth the viijth day of May.

From a letter to the earl of Ormond, the queen's chamberlain, written at Kenilworth on the 13th of May[o], we learn that the king had then received tidings of the landing of the rebels in Ireland on the 5th of that month; but he did not permit this intelligence to interrupt his enjoyment of the repose and domestic pleasures of Kenilworth. A subsequent letter to York shews that he remained there until the commencement of the month of June.

The following minutes and correspondence of the York council during the remaining part of the month of May seem not unworthy of a place among these selections, although they relate chiefly to matters of local interest. They present a curious picture of the turbulent disposition of our sturdy citizens at the commencement of the new dynasty; and of the mode in which the proceedings upon charges for criminal offences were conducted at this period:—

Monday the vij day of May.

Assembled in counsaill, It was shewed unto the said maier and counsaill by John Hastinges, squire at the mase, howe oone John Cure of York, walkar, said unto hyme the day bifore in the Mynster, the mayre and his brethren beyng togadder in counsaill behynd Saint Christopher[p], "Loo, John

[n] "And when the King had very worde that his ennemyes and rebelles wer landed in Irelande, the great party of the nobles of the South parties to ther great and importunat charge, wer with his Grace at his citie of Coventrye, lycensed dyvers of theym to goe to ther countryes and prepare theymself, that they myght upon a day sygned retorne unto his Grace for aide and strengeth of theymself and of the hole realme. And some nobles wolde not departe from his Grace, but sent parte of ther people into ther countries for ther releve, upon warnyng as above is saide. Then the King hymsilf roode to Kenelworth to the Queen, and to my lady the Kings moder, whither within a shorte whyle after came tydyngs that his ennemyes were londede in the north parties besidesse Furnesse Felles." Herald's Journal.

[o] Ellis's Orig. Letters. 1st series, I. 18. The editor, conceiving this letter to have reference to the affair of Perkin Warbeck, has erroneously placed it under the year 1492. It undoubtedly belongs to the period of Symnell's attempt. Vide Sir H. Nicolas's Memoir of Elizabeth of York, p. lxx.

[p] A chantry chapel in the minster, dedicated to St. Christopher.

Hastinges, loo, hath not the mayre and his brethren lattyn yone knight come hiddere to be oure Captayne? By goddes body I wold they wer all hanged, for thof they wold suffer it, in faith we wolnot."

Also it was shewed by Richard Borowe, squire, howe oone Robert Cook of York, pewterer, shuld say to hyme in the Mynster on Sonday last past in this fourme, "Master Borowe, will ye suffre thies knightes that is comyn hiddre to be captayns? By goddes body if ye woll suffre them, we wilnot, for we shall lyg it on their flesshes or evene;" And the said Richard Borowe said to the said Robert Cook; "Hold thy peas, lewed felowe, for wer not for that connysaynt that thou beres, if my lord mayre wol doo any thing for the Kinges grace, I shall cause thee to be enprisonned for thies wordes[q]."

To the moost high and mighty cristen prince and our moost redoubtid souverain liege lord the King.

Moost high and mighty cristen prince and our moost redoubtid souverain lord, We in our moost humble wise recomend us unto your highnesse, thanking your moost noble grace in that it hath pleased the same at oure moost humble peticion late maid unto youre said grace so graciously too remembre us in that ye have sent hidder for oure assistence and releef, as well in consideracion of the grete ruyne and decay of this youre said citee, as the taking down of your castell ther and as yit not reedified, your right trusty and welbiloved knighte for your body Sir Richard Tunstall, youre chapleyne Master William Cretone, and othre honourable gentilmen well accompaigned, which hath soo demeanyd them here that we and all othre weldisposid people of the same be right wel content with them, and by ther comyng and abode here gretely comforthed and enjoyed, whom we besuch your highnesse to have in the tendre favour of your grace for the same, certify-

[q] The knights whose presence in the city had excited the ire of the two citizens, John Cure and Robert Cook, were, doubtless, Sir Richard Tunstall and his colleagues who were commanded by the king "to assist the city and the commonalty of the same in case the king's enemies approached thither." This circumstance is mentioned in the recorder's letter from Coventry; (Vide antea, p. 15;) and it will be observed how carefully the recorder, in a postscript to his letter, guards himself against any suspicion of his having neglected to insist upon the privileges of the chief municipal authority, on this occasion. For the offence charged against them, Cure and Cook were held to bail, and required to find sureties.

ing furthre youre highnesse howe, according to youre moost dread comaundement contigned amonges othre thinges in youre moost noble letterz gevene at youre towne of Huntyngton the xx^{ti} day of April, we have kept due watche and warde for the surty of this your said citie aswell by day as by night, and from tyme to tyme and so we shall continue unto we have othrewise in comaundement from your said grace; And where, souverain lord, oure welbeloved brothre William Wells late mayre of this your said citie and alderman of the same, being at youre said watch as wardan and ruler therof, to oure grete hevynesse and discomforth was striken to deth by oone John Robson milner and citicyn of this youre said citie, whom we have in sure ward to be inquired of according to youre lawes and punysshed after his demeritiez in example of all othre; And for so mooch as we ne may, without the hurt of the wif of oure said brothre, take upon us within the yere to make processe concernyng the punysshment of the said John Robson without youre moost noble letters of commission be unto us directid in that partie, we threfor besuch youre moost noble grace, for soo moch as that heynouse dede wos comyt on oure said brother standing oone of the justices of your peas within youre said citie, and occupied the same tyme in youre service as wardan of youre watch at Bowthombarre, it wold pleas your grace the rather to be enclined to grant the said comission in the moost laufull and large fourme accustumed in such caas herbifore, aswell for treson as felony, if it soo shalbe fondon laufully, soo that the said heynouse dede may be punysshed, aswel in example of all othre herafter, as for the more surtye of your justices of pease and wardeyns within this youre said citie for the tyme being herafter: And where, souverain lord, othrewise at our moost humble peticion it pleased your grace to addresse youre moost noble letters unto William Tunstall, squire, youre cunstable of your Castell of Scardeburgh for xij serpentynes with chambre and powdre garnysshed sufficiently for the same, to have be delyvered by indentour to this your citie for the more diffence therof, as it did appere more at large in the copie of youre said letters to us sent in that behalve, Wherupon we sent for the same, and we be aunswered, souverain lord, by your said constable, that ther is not iiij serpentynes within your said Castell, and soo as yit we be not provided, wherfor we besuch your moost noble grace othrewise to provide for ordinaunce to

be sent to this your said citie for the more defence of the same. Moost high &c. From this your cite of York xiiij day of May.

Your moost humble true and feithful subgiettes
The Maier Aldremen Shereffes and Comuen Counsaill
of youre Citie of York.

To our trusty and welbiloved the Maier and Aldremen of our Citie of York.

BY THE KING.

Trusty and welbiloved we grete you wele, lating you wit that it is comyn unto oure knowlege how that a certain persone of oure citie there, not fering God nor the daungier of oure lawes, late cruelly murdred a brothre of you for doing and executing his office, whom for the said offence ye have in prison, Wherfor we not willing such odious offensez to passe unpunysshed woll and desire you and also charge you, that incontinently upon the receipt herof, ye doo send surely and saufly the said personne unto our trusty and welbeloved counseillour and nighte for oure body, Sir Richard Tunstall, Steward of our Honnour of Pountfrete, whome we have commaunded to convey hyme unto us to the entent that we may have hyme in examinacion upon his said demeanyng; And in like wise we woll that ye doo send unto the said Sir Richard, aswell the personne remayning ther in ward for his unfitting and outeragious langage had unto you in the presence of oure trusty and welbiloved chapleyne Mr. William Cretone, as oone Roger Layton, soo that he may doo them to be brought unto us for to be examyned of suche thinges as shalbe declared ayenst them at the comyng unto oure presence; And that ye leve not this undoone, as we may evidently perceve the wille and desire that ye have to pleas us. Yevene undre oure signet at oure castell at Kenelworth the xvj day of May.

Md. that this lettre was writyn and endoced tofore the sight of the lettre direct unto the Kinges grace from the maier and his brethern as is tofore writtyn, as apperith more at large in othre the Kinges lettres herafter ensuyng.

To our trusty and welbiloved the Maier and Aldremen of oure Citie of York.

BY THE KING.

Trusty and welbiloved we grete you wele. And bifore the comyng of your letters specifying amonges othre thinges your desire to have a commyssion which we send unto you by this berer, we had endoced unto you oure other letters which the said berer shall delyver unto you, wherfor and for so moch as if it be thought unto you not according, for lak of auctorite or othrewise, to correct suche personnez as in oure former letters be comprised, we then pray you to ensue and accomplissh our mynd expressed in the same; And for youre fast luffing disposicion anempst us, we shal rest your favourable souverain lord in any your reasonnable desires for you wele and honnour. Yevene undre oure signet at oure castell of Kenelworth the xvijth day of May.

To the moost high and mighty cristen prince and our moost redoubtid souverain liege lord the King.

Most high and mighty cristen prince and our moost redoubtid souverain liege lord, We in oure moost humble wise recommend us unto your highnesse, and have receyved of late aswell your gracious letters of commissions which we have and shall putte in full execucion after the contentes thereof, as othre your moost noble letterz missives to us direct, and according to your moost drad comaundment in the same, we have sent unto the right worshipful Ser Richerd Tunstall, your counsaillour and knight for your body at Pountfret, John Robson, milner, which late haynously committed the deth of our brothre William Welles, with oone John Cure, walkar, whom we had in bale for certain his unfitting langage uttred in oure Guildhall bifore your chapleyne Master Cretone at his last being ther, to be conveyed unto your highnesse by your said knight; And where by the same your moost noble letters we had in commaundement to attache oone Rogier Layton, and hyme to have sent with the other abovewrityn unto your said knight, souverain lord, we upon the sight of the same, did put us in our uttermost devoirs to have attachid hyme,

and as yit we ne can atteyne soo to doo for soo moch as he is departid from this your citie and unknowne to us where he is; Albeit, souverain lord, if the said Rogier resort at any time hereafter unto the same, we shall perfourme your high commanndement in that behalve as accordith with the dutye of oure liegeauncez; And forasmuch as we doubt that labour shalbe made unto your highnesse for the said John Robson at his comyng unto the same for the acquital anempst that haynouse dede, by certaine persones entending the subversion of us and this youre chambre, if the same shulde passe unpunisshed, as God defend, we send unto youre moost noble grace one of the chambreleyns of this youre said citie, son in lawe unto oure late brothre W. Welles and berer hereof, to shewe the verey truthe of the deth of the said William Welles, ayenst any senistre reportes to be maid unto youre highnesse contrary the same, and furthre our myndes concernyng the premissez, unto whom we besuch your most noble grace to yeve credence. And the blessed trinitie preserve you, moost high &c.

Your moost humble subgiettes,

WILLIAM TODDE, MAIOR
JOHN VAVASOUR, RECORDOUR
RICHARD YORK
THOMAS WRANGWISH
JOHN TONG
JOHN FEREBY
JOHN NEWTON
NICHOLAS LANCASTRE
WILLIAM CHYMNEY
ROBT HANCOK
JOHN HARPER
JOHN GILYOT
JOHN BESEBY } SHEREFFES
JOHN SHAWE }
THOMAS CATOUR
THOMAS ALAN
WILLIAM TAITE
WILLIAM SPENSE
RICHARD CLERK
JOHN HAGG
MICHAELWHITE
MILES GRENEBANK
RICHARD HARDSANG
WILLIAM BARKAR
THOMAS FYNCH
NICHOLAS VICARS
ROGER APPILBY.

Witsonday in the Chapitour House of the Cathedral Churche of York.

Assembled in counsaill, where the Kinges letters delivered by John Stokdale oone of the chambrleyns of this citie, directid as ensuith, was discoused and red aftre the tenoure ensuing:

To oure trusty and welbiloved the Maier and Aldremen of oure Citie of York.

BY THE KING.

Trusty and welbiloved we grete you wele, And where as we late directid unto you our especiall lettrez for the sure and sauf sending unto our trusty and welbiloved counseillour and knight for oure bodye, Ser Richard Tunstall, of oone John Robson that late ther cruelly murdred a brothre of youres to oure grete displeasire, and aftre that sent unto you oure letters of commission to sitte and enquire of the said offence and to procede to the execucion of the said murdour, it is soo that ye, setting apart the auctorite of the said commission, have sent the same offendoure unto us; Wherfore we woll and commaunde you to send us word by writing whethre ye may procede ther to the accomplisshment of our said commission and to the full punisshment of the said persone, and if ye may soo doo, and desire us by your writing to have hyme thiddre, we shall send hyme ayen unto you, to the entent that the ministracion of justice ayenst hyme according to his demeritiez, which we woll that ye in all wise putt in full execucion, and in the meane season we shall see hyme surely and saufly to be kept withoute grace or pardonne; And if any personnez reseaunt amonges you woll presume to interrupte or let you in ministracion of justice in this partie, we woll than that ye doo them to be attachid and sent surely unto us, and we shall soo provide for ther punisshment as all othre shall take example, and fere to doo or attempt any such thinges hereafter. Yeven undre our signet at our castell of Kenelworth the last day of May.

Wherupon it was determyned by all above writtyn that they shuld mete agayne in counsaill at the brig the morow after-noon at ij of the clok, to examyn more ripely the contentes of the said letters, and therupon to write unto the Kinges grace according to his highe commaundement.

Monday, iiij day of Juyn.

Assembled in counsaill, determyned that writing shalbe maid unto the Kinges grace in fourme following:—

To the moost high and mighty cristen prince and oure moost souverain liege lord the King.

"Most high and mighty cristen prince and oure moost redoubtid souverain liege lord, We in our moost humble wise recomend us unto your moost noble grace, thanking youre highnesse of youre moost noble lettres to us direct, yevene at youre castell of Killingworth the last day of May, which is to oure moost singler comforth, for that we knowe youre grace woll execute youre lawes and cause misdores to be punyssched according to ther demeritiez; souverain lord, as for the murdour of oure brother William Welles at youre sute youre lawes wolnot suffre John Robson takyn for the same to be arreyned to the yere and day be past, albeit the wif of the said William Welles saith that she woll sue a bille of appele bifore us, ayenst the said John, in the case we arreyne hyme by the vertue of your said comission, and in the case she soo woll doo, we woll according to justice procede ayenst the said Robson upon the comission of gaol deliverye and of hur bille of appele, if it shall pleas your highnesse to send the said Robson downe unto us agayne, and thereupon to doo execution as your lawes shall require. And the blissed trinitie preserve your most high and mighty cristen prince and oure moost redoubtid souverain liege lord in his blissed gouvernnance. From York the iiij day of Juyn."

Your moost humble subgiettes,
The Maier Aldremen Shereffes and Comune Counsaill
of your Citie of York.

On Monday the 4th of June, the very day on which the York council addressed the preceding letter to King Henry, the rebels landed in England[r], having chosen for the place of their disembarkation a strong fortress called the Pile of Fowdray, standing upon a small islet or insulated rock at the northern extremity of the bay of Morecambe on the coast of Lancashire. On the second day afterwards, intelligence of the event was brought to York by the following letter from the earl of Northumberland:—

[r] "In this tyme the erle of Lincolne and the lord Lovell had got about two thousande Germaynes wyth Martyn Swarte to be theyr captayne; and so saylynge to Ireland, came and made the forenamed Lambarte kyng of England at Develynge: and so wyth the greate multitude of Iryshe men as well naked and unarmed personnes, as other that the lorde Gerardyne had under hym, they sayled into Englande and landed for a purpose wythin a lytle of Lancastre, trustynge there to be ayded of Syr Thomas Broghton the chiefe authoure of thys conspiracie."—Grafton's Chronicle.

To the right worshipfull and my right hertly biloved frend and right wellbiloved frendes the Maier of the Citie of York the Aldremen and Shireffes of the said Citie and to the Commons of the same.

Right worshipfull and my right hertly biloved frend and right wellbiloved frendes, I comaunde me unto you, and thanke you for the constant loving disposicions that I have foundon in you, wherin I pray you to persever. And whereas the King our souverain lordes rebelles bene landed in Fourneys at the pile of Fowdray upon monday last past, which God helping I entend to resist, and for the same intent wolbe in the citie of York toward them upon sonday next comyng; therfore I desire and pray you to cause provision of vitaill to be redy ayenst that tyme for such people as shall come and be ther with me, also that ye incontinent after the sight herof woll provide for the sure keping and saufgard of the said citie, and that suche persones as ye goodly may forbere, the citie kept, if it woll pleas you they may accompany me in ther best and moost defensible array to do the King service for the entent afforsaid. And I pray you to yeve credence unto my right trusty servaunt Richard Burgh squire concernyng the premissez. And to do thing that may be for your welez I wolbe as glad as any man living to my power; that knoweth the blessed Trinitie, whome I besuche to send you all good fortunez. Writyn in my Maynour of Lekingfeld the vj day of Juyn. Your loving frend,

H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

The earl's letter, having been read to the council, was then produced before all the commons of the city assembled in the guildhall, and with universal assent they determined that they would keep the city "with their bodies and goods to the uttermost of their power to the behoof of our sovereign lord the king, against any of his rebels intending to enter the same."

Within four days after their landing in England, the rebel forces had arrived at Masham, a considerable market town in the North-riding of Yorkshire, distant about 33 miles from the city of York. Having passed rapidly across Lancashire and Westmorland, it is obvious that they selected a route through Yorkshire which would bring them near to Bolton castle in Wensley dale, the residence of Lord Scrope, who was distinguished for his attachment to the house of York, and

thence into the neighbourhood of Middleham. From Masham, the Lords Lincoln and Lovel[a] despatched to the council at York the following letter in the name of their counterfeit sovereign, whom they styled King Edward the Sixth:—

BY THE KING.

To our trusty and wellbiloved the Maiour his brethren and Comunaltye of our Citie of York.

Trusty and wellbiloved we grete you wele, and for somoch as we beene comen within this oure realme, not oonlly, by goddes grace, to atteyne oure right of the same, but also for the relief and well of our said realme you and all othre our true subgiettes, whiche hath bene gretely injured and oppressid in default of nowne ministracion of good rules and justice, desire therfor, and in our right herty wise pray you, that in this behalve ye woll shew unto us your good aidez and favourez. And where we and such power as we have broght with us, by meane of travayle of the see and upon the land, beene gretely weryed and laboured, it woll like you that we may have relief and ease of logeing and vitailles within oure citie ther, and soo to depart and truly pay for that as we shall take. And in your soo dooing ye shall doo thing unto us of right acceptable pleaser, and for the same find us your good and souverain lord at all tymes herafter. And of your disposicions herein to acertain us by this bringer. Yevene undre our signet at Masham the viij day of Juyn.

The loyalty of the citizens of York was now to be fully tested. Whatever their decision might be, it was undoubtedly calculated to exercise a most important influence upon the course of political events at this critical juncture. Had they listened to the overtures of the rebel leaders, and consented to give a favourable reception to the counterfeit king and his adherents, the insurrection would have assumed a much more formidable aspect, and the kingdom might have been again plunged into all the horrors of a protracted civil warfare. Happily they stood firm in their allegiance to the reigning

[a] Both these noblemen were personally well known in York and the neighbourhood. The earl of Lincoln had passed many of his youthful days at Sheriff-Hutton Castle, a few miles from the city; and at a later period of his life, when he became the adopted heir to the throne of his uncle King Richard III., Sandal Castle, near Wakefield, was assigned for his residence. Lord Lovell had a manor-house at Dringhouses in the immediate vicinity of York, and both he and Lord Lincoln were usually in attendance upon King Richard on his frequent visits to the city.

sovereign. The impostor's letter was immediately sent to the earl of Northumberland for his inspection; a copy was sent to Sir Richard Tunstall, and another delivered to "Master Payne, to shew it to the king's grace." Strict orders were issued for the defence of the city. Every warden was required to be in harness, and raise his ward, and keep due watch that no person should have entry into the city but such as were true liegemen to King Henry the Seventh. Moreover the lord mayor incontinently, by the advice of his council, sent in message to the Lords Lincoln and Lovel, three of the city chamberlains, commanding them "to shew unto the said lords, that my lord the mayor, my masters his brethren aldermen, the sheriffs, common council, and the whole commonalty of the city were finally determined, that he which the said lords called the king, they, nor none of their retinue or company, intending to approach this city, should have any entry into the same, but they would withstand them with their bodies and goods, if they should attain so to do."

On the same day the following letter was received from the earl of Northumberland:—

To the right worshipfull and my right hertly beloved frend and right trusty and welbiloved frendes the Maior of the Citie of York the Shireffes and his brethern of the same.

Right worshipfull and right hertly biloved frende and right trusty and welbiloved frendes I comaunde me unto you, and not oonely thanke you for your luffing disposicions perseverantly shewed unto me, but specially for the faithfull guyding and true disposicions shewed for your provident and sure ordring of the King our souverain lordes citie undre your rule, for the surtie and conservacion of the same to his moost high pleaser, praying you as effectually as I can, therin to shewe your faithfull endevours with all dilligence as ye have doone, and if the caas require that occasion be to the contrary herof, I therof certified, who, god helping, wolbe at Poklington to morowe at evene, shall not rest ther but be with you the same nyght, like as worshipfull this berers, chapleyns unto the Kinges highnesse, kan shewe unto you, to whom I pray you to yeve credence, and upon Sonday next comyng I wol not fail to be with you at the farrest, and tofore if ye think it requisite, that knoweth our fader celestiall, whome I besuche to

be your everlasting protectour. Writyn in my Manour of Lekyngfeld the viij[t]. day of Juyn.

Your lovyng frend,

H. NORTHUMBERLAND[t].

The rebel leaders had arrived at Boroughbridge on their way towards York, when they were met by the city chamberlains with the hostile message which the council had ordered to be delivered to them. This appears to have determined them to turn their course southwards, and they proceeded, with more boldness than discretion, on the direct road to the metropolis. Within a week afterwards, having advanced as far as Newark, their march was intercepted by the king's army, and on Saturday the 16th of June was fought the battle of Stoke, by which the insurrection was finally quelled.

The following contemporaneous document is entered upon the minutes of the York council. It is a curious and interesting *précis* of the circumstances which occurred during the week preceding the termination of the rebellion:—

The processe of the Batell beside Newark in the third [second] yere of the reigne of King Henry the Seventh.

"Satterday the viiij[t]. day of Juyn the yere of the reigne of our souverain lord King Henry the Sevent, at after-none of the same day, the chamberleyns sent in message unto the Lordes of Lincolne and Lovell, and othre herebifore named, come in at Mikylgate-barre, and ther shewed unto my lord the Mayre and othre his brethren being present, howe the said lordes and ther retinewe was departed on Brugh-brig, and soo streght suthward, not entending to come negh this citie to doo any prejudice or hurt unto the same[u]. And incontinently after ther comyng the Lord Clifford sent word unto my lord maier that he might come in with his folkes and retenewe for to assiste and support the maier and the comunaltye of this citie, if any of the Kinges ennymes wold approche unto the same. Wherunto the mayre consentid and

[t] This and the preceding letter are printed in the appendix to Drake's Eboracum, p. xcix.

[u] "The erle of Lyncolne, in the mean season, went forth softely with his compaignie into Yorkeshire without hurte or discommoditie of any manne that dwelt therabout, trustyng partely therby and partely also because he was well knowen and acquainted among theim, that he should get greate ayde and socour there. But when he perceived very few or none to folowe hym and that he could not (seyng his enemies were so nigh hand and he also so far entered) in safegard with his hoste returne backward, yet he thought it best to abyde and taste the chance of battaill."—Grafton's Chronicle.

graunted that he shuld soo have his entree, and causid all the stret of Mikelgate to be garnysshed with men in harnesse the nomber of D.C. personez and moo, and within the space of iiij houre aftre, receyved the said Lord Clifford at Mikelgate-Barre with CCCC. personnez of footmen and horsmen, in to the said citie and sent unto hyme a present of wyne and according to his honour.

And upon Trinitie sonday at none my Lord of Northumberland with knyghtes and lordes of this cuntree cam to this citie, and the same day at afternowne the Lord Clifford toke his journey towardes the Kinges ennemyes lying upon Bramham More, and loged hymself that night at Tadcastre, but the same night the Kinges ennymes lying negh to the same towne, cam upon the said Lord Clifford folkes and made a grete skrymisse ther, into so moche that he, with such folkes as he might get, retourned to the citie agane; and at that same skrymisse wer slayne and maymed diverse of the said towne, and the inhabitantes ther were spoiled and robbed, and the gardewyans and trussing coffers of the lord Clifford was taken of the brig by misfortune, and had unto the other partie. Also upon the tewesday after, the Erl of Northumberland Lord Clifford and many othre nobles accompanyd with vj. M[l]. nombred departid suthward toward the Kinges grace at xj of the clok, and anone after his departour the Lordes Scropes of Bolton and Upsall, constreyned as it was said by there folkes, cam on horsbak to Bowthom Barre, and ther cried King Edward, and made a salt at the yates, bot the comons being watchmen there well and manly defendid tham and put tham to flitht. And incontinently the maier upon knowlage therupon, accompaned with a C. personez in harnesse, made his proclamacion thrugh out the citie in the name of King Herry the Sevent, chargeing all manre of fraunchest men and othre reseaunt within this citie, furthwith to be in harnesse and attend upon the wardans, and that evre wardan shuld kepe his ward at his juberdy, and that all manre of estraungers in harnesse shuld depart furth of the citie at the South gate, under the payne of forfatour of his harnesse and his body to prison. The Erl of Northumberland having knowlege hereof, being within vj milez of the citie, sent in message unto the Maier, and desired hyme that he might come and entre the citie agane for diverse consideracions and causes hyme moveing. Wherupon the Maier, by the advise of his brethre, sent Master Vavasour recordour and iij of his bretherne aldremen, with

othre of the counsaill of this citie accompayned with xij horsse, in message unto the said Erl, shewing howe he shuld be welcome to the said citie, and as many as he wald undretake wer the Kinges true liege men, and causid all the strete of Mikelgate to be garnisshed with men in harnesse to the nombre of iiij. M[l]. And incontinently therupon, the said Erl, the Lord Clifford, and othre many nobles accompayned with iiij. M[l]. men and moo, was thankfully receyved unto the said citie, and there continued to Thursday, Corpus Christi day, and the same day at noone hastly the said lordes toke ther journey towardes the north parties.

Upon Corpus Christi evene, proclamacion was made thrugh the citie that the play of the same, for diverse consideracions moveing my lord maier my masters aldremen and othre of the comune counsaill, shuld be differd unto the Sonday next after the fest of Saint Thomas of Canturbury. And than aftre it was differd to the Sonday next aftre the fest of Saint Petre callid *Ad vincula*, because of the Kinges comyng hidder.

The Satterday next after the fest of Corpus Christi, the King lying with a grete powre divyded in three hostez beyond Newark, the wayward of the same in the which th'erl of Oxford, the Lord Straunge, Sir John Chyney, th'erl of Shrewsbury, and many othre to the nombre of x M[l]. met with the Lordes of Lincolne and Lovell with othre many noblez, aswell of Ynglisshmen as Irisshmen, and othres to the nombre of xx M[l]. of the more[x] beyond Newark, and there was a soore batell, in the which th'erl of Lincolne and many othre, aswell Ynglisshmen as Irissh, to the nombre of v M[l]. wer slayne and murdred; the Lord Lovell was discomfotid and fled, with Sir Thomas Broghton and many othre, and the child which they callid ther King was takyn and broght unto the Kinges grace, and many othre in grete nombre which was juged to deth at Lincolne and othre places theraboute[y]. And upon

[x] Moor.

[y] "—— On the friday the king, understanding that his enemyes and rebelles drew towards Newarke warde, passing by Southwelle and the furside of Trente, the King with his hoste removede thedarwards, and logged that night beside a village called Ratcliff, nine miles out of Newarke. That evening ther was a great skrye, whiche causede many cowards to flee; but th'erle of Oxinforde and al the nobles in the fowarde with hym, wer sone in a good array, and in a fayr bataile, and so was the king and al the very men that ther wer." —— "On the morne whiche was Saturday the King erly arros and harde two masses, wherof the lorde John Fox, byshop of Excester sange the ton; and the King had five good and true men of the village of Ratcliff, whiche shewde his grace the best way for to conduct his hoost to Newark, whiche knew welle the countrey and shewde wher wer marres and wher was the river of Trent,

Sonday by iij of the clok in the mornyng, tidinges came to my lord Maier from the feld, howe Almighty God had sent the King victorye of his ennymes and rebelles, and therupon my lord Maier, taking with hyme his brethre aldremen, with thool counsaill of this citie, upon certaine knowlege of the victory forsaid shewed by the mouthe of a servaunt of Master Recordour comyng streught from the said feld, came to the cathedral church of York, and there caused all the ministres of the same to make lovinges to our Saveour for the tryumphe and victory forsaid, singing solemplye in the high qwere of the said church the psalme of *Te deum laudamus* with othre suffragies."

These selections cannot, perhaps, be more appropriately concluded than by the following letter from the king, written in the moment of victory :—

BY THE KING.

To our trusty and welbiloved the Maire of oure citie of York.

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele, And forsomoche as it hath liked oure blissed Salveour to graunte unto us of his benigne grace the triumphe and victorye of oure rebelles without deth of any noble or gentilman on oure part, We therfor desire and pray you, and sithin this said victorye procedeth of hyme, and concernyth not oonely the wele and hondour of us, but also of this our royme, nrthelesse charge you, that calling unto you in the moost solempne church of oure citie ther, your brethren th'aldremen and othre, ye doo lovinges and praisinges to be yevene to oure said Salveour aftre the best of your powers. Yevene undre oure signet at oure Towne of Newerke xvj day of Juyn.

and wher wer vilages or grovys for busshements, or strayt weyes, that the King might conduyt his hoost the better. Of whiche guides the king gave two to th'erle of Oxinforde to conduyt the fowarde and the remanent reteyned at his pleasure. And so in good order and array, before nine of the clok, beside a village called Stook, a large myle out of Newarke, his fowarde encountrede his ennemyes and rebells, wher by the helpe of Almighty God he hadde the victorye. And ther was taken the lad that his rebells callede King Edwarde, whos name was indede Lambert, by a vaylent and a gentil esquier of the King's house called Robert Bellingham. And ther was slayne th' erle of Lincoln John, and dyvers other gentilmen, and the Vicount Lord Lovell put to flight. And ther wer slayne of Englisshe, Duche, and Irisshemen iiij m."—Herald's Journal. Lel. Coll. IV. 213.

THE

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

OF

York Cathedral.

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PREFACE.

THE following history is drawn up upon the same general system as that which I have already adopted in the cases of Canterbury and Winchester, which I have had the honour of publishing under the auspices of the Archæological Institute.

In the first place I have collected together the chronicled history of the building, retaining the very words of the original whenever the building itself was the immediate subject of the paragraph in question. I have, in the next place, closely examined the structure itself, analyzing its various arrangements as they arose from time to time, and comparing them with the previous chronicle. Much however of the history of this cathedral is necessarily derived from fabric rolls, indulgences, and other chapter documents which do not admit of being completely separated as the passages of a written chronicle do, and therefore I have been compelled to scatter these memoranda throughout my analysis of the structural changes. Nevertheless I have always taken the greatest pains to separate my own hypotheses and explanations of these documents from the documents themselves, in opposition to the general practice of writers of architectural history, which is, that after having satisfied themselves of the meaning and application of the chronicles and other documents to the various parts and periods of a building, they proceed to interweave these documents into their histories in such a manner as to make it exceedingly difficult to discover other possible explanations.

I cannot pretend to any original research amongst the papers that are quoted in the following pages. I have merely taken those that I found ready to my hand in Stubbs, Drake, Britton, and lastly in the voluminous and elaborate work of Mr. Browne, who appears to have exhausted this source of information from the ready access which the liberality of the chapter and his residence at York has afforded him. I can only regret that my distance from York has prevented me from consulting the manuscripts; but the kindness of the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt has enabled me to introduce many documents and quotations in the original language, of which he has obligingly furnished me with copies of his own, Mr. Browne having unfortunately adopted a practice of translating all his documents into English, omitting even the necessary and interesting illustration which is afforded by at least quoting the most important sentences in their original Latin. I have also consulted the manuscripts relating to these matters that are contained in the British Museum.

But for the explanation of these documents and their application to the building, for the description of its successive changes, and the operations that accompanied them, I am wholly responsible, and I can only regret that for the most part my chronology of the series of structures is so completely at variance with that of Mr. Browne, that I fear an incredulous smile may be extorted from the sceptics in the matter of antiquity, when they find two such opposite accounts deduced from the same authorities. I have much satisfaction in adding, however, that with this single exception, my chronology differs but little from that of every previous writer on this subject.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLANS.

THE changes of plan that took place in the cathedral of York were so numerous and of so complicated a kind that I found it impossible to include them in a single diagram. I have therefore drawn a series of five plans to the same scale. In each plan part of the building is laid down in full black, part in light tint.

Beginning with No. 5, and reckoning backwards through the series, the black parts of each plan shew all the portions of the previous plan that have been retained, and the light parts shew the portions that have been changed. In No. 1, however, as there is no previous plan, the light tint is used to distinguish the conjectural portions from those which have still left traces of their existence and dimensions, and which are marked full black. This light tint is however shaded in the opposite direction from the light tints previously explained, so that there can be no ambiguity, and the same may be said of the tint E, in No. 2, which is merely employed to designate a space filled with earth.

Again, beginning the series of plans from No. 1, each plan has a dotted outline, which marks the extent of the additional building in the next plan in order. Thus the relative dimensions of each new member of the cathedral to the one which it has superseded are brought into direct comparison. The gradual changes by which the Norman cathedral of No. 1 was converted into the existing cathedral of No. 5, were worked out in the following order: 1st. a new choir; 2nd. a pair of new transepts; 3rd. a new nave; 4th. a second new and still larger choir. And these successive additions exceeded the former portions not merely in length but also in breadth.

The date below each plan is merely that of some one year in round numbers that occurred in the interval between the changes, so that the plan to which it is appended represents the church as it existed in that year. I have purposely avoided the crowding of letters of reference into these plans.

In No. 5 I have delineated the choir stalls, high-altar, and steps, and the double screen with the feretory, or space T between them, on the authority of Torres' plan, which was taken before the western screen was removed.

In the nave K is the font, L the position of Melton's tomb, and M the place where Drake found the supposed coffin of St. William.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE HISTORY OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

	A. D.
Saxon church, begun by King Edwin	633
——————— repaired by Wilfrid	699
Norman nave, transepts, &c., by Archbishop Thomas	...1080...
Choir and crypts, by Archbishop Roger	1154—1181
South transept	...1230...1241...
North transept	...1241...1260...
Nave (except west front)	1291...1324...
Chapter house	...1320...
West front of nave	...1338...
Wooden vault of nave	...1354...
Presbytery	1361...1370...
Choir	1380...1400...
Lanthorne tower	1400...1418...1423...
South-west bell-tower	...1433...1447...
North-west bell-tower	...1470...1474...

PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS OF ARCHBISHOPS.

Archbishop Grey, died 1255.
——————— Greenefeld, died 1315.
——————— Bowet, died 1423, (the monument was erected before 1415.)
——————— Savage, died 1507.

N.B. When a date is merely approximative, it is placed between dots, thus...1080..., and when a work is only known to have been executed during the official life of an individual, the dates of his taking office and of his death are separated by a dash, thus, 1154—1181.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

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CHAPTER I.

THE CHRONICLED HISTORY OF THE BUILDING.

York cathedral is in plan and proportion the simplest imaginable. It is in the form of a cross, of which, in rough measurement, the eastern limb is of the same length as the western, the total length of the transepts equal to half the total length of the nave and choir, and the width of the nave outside the walls equal to half the total length of the transepts; or, in other words, the transepts are in length twice the width of the nave, and the whole church is four times the width of the nave. The choir is somewhat narrower than the nave, and the transepts still narrower. The church is square at the east end as well as the west, and the transepts have aisles to the west as well as to the east. The simplicity of its form is very little disturbed by external chapels and buildings, with the exception of the chapter-house and of a few chapels on the south side of the choir, to which formerly corresponded similar chapels on the north. A lofty tower rises in the middle. Two towers flank its western front, and in the middle of each side of the eastern limb of the cross one compartment of the side aisle is carried up to the roof, so as to form a kind of eastern transept. As the choir is somewhat longer than the nave, and its pier arches narrower, nine compose the length of the choir and eight that of the nave[a]. The

[a] Moreover the external width of the nave is equal to the height of the ridge of the roof above the ground, and to the height of the central tower battlement above the clerestory walls, and to the height of the western tower battlements above the side aisle walls. The side aisle walls are in height equal to half the width of the nave. I merely state these rough and obvious proportions, as a convenient mode of describing the building, but not with any view of deducing fanciful analogies from them, or mysteriously symbolical or magical properties, by which such proportions have been supposed invested.

church is an aggregate of various styles, having Early English transepts, a Decorated nave, of which the body has geometrical tracery, and the west end flowing tracery. The choir is in two portions, of which the most easterly (more correctly termed the presbytery) is of very early Perpendicular, and the western (or choir proper) of later Perpendicular. The central tower and the western towers are also Perpendicular, and subsequent to the choir. In the crypt are remains of earlier buildings. This is the general arrangement of the church, whose architectural history I propose to investigate and compare with the structure as it now exists. And first, with respect to the period before the Norman Conquest, I shall give those passages of the historians that relate to the church as nearly in their own language as possible.

The structural history of this church begins with the very history of the establishment of Christianity amongst the Saxons of the district. For the pagan King Edwin was baptized at York (A.D. 627) by the first bishop of York, Paulinus, "in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which the king had there built of wood, of hasty workmanship, whilst he was receiving instruction, in preparation for baptism."—"After his baptism he set about to construct in the same place, at the suggestion of Paulinus, a larger and more noble basilica of stone, in the midst of which the oratory which he had first built was to be included. Accordingly, having laid his foundations, he began to build his basilica in a square form around the original oratory, but before the walls were completed the king was slain, and it was left to his successor Oswald to complete the work[b]."

After the battle of Heathfield, where Edwin was killed, (A.D. 633,) "his head was brought to York, and subsequently placed in the church of St. Peter, which he began but his successor Oswald finished, as above stated, and it was deposited in the porticus or chapel of St. Gregory the pope, from whose disciples he had received the Word[c]."

[b] "Baptizatus est autem Eboraci, die sancto Paschæ pridie iduum Aprilium in ecclesia Sancti Petri Apostoli, quam ibidem ipse de ligno, cum catechizaretur atque ad percipiendum baptisma imbueretur, citato opere construxit; .. ... Mox autem et baptisma consecutus est, curavit, docente eodem Paulino, majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam in cujus medio ipsum quod prius fecerat, oratorium includeretur. Præparatis ergo fundamentis, in gyro prioris oratorii per quadrum cœpit ædificare basilicam; sed priusquam altitudo parietis esset consummata rex ipse impia nece occisus opus idem successori suo Oswaldo perficiendum reliquit."—Bedæ Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 14.

[c] "Allatum est autem caput Edwini

Archbishop Wilfrid, (A.D. 669,) as we are told by his biographer Eddius Stephanus, and by William of Malmsbury, found this building and its offices in very bad repair, (only about forty years from its first foundation.) "The leaking roofs admitted rain, and the open windows birds, who built their nests within, and were constantly flying in and out. The rain and birds together, defiled and discoloured the neglected walls. But our holy bishop, in horror that the house of prayer should be thus brought to resemble a den of thieves, straightway undertook to repair it. He restored the rotten ridges of the roof and covered it with pure lead. . . . The windows, which formerly derived their light from the transparency of linen or of boards pierced with many holes, he provided with glass, thus excluding the birds and rain, and yet admitting the light. He cleansed the walls and made them whiter than snow by means of white lime, and not only furnished the house and altar with ornaments and vessels, but endowed it with many lands[d]."

It is a misfortune in these early histories, that we are often obliged to derive the successive notices of a building from various and independent authorities; and thus it happens with the two next particulars usually quoted by modern compilers as belonging to the history of York cathedral. In the first place a fire is thus concisely recorded by Hoveden[e]; "In the year

regis Eboracum, et illatum postea in ecclesiam beati Apostoli Petri, quam ipse cœpit sed successor ejus Oswaldus perficit, ut supra docuimus, positum est in porticu S. papæ Gregorii a cujus ipse discipulis verbum vitæ susceperat." —Bedæ Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 20.

[d] ".... Basilicæ oratorii Dei .... officia semiruta lapidea eminebant. Nam culmina antiquata tecti distillantia, fenestræque apertæ, avibus nidificantibus intro et foras volitantibus, et parietes incultæ, omni spurcitia imbrium et avium, horribiles manebant ..... Primum culmina corrupta tecti renovans, artificiose plumbo puro tegens per fenestras introitum avium et imbrium vitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiebat. Parietes quoque lavans secundum Prophetam, super nivem dealbavit, eam enim non solum domum Dei et altare in varia supellectili vasorum intus ornavit verum etiam deforis multa territoria pro Deo adeptus, terrenis opibus pauperatem auferens copiose ditabit.....' Vita S. Wilfridi, Gale, t. i. p. 59

"Basilica, 'quondam ab Edwino rege monitu beati Paulini in Eboraco facta, tecto vacabat, parietes semiruti, et ruinam plenam minantes solis nidis avium serviebant, pro indignitate rei Pontifex interno dolore commotus, materiam solidavit, culmen levavit, levatum plumbeis laminis ab injuria procellarum munivit. fenestris lucem dabant vel panni linei tenuitas, vel multiforatilis asseraxis. ipse vitreas fecit. decorem materiarum vetustas et multimoda tempestas obduxerat. ipse illas alba calce dealbavit."—Malms. de Gest. Pont., lib. iii. p. 261.

"Egbertus... sepultus est cum fratre suo in una (ima?) porticu apud Eboracum."—Malms. de Gest. Pont., p. 269.

[e] "Anno 741 monasterium in Eboraca civitate succensum est nono Calendas Maij feria prima."—R. de Hoveden, p. 402. Sunday actually fell on the 23rd of April, A.D. 741.

741 a monastery in the city of York was burnt, on the first day of the week and the ninth calend of May;" that is, in modern language, Sunday the 23rd of April. But whether this "monasterium" is to be interpreted of the church in question, or how far it might have suffered, must remain doubtful, and fortunately is of no great consequence. The second particular is the erection of a new church, which is mentioned in a poem by Flaccus Alcuinus, on the bishops and saints of the church of York[f].

This versified biography, after bringing down the history of the prelates of York to Albert, (who succeeded in 966,) concludes a lengthened panegyric upon this latter bishop, by saying that he also added many ornaments to the churches.

"For as the warlike king Edwin had received the water of baptism, the bishop had constructed a large altar and covered it all about with gold and silver and jewels. He dedicated it to the name of holy Paul. . . . He suspended above this altar a lofty candelabrum, which sustained three large vessels for oil with nine rows of lights[g]. He raised the banner of the cross aloft the altar, and covered the whole with precious metals. . . . And he made another altar, and clothed it with pure silver and with precious stones, and dedicated it to the martyrs and to the cross. He commanded the great Ampulla from which the priest during celebration was to pour the wine into the chalice, to be made of refined gold of no small weight.

"But a new structure of a wondrous basilica was in the days of this bishop began, completed, and consecrated. This house of appropriate altitude is supported by solid columns set under curved arches. Within it sparkles with admirable ceilings and windows, and in its beauty shines, environed with many aisles (or apsidal chapels). It has a great number of apartments with distinct roofs, which contain thirty altars with various ornaments. Two disciples, Eanbald and Alcuin, at the command of the prelate erected this temple, and he himself consecrated it to the 'Alma Sophia' (the Saviour) ten days before his death."

Now, although it is plain from this history that a church was erected by this bishop, I think it may fairly be inferred that it was on a different site from the cathedral of Paulinus, repaired by Wilfrid. In the above inflated narrative the two altars appear to have been erected in the said cathedral, the first in honour of the baptism of Edwyn. But if the basilica had been rebuilt on the same site by the bishop, its descrip-

[f] The poem is printed at length in the first volume of Gale's collection.

[g] "Hoc altare farum supra suspenderat altum
Qui tenet ordinibus tria grandia vasa novenis."
—Lines 1494 and 1495. The passage is not very intelligible.

tion would hardly have followed that of the altars, without at least some connecting link between them. Moreover no writers of the history of York, as Malmsbury or Stubbs, make any mention of this basilica of Albert; they give the original foundation, and the repair by Wilfrid; but they pass by the work of Albert in silence.

I believe, therefore, that this description belongs to some other church, either erected in York or elsewhere in the diocese. Nevertheless it is a very curious and valuable description of a Saxon church.

From the Norman Conquest to the fourteenth century our notices of the history of the building are almost entirely derived from the chronicle of Thomas Stubbs[h], with the exception of documents and charters belonging to the chapter. As the passages in this chronicle are not numerous, it will be convenient to place them in order, apart from the other authorities, and I shall therefore, in the next place, give a narrative wholly made up of sentences translated literally or derived from Stubbs, and which will be found to include, I believe, all that he has recorded relating to the edifice.

"When Thomas the first Norman archbishop of York came to the see, (A.D. 1070,) the city of York and all the surrounding country had been nearly destroyed by fire and sword, at the command of William and his Normans." (This was done, as is well known, out of vengeance for their insurrections and resistance to his authority.) "The metropolis of the blessed Peter was fired, with the church and its ornaments; its charters and privileges were burnt and lost. The surrounding country was depopulated, and the soil from the Humber to the Tyne, deprived of the husbandman's care, remained for nine years a horrible wilderness." Out of seven canons (the proper number) he found only three; the others were either dead, or had been driven out of the country by fear or by its desolation. The church he roofed and restored as well as he could, replaced therein the canons whom he found, and recalled those who were dispersed, added some others, rebuilt the refectory and dormitory, appointed a prior, "præpositum," and in other respects began to set in order the affairs of the establishment.

Afterwards he separated the prebends, the canons having

[h] This chronicle is printed in Twysden's collection. I have thought it unnecessary to give the original Latin; my quotations begin at p. 1708.

previously for many years lived in common; he appointed a dean, treasurer, precentor, and master of the school; he built the church which now exists from the foundations, and provided it with clergy, books, and ornaments. "And after holding the episcopate for thirty years, he died at Ripon, but was buried at York, in the church next to his predecessor Aldred [i]."

Roger, chaplain of Henry II., and archdeacon of Canterbury, was appointed the thirty-first archbishop of the see in 1154, and held it until 1181 [k]. "This Roger constructed anew the choir of the cathedral church of St. Peter at York, together with its crypts and the archiepiscopal palace in York, which is situated close to that church. He also built the chapel of the holy sepulchre at the gate of the said palace on the north side of the very church of St. Peter, and dedicated it in honour of Mary the mother of God and the holy angels. He endowed it with eleven churches, and instituted for its service thirteen ecclesiastics, namely, four priests, four deacons, four subdeacons, and a sacrist [l]. And because the canons of the church of St. Peter complained that the said chapel was placed too close to the mother church, he ordained that his sacrist should provide for the expenses of the ceremonies of Holy Thursday, by way of conciliation. . . . . And he was honourably buried in the middle of the choir of the blessed Peter of the church of York, which he had constructed anew."

Walter Grey, the thirty-third archbishop, was translated from Worcester in 1216, and died in 1255. He ordained and

[i] The only Saxon archbishops recorded to have been buried at York are Bosa, the fourth; Embaldus, the ninth; and Aldred (the last). The two latter are expressly said to have been buried in the church, "in ecclesia." Girardus was buried at York; Thomas, junior, also at York, next to Aldred and Thomas, senior; Henry Murdak in the church of York, and also Saint William, of whom more hereafter.

[k] Stubbs, p. 1722.

[l] This foundation was augmented and altered by Archbishop Sewal (Stubbs, p. 1725.) It remained till the Dissolution, and is described as follows in the commissioners' returns at that period: "The Chappell of S. Sepulchres. Thomas Magnus Clerke M^r. otherwise called Sacrist or Segerston of the said Chappel Founded by Roger Archbishop of York, by his deed *sans date*, and by Sewall Archbishop by his deed dated 4 Mar. 1258 for 17 persons viz. a Master 12 Prebendaries 2 priests called conducts and two Deacons. *This Chappel is annexed unto the Metropolitane Church of Yorke and openeth into the same.* They were bound as well to divers obits as to daily service in the said Chappell and in the Quier of the said Metropoliticall Church of Yorke. Totall of the profits belonging unto it *de Claro* £155. 11s. 11d." (A^o 27 H. VIII.)—Dodsworth's Coll. Bodleian. Stevens' Monasticon, vol. i. p. 73.

founded three perpetual chantries at the altar of St. Michael within the church of York, where he lies buried [m].

Johannes, surnamed Romanus, the thirty-eighth archbishop, retained the see from 1285 to 1295. "His father John, a Roman by birth, and by office treasurer and canon of the church of York, constructed, at his own expense, the north part of the cross of the church of St. Peter, which extends towards the archbishop's palace, and also the noble campanile which is in the middle of the cross of the same church." . . . "And in the year 1291, on the 8th idus (the 6th) of April, the foundation of the nave of the great church of St. Peter at York was begun, on the south side towards the east, in the presence of John the archbishop, Henry de Newerk the dean, and Peter de Ros the precentor, as well as the other canons of the church then in residence. And the archbishop devoutly laid the first stone on that day with his own hands [n]."

William of Melton (the forty-second archbishop, 1315—1340) "repaired the tomb of St. William at the expense of twenty pounds, and completed the west part of the nave of the church of St. Peter at York by a gift of seven hundred pounds of silver, ... and he was buried in the church near the font [o]."

William de la Souche (forty-third archbishop, 1340—1352) "had begun the work of a certain chapel adjoining to the south side of the church of St. Peter, in which he intended to have been buried, but dying before its completion, was buried in the aforesaid church before the altar of St. Edward, king and confessor; his sepulchre remained long covered with the stone pavement, in demonstration of the gratitude of his relatives and others, to whom during his life he had been a noble benefactor."

John de Thuresby [p] (forty-fourth archbishop, 1352—1373) "in the tenth year of his pontificate, iii. cal. Aug., (i. e. July 30,) began the fabric of a new choir to his church of St. Peter, with the assent of his chapter. He bestowed upon the work one hundred marks of his own gift at the laying of the first

[m] Stubbs, p. 1725. Archbishops Sewall, Godfrey, and Walter Giffard are also mentioned by Stubbs as buried in the church of St. Peter of York, but the positions of their graves are not mentioned. And in the same manner Archbishops Johannes Romanus, Henricus de Newark, are recorded as buried in the church. But William de Grensfield's place of interment is specified as the "porticus," or aisle of St. Nicholas.

[n] Stubbs, p. 1727.

[o] Ib., p. 1731.

[p] The biography of Thuresby seems to be the addition of a later hand. Stubbs' work, as his preface states, extended only to the end of the pontificate of Souche.

stone, and afterwards for every year during his life he gave two hundred pounds to the said fabric. And to excite the devotion of the faithful towards the promotion of the work, he obtained liberal indulgences from the apostolical fathers. . . . . The same archbishop, as a true lover of the Virgin, completed a chapel to her with wondrous sculpture and painting. And at his own expense he there caused to be entombed the bodies of many of his venerable predecessors in the pontificate, which were translated up from the choir. And he endowed there a chaplain to celebrate for the souls of himself and of all the faithful dead. . . . . And he was buried before the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the new work of the choir, in the year of our Lord 1373."

CHAPTER II.

ON THE BUILDINGS THAT PRECEDED THE EXISTING CATHEDRAL.

HAVING in the preceding chapter given the *chronicled* history of the building, we may now compare it with the different parts in order, quoting the *documents* as we proceed. The complex manner in which the successive buildings that occupied this site are involved and packed one within the other makes it impossible to shew them intelligibly in a single plan. I have therefore drawn a series of plans to explain the different state of the building after each alteration, in order. These plans will be found at the end of the history.

The choir of York has, under the platform of the high-altar, a small Norman crypt, which occupies only the middle aisle in breadth and one compartment and a half in length. The vault is supported by six Norman pillars, and the ribs of the vault are Norman; but the side-piers or responds are evidently Perpendicular, and the transverse arches of the ribs are four-centred. These characters seemed to shew that this crypt, if part of the Norman church, must at least have been altered or tampered with during the rebuilding, and this was all that could be conjectured until the unhappy fire that originated with the insane Martin in 1829. The works consequent on the repairs that followed this miserable event led to the discovery that the pillars and lower parts of the walls of another

crypt extended under the whole of the western part of the choir and its side aisles. Also that the crypt above mentioned, which had been so long known, was in fact a mere piece of patchwork, made up during the fitting up of the choir in the fourteenth century, out of the old materials, to support a platform for the altar, and provide chapels and altar room beneath it.

The remains of the original crypt had been filled up solid with earth. This earth, however, by the liberality of the chapter and the ingenuity of their architect, was cleared out, and the new pavement of the choir raised upon vaults, so managed that the old crypt may now be visited and examined with perfect convenience[q]. These remains enable us to ascertain very nearly the plans of the eastern portions of the churches that preceded the existing one.

As for the western portions, or nave and central tower, the north-western angle of the north-western tower pier still retains Norman ashlaring[r] in the parts above the vault of the side aisles, and also a portion of a shaft, with its base, that appears to have belonged to the Norman clerestory of the nave, all which proves that the tower pier in question stands upon the same site as the Norman one. Similar remains, but not so strongly marked, are to be found on the southern side, so that on the whole, and making proper allowance for the different arrangements of the two styles, it results that the centre of the Norman nave was only one foot narrower than the present one[s]. The second fire, in 1840, by placing the nave under repair, enabled a search to be made for the foundation of the side aisle walls of the original, of which remains were found that determined their width[t], and from all these researches I have derived the Norman nave and tower as laid down in my plans. But it is necessary to observe that there are no data for the position of the west end of this nave, or for the number of piers in the nave, which two particulars I

[q] Plans and ample descriptions and drawings of this crypt are to be found in a paper by Mr. Robinson, in the Transactions of the Institute of British Architects, vol. i. p. 105, and also in Mr. Browne's History.

[r] Mr. Browne having publicly directed attention to these remains at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, I examined them very particularly, more especially with reference to the settlements of the transept wall described in chap. [illegible].

[s] The width [illegible] present nave from centre to centre of the piers is 53 feet; that of the Norman nave was about 52 feet.

[t] Vide Browne [illegible]. The Norman nave was [illegible] enty feet narrower than at [illegible] om side-aisle wall to side-aisle [illegible].

have inserted in my plans of the Norman church (No. 1 and No. 2) merely "*pour fixer les idées.*"

Next for the Norman transepts. Amongst the remains of the crypt, I was fortunate enough to detect a sufficient portion of the exterior wall of a Norman apse in the north-west corner of the crypt to determine its existence, position, and very nearly its magnitude, as laid down (at *A*) in No. 1 and No. 2. As there is no instance of a transept which has a western aisle when the eastern aisle is wanting, and as by the connexion of this apse with the tower pier it is clear that no eastern aisle was here, it may be assumed that neither was there a western aisle. The length of the transepts is mere matter of conjecture. And it is possible that another apse may have been introduced in each transept between the one above mentioned and the gable[u].

Having now explained the western parts of the edifice, I will proceed to the eastern, which are more complicated and difficult to understand. In No. 2, the left-hand half of the plan of the choir represents the crypt, and the right-hand half the supposed upper portion of the building. In this crypt may now be seen the remains of a vestibule (*C*), leading from the church to the side aisle (*D*) of the crypt; for as at Canterbury, Gloucester, Rochester, Winchester, &c., it appears that this crypt was entered by its side aisles. The door from the vestibule to the crypt was a beautiful and rich piece of Norman sculpture. The passage westward from the vestibule to the church is now filled up and obliterated, but its commencement may be traced, and it could only, as it appears to me, have been arranged as in the plans, which I will presently explain at length.

Upon entering the side aisle (*D*) of the crypt through the Norman door of the vestibule (*C*), (of which only the bases and part of one jamb remains,) we find a side-aisle wall to the north, with four windows and compartments, after which is a projecting building (*G*), a kind of eastern transept, but which, from the greater thickness of its walls, was evidently a tower, flanking, as was commonly the case, the eastern part of the choir. Beyond this, access is now stopped, and the whole of the eastern part is in fact so occupied by graves that it

[u] The foundations of two are thus to be seen in the ruins of St. Mary's abbey. Vide plan in Vetusta Mon., vol. v. There were also two at St. Alban's in its original state, as Mr. Buckler has shewn in his recent work on that church.

became impossible even to explore it, much less to leave it open like the rest. However, during the repairs enough of the side wall was traced to determine its extent, as shewn in the plans, and also to shew that it returned at right angles at the east end, and that there were no traces of an apse at this part in the centre[x].

At the western end of the crypt, a portion, shewn on the plan (at *E*), was included within strong walls, and filled up solid with earth; but the eastern end was a vaulted apartment, and had stout Norman pillars at the sides, under the piers of the work above, while in the centre the vault, as usual in crypts, was sustained by two rows of single smaller pillars. The larger pillars were of elaborate design, decorated with diaper work, and had four small shafts placed around each. Moreover the vaults were ribbed, instead of being merely groined, these characters all indicating an advanced style, and shewing that the work in question belonged to the age of Archbishop Roger, who, as we have seen, (in chap. i.,) is distinctly recorded as having made the choir and its crypts.

As to the arrangement of the eastern portion beyond the towers (*G G*) above mentioned, there is no certain evidence, except the fact just mentioned that the eastern end was square. But from the form of the east wall and its uniform thickness, as far as it could be traced, it is most probable that an aisle (*H*) passed across the end, and behind the eastern gable[y]. This is the arrangement of the square-ended choir of Romsey, in Hampshire, and of Byland; and this will serve to account for the increased width of the last compartments as shewn in Mr. Browne's plan; for as this eastern aisle would of course be made the receptacle of altars, an increased space would there be required. All these portions of the crypt belong to the same style, but the walls of the vestibule (*C*) were evidently constructed after the rest of the crypt, and there are appearances which shew a little change of plan. These are to be found in the manner in which the base of a vaulting shaft, that is placed against the jamb shafts of the entrance door, is intruded upon, rather than united to, the bases of the latter[z]. But as the

[x] For this information I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Browne, who by his residence in York had the opportunity of tracing the excavations as they were made.

[y] If the central aisle had been carried completely to the eastern wall as in the present presbytery, that eastern wall must have been much thicker than the side-aisle walls, whereas Mr. Browne's plan shews it to have been of the same thickness. Hence I infer that the side aisles were returned across the eastern end.

[z] Vide Browne, pl. xiii, xv.

contrivances of the vestibule and entrances to the crypt would very naturally be left to the last, a slight change of plan of this kind is not sufficient evidence of a change of the architect or period, and I must consider the whole as the work of Roger, and the more so because the same base-moldings that occur in this vestibule are also employed in an arcade on the north side of the cathedral close, which appertained to the palace that Roger is recorded to have built, and probably therefore was a part of his work.

The interior walls of the solid part *E* of the crypt, exhibit remains of earlier structures that are exceedingly interesting. Each side wall is in fact a triple wall, of the entire thickness of between ten and eleven feet. On the outside is the wall of Roger's crypt, 3 ft. 6 in. in thickness; in the middle is a wall apparently of great antiquity, 4 ft. 8 in. thick; and on the inner side, the third wall, which lines the latter, and is only two feet thick[a]. The middle wall is faced with herring-bone work, and of coarse workmanship, and has evidently belonged to one of the early structures, possibly to the Saxon church. As to the walls which case it, the outer one is plainly a part of Roger's crypt, and was erected against the middle one in order to provide for the foundation of his piers above, which rested partly upon the old wall and partly upon the new one, the width of his choir being too great to admit of his employing the old wall alone as a foundation for them. The inner thin wall is partly constructed of old materials, apparently derived from some part of the church that was pulled down to make way for the new crypts. These exhibit moldings of early Norman character, and they consist of the coarse sandstone of which the apse (*A*) already mentioned was built, and pieces of a chamfered basement like that of the same apse are also worked into these walls. Some of these stones have served for the interior of a building, for they are covered with fine white plaster, having the joints of masonry marked upon it[b]. This apse was uncovered by the removal of the lining masonry at the north-west corner of the north vestibule, (*C*,) for the purpose of examining the state of the foundation of the tower pier, and it is still left in its uncovered

[a] The south wall is 2 ft. 4 in. In the introductory chapter of Mr. Browne's work will be found ample details.

[b] For these particulars Mr. Browne's plates give ample illustration, and I have not thought it worth while to insert sketches of my own, which would merely repeat the figures in question, to the fidelity of which I gladly bear witness, although I am compelled to differ with that author in his theories.

state. The following sketch will shew how distinctly it is indicated[c].

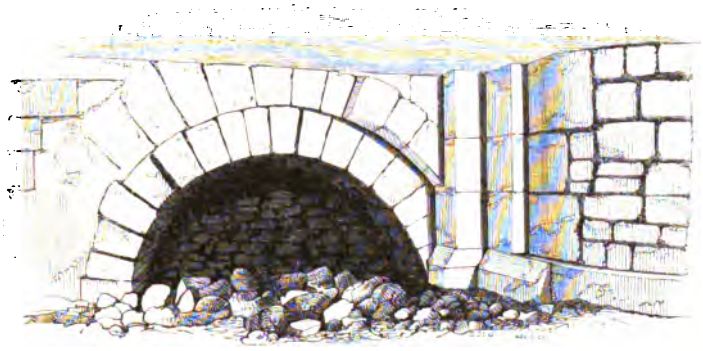

Fig. 1. VIEW OF ARCH AND APSE IN CRYPT.

The next question is, how these remains are to be interpreted with reference to the history of the edifices that preceded Roger's crypt, for the style of that crypt, as I conceive, fully justifies me in assuming that it is the crypt which the historian Stubbs ascribes to Archbishop Roger.

It has appeared from the first chapter of this history, that King Edwin began a church in 633 which his successor finished; that Archbishop Wilfrid thoroughly repaired and glazed this church in 699[d]; and that the first Norman archbishop, Thomas, first repaired the Saxon church, and afterwards built a Norman church.

The nave, the transepts and their apses, and the central tower, I have already explained; their arrangement (plan, No. 1) is precisely similar to that of most early Norman cathedrals, and there can be no doubt that they constituted parts of the church of Thomas. For the remaining part of that church, namely its chancel, there may be two possible suppositions. It appears pretty certain that the ancient walls in the crypt are a part of the Saxon church, for they enclose so

[c] Mr. Browne's plate iv. is the same subject, but that gentleman not having observed the indications of the apse in question, has not continued the sketch on the right hand sufficiently to include the whole of it. It is also distinctly inserted in his detailed plan, pl. vii., but not understood or interpreted as an apse.

[d] The fire in 741, and the rebuilding by Albert, I have already rejected as not distinctly appropriated to this church, and since that sheet has passed through the press the perusal of Mr. Stapleton's elaborate history of the church of the Holy Trinity, or *Christ Church*, at York, contained in the present volume, has suggested to me that the basilica of Albert, dedicated as it was to the *Alma Sophia*, i. e. to Christ, was probably this very Christ Church

narrow a chancel that they could scarcely have been erected by Archbishop Thomas for his new church, and indeed the materials and mode of construction are different from the apse and arch that certainly did belong to that church. The first supposition then, is, that having already repaired the Saxon church, this archbishop retained it, or at least its eastern part, and began his new church by the erection of the transepts, tower, and nave, already described, and that he was unable to complete his plan by rebuilding a chancel of suitable magnitude. In this case the Saxon chancel remained till Roger commenced his operations.

The second supposition is, that the Archbishop Thomas pulled down the Saxon church, and left the lower part of its walls as we now see them, and that he erected a chancel of befitting magnitude, which, falling in the way of Roger's crypt and choir, was entirely pulled down so as to leave no trace at all. And this hypothesis is partly sanctioned by the remains of masonry, apparently of Thomas' work, which have been already mentioned as worked up into the inner lining so as to shew that some building of the age of Thomas was pulled down when that lining was set up[e].

This inner lining appears to me to have been introduced to serve as a foundation for the timber-work of the seats of the monks in the choir above, for the central part exhibits no trace of having been vaulted, and as it is closed to the east by a wall of Roger's period, it seems that it was filled with earth in his church.

The history of Canterbury at this period throws some light upon that of York, which is worth examining. Lanfranc, the first Norman archbishop of Canterbury, built that cathedral on the plan and dimensions of St. Stephen's at Caen, the abbacy of which he had quitted to become archbishop; and accordingly he furnished that cathedral with a short choir like that of its prototype[f]. Archbishop Anselm took down this short choir, and replaced it by one extending magnificently eastward, and

[e] This lining wall on each side was erected at a different time from, and apparently after, the walls of Roger's side aisles and the transverse wall. Its junction with the latter is shewn at *M*, (fig. 2, p. 16,) and in Mr. Browne's pl. 5. But this work would naturally be left to the last, and its rough workmanship is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that it was not intended to be seen. If *C D* was the level of the pavement of the early church, the herring-bone walls must also have been covered with earth to the height of five feet.

[f] Architectural Hist. of Canterbury, ch. iv. For the early plan of St. Stephen at Caen, vide Ramée, Hist. de l'Architecture, t. ii. p. 147.

provided with a crypt, an apsidal aisle, a procession path with radiating chapels and flanking towers, as well as with eastern transepts, all of which features it wanted before. Since the publication of that history subsequent researches have led me to conclude that this extended plan was an imitation of that of the great abbey of Cluny.

Now Roger, before he was made archbishop of York, held the office of archdeacon of Canterbury from 1148. The glorious choir of Conrad, as the work of Anselm was called from the name of the prior who finished it, had been completed more than twenty years, and was the pride of Canterbury. What wonder, therefore, that Roger in his new see should imitate this work, by substituting for the short and simple chancel of York minster a complex eastern building, which, making due allowance for its want of equal dimensions with Canterbury choir, is yet evidently planned upon the same system of extending and enlarging the eastern parts of churches. But being square-ended and of less extent, instead of the apsidal chapels of its prototype, there are only altar-places in the eastern aisle, and the flanking towers are made to perform the part also of eastern transepts.

If the apse in fig. 1 (p. 13) be examined, it will be found that there is in connexion with it, on the south side, an arch of solid workmanship, and of a span of rather more than five feet. This arch appears to have carried a turret for a staircase, the remains of which Norman staircase may still be seen in the triforium of the choir at its western extremity, but the rest of the staircase and turret have long been destroyed. Its place is shewn in plan No. 1. A spiral staircase, in the same position, occurs at Norwich, and its use is to conduct to the upper galleries of the church, and also to the upper chapels of the apses; for these transeptal apses had commonly a chapel on the triforium level as well as below[g]. But this arch shews that no wall of a chancel could have joined the church at less than five or six feet south from the springing of the apse; and indeed, from the little room which it leaves, proves that there was no side aisle to the chancel.

Whether Archbishop Thomas did really erect a chancel, or whether the remains and fragments of his work that are found in the lining walls belonged to such a chancel, or only to the repairs and alterations which he had made in the Saxon

[g] Arch. History of Canterbury, p. 39.

church, must always remain a matter of doubt; and I prefer to leave the question in this state, as far as I am concerned, rather than to attempt to argue from such insufficient data; however, it appears to me very probable that he did only repair the Saxon chancel, and leave it to be rebuilt after his nave and transepts were completed.

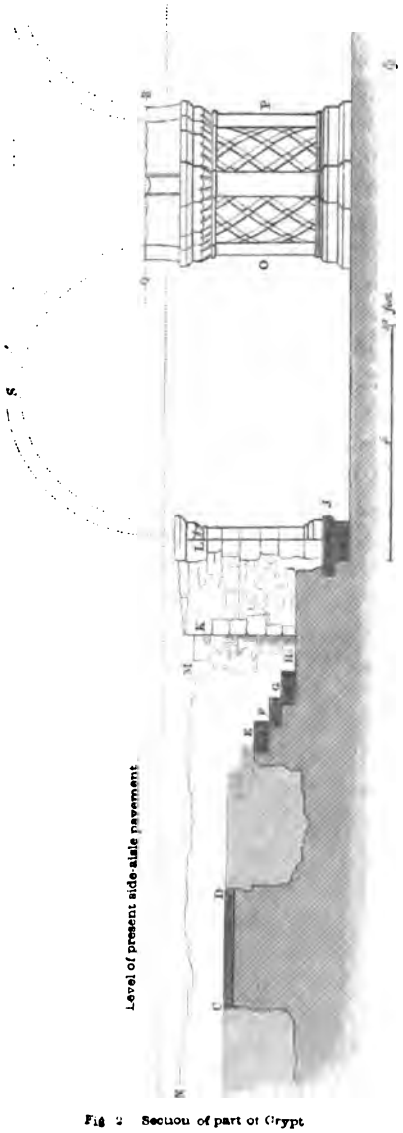

Fig 2 Section of part of Crypt

I will now examine more particularly the arrangement of the entrances and steps of the crypt. Fig. 2 is a section from west to east of a part of the crypt, taken along the middle line from *E*, and passing in front of the pillar *F*, (plan, No. 2.) The latter pillar, marked *O P* in the section, has upon its abacus about eighteen inches remaining of the vault ribs (*Q R*.) The curvature of these shews that the complete arch was a horseshoe in form, as shewn by the dotted lines; and from measurements, as accurately made as the nature of the fragments allowed, I determined the height of the surface of the vault (at *S*) to have been originally seven feet above the level of the abacus. The piers are seven feet two inches, and allowing sixteen inches for the thickness of the vault and pavement, it follows that the pavement of Roger's choir was fifteen feet and a half above the pavement of his crypt. At Canterbury this distance was about the same (sixteen feet.)

The floor of the crypt is seven feet five inches below that of the present south side aisle of the choir, which is the general level of the nave and transepts. But the old pavement of the nave, according to Mr. Browne (p. 110), was four feet lower than at present, therefore the floor of Roger's crypt was only three feet and a half lower than the Norman nave, and his choir was twelve feet higher. At Canterbury the present heights are four feet and twelve feet respectively. So far therefore the arrangement of the respective levels of the nave, crypt, and choir was the same in the two cases; and we may confidently employ the Canterbury example as a guide in investigating the whole arrangement of the steps.

Now at Canterbury[h] a flight of about eighteen steps rises on each side to give access to the side aisle of the choir, and close to each flight a descent of six or eight steps leads down to the aisle of the crypt. In the middle the eighteen steps that form the ascent to the choir from the nave are not continued in one flight, but the western half of the area of the tower is occupied by a broad landing, from which half the steps descended to the nave, and others to the right and left to the transepts. In the middle of the tower space the remainder of the eighteen steps rise from this landing to the landing in front of the choir screen, and under this last landing an arched passage gives ready access from one transept to the other. This was no doubt the arrangement which was followed at York, and to which it was singularly applicable, as my plans, No. 2 and 3, will shew. For at York the choir of Roger was so much narrower than the tower space and nave, that there was no room at the end of the choir side aisles for the double steps of Canterbury, where the ascent to the choir aisles is coupled with the descent to the crypt. At York the vestibules *C* of Roger's crypt are plainly so arranged as to turn the passages inwards, and lead to entrances *within* the eastern tower piers, thus leaving the whole space above the vault of the vestibule free for the ascending flights that led from the transepts to the side aisles of the choir, (as at *I*, plan No. 2, and as shewn complete in plan No. 3.)

The crypt was terminated to the west by a strong wall, which connected the two eastern tower piers, and which was more than fifteen feet high. In this wall, close to each tower pier, the archways must have been pierced that led to the ves-

[h] Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath., p. 38.

tibules *C*, and a passage *B* under the upper landing of the choir would provide a convenient access to these archways, and at the same time a passage from one transept to the other, as at Canterbury.

The six or eight steps necessary for the descent into the crypt were probably thus distributed. Two, as far as I remember, still descend from the vestibule *C* to the side aisle *D*. Possibly three or four more were placed in the archways, and one or two between the transepts and the passage *B*. The arrangement of the landing place under the tower, and of the steps that led down from it to the nave and transepts, I have assumed to have been the same as at Canterbury, and as such have introduced them into plans No. 2 and 3[1].

There is one curious remain in the space *E* that was filled with earth between the triple walls, that I have still to explain. In the course of clearing out the earth the workmen came to a slab of stone, about five feet higher than the level of the pavement of the crypt, which they left undisturbed, but cleared away all the earth round it, so that it now stands up and resembles an altar. Also a little to the east of this slab they found three steps, the remains of a staircase, which formerly descended from west to east. These were also preserved, and from their present appearance are commonly supposed to be the steps that led to this altar. Fig. 2 shews the relative position and arrangement of these steps. *K*, *L*, is the section of the wall that separates the crypt from the western part once filled with earth. The black parts of the sections shew the stones that remain *in situ*. *C*, *D*, is the slab; *E*, *F*, *G*, the three steps, and there is just difference enough between the levels of the top step *E* and the slab, to shew that two more once completed the stair, as shewn in the lighter tint. At the bottom of this stair is hard concrete and rubble from *H* to *I*, and also the foundation of the cross-wall, of which *J* is the bench-table. The stair evidently

[1] In Canterbury there was also a screen between the western piers, with the altar of the cross on its western face, and with a doorway to the right and left, which may perhaps have been copied at York; but in the absence of data I have not ventured to introduce this into the plan, and in fact have merely sketched in the steps to shew one possible arrangement by which access might have been given to the vestibules. The remains prove that the entrances to them were between the tower piers and close to them. But instead of the passage under the choir steps, there might have been merely a narrower flight of ascent to the choir, leaving room on each side for the descending entrances to the crypt.

descer ded from above to a crypt, but whether it belonged to the churches of Thomas or of Roger is not so certain.

The hard surface *H*, *I*, appears to forbid the conjecture that this stair ever conducted to the crypt of Roger, neither is it likely that it would have opened abruptly upon the bench-table *J*. This bench-table is quite perfect along this cross-wall, although the wall itself is so ruined as not to shew whether there was a door in it leading to this staircase.

But in the earlier churches, both Saxon and Norman[k], the crypts were much smaller than in the later ones, and were confined to the extreme east end of the church under the high altar. That of the Saxon church of Canterbury was entered in the middle by a stair similar to this. I conjecture, therefore, that this was the stair which led to the small crypt or "confession" of the Saxon chancel[l].

CHAPTER III.

THE EXISTING CATHEDRAL.

1. *The Transepts.*

THE building having been brought to the state represented in plan No. 2, by the substitution of Roger's choir for the previous one, was not long allowed to remain without fresh improvements. The Norman transepts, destitute of aisles, were in the next place removed, and the magnificent existing Early English transepts, with double aisles, were erected. The plan of the building after the completion of these transepts is shewn in No. 3. The design of the two transepts is very similar; they each belong to the early period of the Early English style, before the tracery principle had been introduced, and therefore judging from examples of known date, would probably have been completed, or very nearly so, before the year 1250. The respective gables of these transepts differ exceedingly in composition, and are well worth studying in comparison; but in other respects the differences are merely in detail.

[k] Arch. Hist. of Canterbury, ch. ii.

[l] The lighter tint on the section between *D* and *E* shews the portions that have been cut away, and thus given to the stair and slab the absurd resemblance that it now bears to a pagan altar with its steps.

In the south transept the western aisle is considerably narrower than the eastern, which is not the case in the north transept. I shall have occasion below (in chap. iv.) to describe the remarkable disposition of the piers and pier-arches of these transepts, which has arisen from some very curious and instructive changes in connexion with the subsequently erected nave and choir. Of written history, the statement of Stubbs that John le Romain built the north transept and central bell-tower at his own expense, is all that remains. Unfortunately, we have no certain information respecting the time at which he lived[m]. His son was archbishop from 1285 to 1295. Archbishop Grey, however, who held the see from 1215 to 1255, founded a chantry in 1241 at the altar of St. Michael, and was buried there; the chapel of St. Michael being the central compartment of the eastern aisle of the southern transept. Within this still remains the magnificent canopied tomb of the archbishop[n], and the pier-arch under which it stands is made wider than the others, apparently to give it importance. The usual custom of burying founders in the middle of their work appears to have led to this arrangement, but it may only have reference to the archbishop's own chantry, the date of the foundation of which, however, shews that the transept was complete in 1241[o]. Thus as the north transept corresponds so closely in design, that it must have been carried on immediately after the stone work of the former was finished, even if not simultaneously, John le Romain, holding office between 1250 and 1260, may have taken so great a share in the completion of it as to have obtained the whole credit, according to the usual practice of medieval biographers and architectural historians. His great central bell-tower, whatever it was, has entirely disappeared, being now replaced by the present tower of the fifteenth century. The practice of burying the founders in their work was closely followed in this cathedral. Arch-

[m] A.D. 1250 John Roman admitted treasurer, and as some say when treasurer built the north part of the Cross Body and steeple (Torre, 698). In Drake's list of the treasurers the date of his admission is left uncertain in the unit figure, thus "126. John le Romane;" and his successor Edmund Mortimer is admitted in 1265, so that he has but five years at most for his office.

[n] Admirably represented in Britton's plate.

[o] This archbishop issued an indulgence in 1227, exhorting in general terms the faithful to contribute to the fabric. (Britton, Appendix, No. 1; Browne, p. 55.) But such documents may either shew that a plan was projected and waiting its commencement for funds, or that it was half finished and standing still for want of them, and therefore are of little use for the obtaining *exact* dates.

bishop Roger was buried "in medio chori," Archbishop Melton in the nave at the font, and Thoresby in the presbytery.

I have shewn below[p] that twelve years ought to have been sufficient for the erection of the two transepts. This, if the south were completed in 1241, would place the whole between 1235 and 1247, supposing no intermissions, but the work evidently lingered.

2. *The Nave.*

The cathedral in the year 1200, as shewn in No. 2, was a Norman building, in which the scale of the different parts was sufficiently well proportioned, and although the eastern end was of a more enriched style than the western, yet they were both Norman, and thus the whole was tolerably homogeneous. But the new transepts were on a scale of so much greater magnificence, that it can scarcely be doubted that they were intended by their founders to be the beginning of an entire transformation of the church; their total internal width was about 95 ft. and that of the Norman nave but 83 ft. And yet no sooner are they completed than a new nave is begun, again introducing a new style and still greater dimensions; whose internal width is 103 ft., and whose clerestory walls are 18 ft. higher than those of the transepts; and, as the subsequent history of the building shews, this new nave was only a part of the project which was fully carried out by the completion of the present presbytery and choir, and of the three towers. It must be observed that although the new nave exceeded the transepts in total width, yet that their central aisles have nearly the same width respectively, the difference being in the side aisles. Plan No. 2 is the complete Norman church, plan No. 5 the complete pointed church, and the intermediate plans, No. 3 and 4, shew the gradual steps by which the one was transformed into the other[q].

First the nave was erected, then as much of the new presbytery as could be built without essentially disturbing the existing choir, and plan No. 4 shews the church in that state.

[p] In note A at the end of the history.

[q] For the transept compartments see Britton, pl. 15, or Browne, pls. 34, 35; for the nave, Britton, pl. 18, Browne, pl. 95; and for the presbytery, Britton, pl. 24, or Browne, pls. 130, 131, who is the first to engrave distinct elevations of the presbytery and choir. The difference between them has been long recognised however, and was first pointed out to me by the Rev. V. Harcourt more than ten years since.

Next the choir was erected as in No. 5, and lastly the central tower and the western towers were raised above the roof. The design of the nave is wholly different from that of the transepts, and the latter has not exercised the slightest influence upon the composition of the former, although the reverse has been frequently the case when a Decorated building has been added to an Early English one, as may be seen at Ely, Westminster, St. Alban's, &c. The Early English transepts are divided into pier arches, triforium, and clerestory, of which the respective altitudes, reckoning from one string or tablet to another, are about 40 ft., 23 ft., and 14 ft.

But in the nave there are but two great divisions, of which the lower one, containing the pier arches, is 51 ft. high; the upper one, 43 ft. high, is occupied by a large clerestory window of five lights, with geometrical tracery and a transom across the middle. The lights above the transom are glazed, and constitute the real window, but the lights below the transom (if the phrase can be applied to openings so perfectly dark) are open, and as the roof of the side aisle abuts against the transom, the space behind them, and to which they communicate, is the interval between the stone vault of the aisles and its wooden roof; they thus serve the purpose of a triforium. This artifice of construction may be better understood by referring to the section of the nave in Britton's plate 19.

If the nave, presbytery, and choir be compared together, it will at once be seen that the two latter are professedly copies of the first, continuations namely of the same design. The general distribution and the contrivance of the triforium, as well as the plan of the piers, are the same[r], the differences are in detail merely, but on that account so exceedingly interesting, that I shall proceed to point out a few of the principal.

The moldings of the pier arches are shewn in figure 3: they appear to be the same at first sight. Each pier arch consists of two orders of voussoirs, and of a hoodmold[s]. The upper orders, *A*, *C*, *E*, respectively have the same moldings in all three arches, but the lower or sub-order of moldings which form the soffits are all different. *B*, in the nave, consists of five ribs, of which the three lower have fillets or keels, and

[r] In the presbytery and choir the two great compartments are nearly equal in height, being 48 feet each.

[s] The hoodmold of the choir is nearly the same as in the presbytery: it was inaccessible when I made the drawing.

they are all separated by a single narrow hollow between two fillets. In the presbytery soffit-mold, *D*, there is more variety, the same number of ribs, but the intermediate one is of a simpler form, and the intervening hollows are simpler. The choir, *F*, has six ribs instead of five, they are all alike, and sepa-

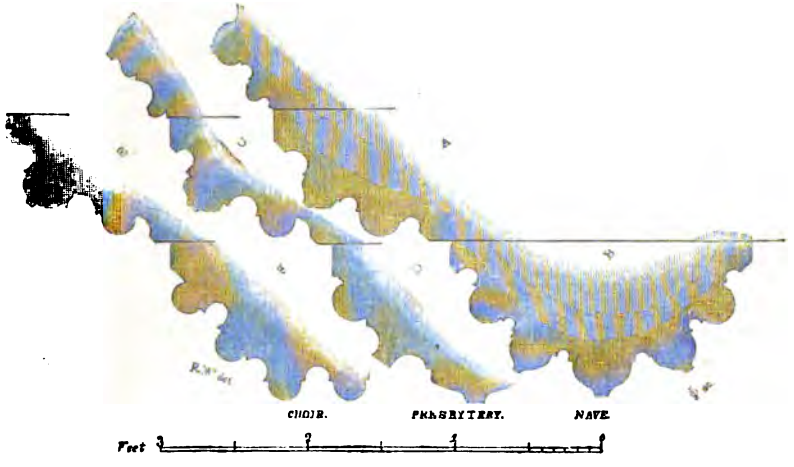

Fig. 3. ARCH MOLDINGS, YORK

rated by the same hollows and fillets as in the nave, but the hollows are larger and the ribs smaller, and, lastly, a hollow occupies the soffit of the arch instead of a rib with a fillet as in the others, and this last character has so conspicuous an effect upon the eye that it enables the two classes of arches in the presbytery and choir to be distinguished at once, and thus points to the boundary between the work of the two.

The pattern of the tracery in the windows is the next feature which exhibits differences. In the side aisles of the nave and in its clerestory, the tracery is geometrical, but in the side aisles the pattern is much simpler than in the clerestory; the former, and of course the earlier, as being lower in the building, is in three lights without subordination of moldings; but the latter is in five lights, with a rich head and a complex subordination of moldings. At the west end of the building the geometrical pattern of the side-aisle windows is employed for the western windows that terminate those side aisles, and which form part of the lower story of the western towers; but the great west window, and those of the next story of the towers which range with the clerestory windows of

the nave are filled with exquisite flowing tracery[t]. In the next portion of the work, namely, the side walls of the presbytery, we find the pattern represented in fig. 4. This is midway between flowing and Perpendicular tracery, for although the pattern traced out by the first lines or first order of tracery moldings is a kind of reticulation that not unfrequently occurs in early Perpendicular windows; yet the way in which each of the meshes (so to speak) of this reticulation above the lights is filled up, has a decidedly flowing character, which is given to it by the inclination to right and left of the trefoiled compartments, and by their flowing junction with the quatrefoil above them.

Fig 4. Window, South Aisle of Choir.

But the contrast of characters is still more admirably brought

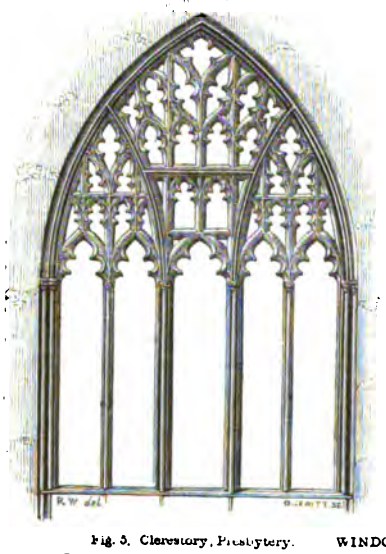

Fig. 5. Clerestory, Presbytery.

Fig. 6 Clerestory, Choir

WINDOWS.

out between the clerestory windows of the presbytery and of the choir represented above.

[t] For the patterns of these windows see Britton's plates, 18, 19, 10.

It is clear that these are intended to match. The number of lights are the same in each, and so is the system of subordination, by which two lights on each side are cut off, and included in a separate arch. (This indeed is also derived from the nave.) But in the presbytery a transom crosses the tracery and connects these arches. In the choir, on the contrary, the two central monials run up with decided Perpendicular character to meet the window arch. In the presbytery these monials run up, but in the subordinate order of moldings only, so as not to be prominent. The head of the presbytery window is occupied by a series of compartments that recline right and left fan-wise, and have many flowing lines in them, strangely mixed with others of decided Perpendicular character[u]. But in the choir the whole of the filling up is of the most decided Perpendicular character, and shews that when this part of the building had been reached the Perpendicular style had become fully established.

The east window of the presbytery is a magnificent specimen[x] of the same undecided character as the other windows of this part of the building.

The tower windows of each of the three towers above the roof present nothing unusual, and are of decidedly Perpendicular character. But it may be worth remarking that the western towers, as this history has shewn, contain in their three stories specimens of the three styles of tracery, one above the other.

There are a few other differences of detail between the presbytery and choir, which I noted on the spot, and which are perhaps hardly intelligible without a drawing, but, by the help of the following notes, may be seen in Browne's plates, 130 and 131, or may be understood from Britton's elevation of the presbytery (pl. 25). In the presbytery the monials of the clerestory have *long* cylindrical base plinths, and *trefoiled* compartments between them at the bottom of the triforium. The capitals of the triforium arches also *embrace the small outer shafts* of the window arch. The transom of the triforium openings is rather *higher* than the middle. In the choir, on the contrary, there are *short* plinths with *cinquefoil*

[u] Perpendicular windows to the very last often contain fragments of flowing tracery in the filling up of their smaller compartment, but seldom of so decided and prevalent character as in the presbytery windows.

[x] Britton, pl. 25.

compartments between the capitals; the latter *stop short* of the outer shafts, and the transom is *lower down*.

In the presbytery the passage of the clerestory gallery runs outside the windows, and between them and a peculiar outer frame of square-headed tracery, which is omitted in the choir, and there the passage is within, instead of without, the glass. The sill of the triforium is much narrower in the presbytery than in the choir.

On the outside the presbytery has broad buttresses with high pinnacles, and the choir has narrow buttresses with lower pinnacles. The pattern of the side-aisle windows is the same in the two, but in the presbytery the arch-head is much more acute than in the choir, by which also the proportions of the pattern are altered.

In order to understand the written history of the parts of the church we have been considering, which is unfortunately scanty and obscure, it is necessary to form some opinion of the number of years that were probably required for their erection. I have carefully compared the amount of work in each of these parts of the cathedral of York respectively with that contained in six cathedrals (or parts of cathedrals) of the first class, for the erection of which the time consumed has been recorded. The result to which I have arrived[y] is that twelve years ought to have sufficed for the transepts, sixteen for the nave, omitting the upper part of the west front, nine years for the presbytery, and eleven for the choir. This is the average result of six buildings, some of which were carried on with great funds, some with small; some without interruption, some with periods of intermission. They were all roofed in during these periods. The three towers of York are not included, neither is the casing of the central tower piers. The wooden vault appears to have been in every case an after-work: it is not included in the above estimate[z]; but if six years be allowed for it, then it appears that in about fifty years the entire cathedral, without its towers, might have been built.

The actual written history of the nave is but scanty; the foundation date, April 6, 1291, is recorded by Stubbs, as well

[y] The calculations and their results are explained at length in note A at the end of this history.

[z] There are no sufficient data remaining that I am aware of to enable us to form an estimate of the time consumed in medieval carpentry. The lantern of Ely occupied sixteen years, (Ang. Sac., t. i. p. 644,) from the difficulty and expense of procuring the necessary timber.

as the fact that it was begun on the south side towards the east; and as we must suppose that the wall of the side aisle was the first thing erected, the point *J* in plans No. 3 and 4, where that wall joins the Early English transept, is thus shewn to be the starting place of this great work. This point and the entire side aisle wall, north and south as well as the west front, is obviously (plan, No. 3) so far removed from the walls of the Norman nave which was then standing that they might have been erected without disturbing it, and this to a certain extent, as far at least as to the lower part of the west front with its geometrical windows, was probably the case, as we have the authority of Gervase to shew that such a system was pursued at Canterbury [a]. The arcade work in the interior must have been finished afterwards.

An indenture for glazing the great west window, dated 1338, is preserved by Torre[b], and in the same year Archbishop Melton is recorded to have given to the fabric the sum of 500 marcs, or according to another authority 600 marcs[c], if indeed these sums are not separate gifts, for Stubbs has told us that this prelate gave 700 pounds, (a sum about equivalent to 1100 marcs,) and that by this the western extremity of the church was finished.

I have already stated that the west window and the two windows of the second story of the western towers are of flowing tracery, and there can be no doubt that this part of the work is meant when Melton is said to have finished the west end. The elaborate western door has geometrical tracery. The coincidence in date of his gift with the contract for glazing is sufficient to shew the connexion between this part of the work and the archbishop in question. And as the glazing would not be put in until the roof was completed, the nave must at this time have been roofed in; how long before we cannot tell. As the preparation of the glass would

[a] Vide note A. The possibility of thus beginning the nave without pulling down the old one has not escaped Mr. Browne, (p. 110.)

[b] The original indenture is missing.

[c] In a York register (Bib. Cott. Claud., B. iii. f. 198) there is a memorandum to the effect that Abp. Melton gave 500 marcs to the fabric in the year 1338. But in the Monasticon, tom. iii. p. 162, is a statement "ex registro fabricæ Ecclesiæ beatæ Petri Ebor," that in the year 1338 Abp. Melton gave to the fabric 600 marcs of silver. The wording of the second entry is entirely different from that of the first, and both are extracted from original registers, so that if the two memoranda relate to the same gift the error in the sum is an old one, unless Dugdale's transcriber has mistaken 600 for 500.

occupy some time, the stone-work of the tracery was probably going on when the contract was made. The completion of the nave, exclusive of the wooden vault, is thus fixed to about 1340, little less than fifty years after its first stone was laid; and so we have the beginning and the end, but of the intermediate progress of the building we have nothing to judge by but the language of indulgences and petitions, always exaggerated.

In 1298, a petition for a grant of a tenth and a third, &c., declares that the nave of the church had long since fallen, and that it is therefore necessary to erect a new church of sumptuous work, for which the church has no resources[d].

Indulgences of forty days were from time to time granted to contributors; as for example, by Archbishop Corbrig, in 1304, in the last year of his life; by Archbishop Grenefeld, in 1306, soon after his accession to the see[e]. Archbishop Melton, in 1320, kal. Feb., grants forty days' pardon to whoever "shall contribute to the building the minster at York, which was *diruta et prostrata*, and so noble a structure begun that he longed mightily to see it finished[f]." He issued another indulgence in 1324. Archbishop Grenefeld was a liberal contributor, his register records gifts of one hundred marcs in 1311, of fifty marcs in his 9th year of prelacy, (1314,) of £14. "*de quadam mulcte*," and lastly of fifty marcs in his 10th year, to forward the works during the coming summer, *pro celeriori promotione operis in instante estate*, making altogether a sum of about £147.[g]

From the expressions made use of in these documents, it is clear that the work was carried on slowly, and with intermissions; the petition in 1298 proves that the Norman nave was down; but the side walls, which would have required about six or seven years if carried on steadily, may have been then in a state of forwardness. Grenefeld's gifts at the latter

[d] "Petitiones quedam tradita per dominus Rogerum de Mar. in curia... Cum navis eccl. nostre Ebor. diu est corruitam propter quod necesse est novam ecclesiam reedificare opere sumptuoso nec ad hoc habet ecclesia aliquos facultates petatur decima et tertia non residentiarium," &c.—MSS. Harl. 6971. p. 135. 1297 or 1298, (ex Reg. H. de Newarke.) This shews that the Norman nave was pulled down or had fallen, but it does not prove that the new one was not in course of building.

[e] Harl., 6970, pp. 134, 152.

[f] Harl., 6970, pp. 4, 11. The words appear to have been a formula copied from the previous indulgence of Grenefeld. See Browne, p. 116.

[g] Harl., 6970, pp. 250, 252. Ex reg. Grenefeld. The form is "Libera custodibus fabrice ecc. b. Petri Ebor. 50^{m}. quos eodem fabrice donavimus 7. Kal. Jun. pont. 9^{o}."

end of his pontificate, and the repeated indulgences issued by his successor at the beginning of his, are evidences of exertions made to complete some part of the work, and as fourteen years intervene between these indulgences and the work of the west end in 1338, it may be fairly concluded that the new nave, exclusive of the flowing Decorated work at the west, was completed about 1324[h], at the beginning of Melton's episcopate, and that the work then stood still for the fourteen years, after which the west end, as we have already seen, was taken in hand about two years before Melton's death in 1340. The lower story of the western towers, and the central door, although geometrical in their tracery, are in many respects in an advanced style to the rest of the nave, they were probably begun after the latter was finished and roofed, this will place their date at the beginning of Melton's pontificate.

The nave, and indeed the whole church in its highest parts, is covered with a wooden vault, made in the form of a stone ribbed vault, with bosses, probably on account of the great span of the central aisle which alarmed the masons. The side aisles are vaulted with stone[i]. Vaults however, whether of wood or stone, being beneath the actual roof, were not necessarily set about immediately after the building was in other respects completed, and covered in for use, but admitted of being postponed indefinitely, and indeed we often find cases in which, although prepared for, they never were added.

It is not therefore surprising to find that in 1354, fifteen years after the time which I have assigned for the completion of the nave, the wooden vault was in progress, which is proved by a letter from the chapter to the archbishop, (vide Browne, p. 133,) requesting permission to cut timber for that purpose, in accordance with his grant.

[h] In 1326 an altar to St. Edmund the king was erected on the south side of the church, near the tomb of St. William (known to be in the nave), for the chantry of Robert de Pynchebek. Browne gives the documents, p. 122, and the chantry appears in Dodsworth's list, with the date 1330. This shews that the nave must have been finished at this time, and roofed in, with the exception of the west end. The nave was thus evidently carried on more slowly than the average, taking at least thirty-three years instead of sixteen. The rate of proceeding was a little greater than that of Ely. Vide note A.

[i] Stone vaults are employed to preserve buildings from fire. But wooden vaults, in imitation of stone, being merely for ornament, admitted of postponement still more than the stone vault, in which the safety of the building was involved. The outer walls of York clerestory exhibited, before the late repairs, toothings for the reception of stone flying buttresses, which seemed to shew that a stone vault was originally intended.

3. *The Chapter-House.*

The chapter-house must, by its style, have been erected at some time while the nave was going on, and apparently during the interval between the completion of the lower part of the west front and the upper part, in which the flowing tracery is introduced, for the chapter-house has magnificent geometrical tracery of a very advanced character. Mr. Browne[k] fixes the date of its commencement about 1280, and its completion about 1340, which appears to me to be too soon by fifty years for the beginning. His principal reason seems to be that chapter acts, from 1223 to about 1300, are dated "in capitulo Eborum," but after 1300 "in capitulo ecclesie," or "in loco capitulari ipsius ecclesie." In 1342 and afterwards he tells us that the phrase used is "in domo capitulari;" and this last, in fact, shews that a chapter-house was then in existence. But the word "capitulum" is by no means confined to that meaning, and is commonly used for the church in general, or for the presbytery in particular, as Ducange will shew. Probably some part of the church was assigned as a chapter-house, or "locus capitularis," until a chapter-house was built; or a chapter-house of some kind may have existed on the site of the present one[l].

4. *The Presbytery and Choir.*

At the completion of the nave the church was in the following state, as shewn in plan No. 4, (omitting the presbytery.) The choir and its crypts were of enriched Norman, the work of Archbishop Roger. The central tower had the Norman piers of Archbishop Thomas, and above them the Early English campanile of Johannes Romanus the elder. Perhaps the Norman tower piers were clothed with Early English masonry. The transepts and the nave were the same that now remain; but the western towers of the nave rose no higher than the roof. The next work which was undertaken was to replace the choir of Archbishop Roger by an eastern building, on the same scale of magnificence as the nave.

[k] Browne, p. 94.

[l] Britton, pl. 28, shews the curious alteration in the gable wall of the north transept, to form the entrance to the chapter-house vestibule. And pl. 32, No. 1, shews how the Early English arcades of the once external wall of the gable were retained and mixed up with the later work of the passage.

The history of this building is an exceedingly curious one, and Mr. Browne has, by his industrious researches amongst the chapter documents, brought to light many new documents, which serve to illustrate this history. It is therefore with great regret that I feel myself compelled to differ from him most essentially in the applications which he makes of the whole of these documents to the history of the work. I shall presently proceed to analyse them, and endeavour to explain my own opinion with respect to their meaning.

Stubbs, or rather his continuator, has given a concise and extremely valuable sketch of the proceedings of Archbishop Thoresby[m]. Upon this Mr. Browne has, most undeservedly, endeavoured to throw discredit. The passage in question was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the affairs of the church, and so many of the statements contained in it are confirmed by the chapter documents, that I see every reason for giving to the whole the most implicit confidence. I will take these statements in order; first with respect to the beginning of the work, which Stubbs assigns to the 30th July, 1361. A resolution of the archbishop and chapter, dated July 20, 1361, declares "that every church should have its different parts consistently decorated, and that the choir, which is destined for the offering of the sacrifice, should be more especially ornamented." "Moreover, that in the church of York there was no suitable place where the mass of the Virgin could be daily performed with proper decency;" they therefore agree to "begin such a choir, and that the old choir, which, compared with the beauty of the nave, seems rude, should be taken down piecemeal, as it may seem expedient, and used for the completion of the new choir. They also agree that the decayed hall and chamber at Shirburn be taken down, and its materials at once applied to the finishing of the work[n]."

[m] See chap. i. above.

[n] I subjoin extracts from the original document from Register G c. fol. 52. It begins by stating that the archbishop and the chapter having duly considered "quantum sit conveniens quod ecclesia quælibet in singulis suis partibus conformi decore concordet quodque Chorus qui ad offerenda sacrificia piæ placationis officia salubriter exercenda divinumque cultum explendum est, peculiarius deputatus structura decenti potissime deceret ornari, ac quod in ecclesia Ebor. prædicta non fuerat aliquis locus congruus ubi missa gloriosæ dei genetricis et Virginis Mariæ cotidie in ipsa ecclesia celebranda decenter poterat celebrari" . . . "concordarunt quod ibidem fabricari inceperent chorum talem, et quod antiquus chorus, qui respectu pulchritudinis navis ecclesiæ videbatur pluribus nimis rudis, per partes dissolveretur, prout unanimi consensu ipsius Archi-

Next with respect to the annual gifts of the archbishop. The statement of Stubbs is completely confirmed by the bishop's register, which contains a series of orders for the payment of various sums to the fabric. Thus the first on the 23rd of April, 1359, £20, "in celeriorem consummationem fabrice ecclesie;" then in Nov. and Jan., 1360, £20 each; in April, 1361, £30, "ad fabricam." These sums were probably applied to the completion of the vault of the nave, or to the preparations for the new choir. On the 1st of August, 1361, is an order[o] for the payment of one hundred marks sterling (£66. 13*s*.) "given to the fabric newly begun, at the laying of the first stone thereof by ourselves;" then in Oct., 1361, £50; and afterwards £100 in each half year, with some occasional irregularities, to the last payment in July, 1373, thus completely justifying the accuracy of the historian[p].

As to the indulgences which Stubbs mentions, Mr. Browne's pages record them in abundance. And for the tombs of his predecessors, the bishop's register contains several orders for payments to this effect. First, Feb. 18, 1369, to pay Master Robert de Patryngton, master mason of the fabric of the new choir, for the work of six marble stones, prepared for the tombs of our predecessors[q], ten pounds out of the hundred which the archbishop had promised to the fabric at the coming Easter. Secondly, Aug. 23, 1369, ten marcs to Robert de Patryngton in part payment of forty pounds, for making certain marble stones. Thirdly, June 12, 1373, one hundred shillings to Robert de Patryngton for the work of the tombs.

These entries confirm the statement that the archbishop provided new tombs for six of his predecessors, and as to the place in which he deposited them, which according to Stubbs was above the choir in front of the Virgin chapel, we have the

episcopis et capituli videbitur expedire et converteretur in auxilium completionis novi chori." ... "Quod aula et camera (apud Shirburn) dissolvantur et diruantur et quod lapides eorundem qui multum accelerare possunt consummationem fabricæ supradictæ ad ipsam per dei gratiam complendam celerius applicentur." 1361.

[o] "Salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Quia dedimus fabrice ecclesie nostre cathedrali beati Petri Eboraci noviter incepte centum marcorum sterlingorum ad posicionem primi lapidis ibidem per nos positum, vobis mandamus quatenus statim visis presentibus predictas centum marcas domino Johanni de Codyngham custodi dicte fabrice liberetis. &c. Dat' apud Cawode primo die mensis Augusti anno d^ni^ mill^o^. ccc^mo^. lxi^o^."

[p] The sum of his gifts amounts to about £2,400.

[q] "... liberetis Magistro Roberto de Patryngton magistro sementario fabrice novi chori ecclesie nostre Ebor... opere sex lapidum marmoreorum pro tumulis predecessorum nostrum parandum," &c.

corroborative testimony of Leland, who in his Itinerary, (tom. viii. p. 15,) has the following entry:

Sepul. archiepiscoporum in orient. parte ecclesiæ.
Walterus Gisfart obiit 7. Cal. Maii anno Dom. 1277
Henry Murdak obiit anno Dom. 1153
Gerardus obiit 12. Cal. Jun. anno Dom. 1108
Defuit inscriptio
Johannes de Thoresby quondam Menevensis postea Wigorn. & Ebor. archiepiscopus. qui fabricam ..... obiit 6 die Novembris anno Dom. 1373
Thomas Junior obiit anno Dom. 1113 5 Idus Mart.
Johan. Romanus obiit anno Dom. 1295
In bore. lat. Capel. S. Mar.
Rotheram archiepiscopus fuit cancellarius Angliæ & Franciæ Obiit 29 die Maii anno Dom. 1500
Georgius Nevile archiepiscopus obiit apud Blitheborow redeundo ad ecclesiam suam anno Dom. 1476.
In Sacello S .....
Thomas de Masham dominus de Scrope vir nobilis, obiit..... fecit in Sacello S .... duas cantarias
&c. &c.

This memorandum, from the nature of it, was evidently written by Leland as he went the round of the church, and not from any manuscript record, but from the stones themselves, in the order that he observed them. He begins with writing down three names, then he finds a stone with no inscription, and records that fact, and then passes on to copy the names upon three more. One of these is that of Thoresby himself; the other five are names of his predecessors, every one of which are amongst those which Stubbs mentions as having been buried in the church of York. The motive for this removal is clear; for I have already mentioned, and have shewn in plan No. 4, that the portion of the choir where these stones were placed was first erected, and, lying considerably beyond the choir of Roger, was completed before that was disturbed. Before therefore the latter part of the building was pulled down, it was extremely natural to remove the bodies of those archbishops who had been deposited in the choir above the crypt, to that part of the building which was completed, and where they would be at rest. And to confirm this account it must be noted that seven large stones with defaced inscriptions remained until the laying of the new pavement, in front

of the chapel, (at *V. . . V*, No. 5,) at the east end of the presbytery, which chapel, there is abundant evidence to shew, was always known by the name of the Lady-chapel[r]. These various statements concur so completely in placing Thoresby's chapel at the east end of the presbytery, that no historian of York ever threw a doubt upon the matter until Mr. Browne published his history, and I am bound to confess that I cannot agree with him.

Having now confirmed the principal assertions in Stubbs' history, it remains only to examine his relation that Thoresby completed the chapel of the Virgin with sculpture and painting. The presbytery, as already stated, was founded in 1361. By comparing the quantity of work contained in it with the average rate of erecting six other buildings of the same class, I have already shewn that nine years were sufficient to complete it in, supposing it to have been carried on with *average* diligence and funds. But this building was promoted with *unusual* diligence and *great* funds, the archbishop himself contributing most largely, and exerting himself to obtain contribu-

[r] For example, the large altar-tomb of Archbishop Rotheram still remains on the north side of this chapel. He gave by will his body to be buried "in brachio boriali capelle sce Marie." Next in 1409 Master Thomas Wallworth gave his body to be buried "infra novam fabricam ecclesiæ Ebor. videlicet infra clausum altaris beatæ Mariæ et juxta sepulchrum magni Rich. le Scrope." Lastly, Leonard Beckwyth, in 1547, bequeaths his body to be buried "in *our Lady queare* wher they singe Messe behynde the highe Aulter," which last description is sufficient in itself to determine the position and existence of the Lady-chapel.

Mr. Browne, however, does not deny that this chapel was called the Lady-chapel, and in fact quotes all the above passages, but explains them in another manner. (See p. 188.)

Stubbs has asserted that Thoresby endowed a chaplain to say mass for his soul in the chapel of the Virgin. Mr. Browne has very satisfactorily shewn that this is a mistake as far as the endowment is concerned, for this was by the Percy family in 1362, the archbishop only retaining the power of appointing the manner, hour, and place where the chaplain shall celebrate, and that he is to celebrate for the souls of the archbishops and of Lord Henry de Percy, and of Mary his wife, &c. In fact, it is clear that the archbishop, in the words of Mr. Browne, claimed and obtained this chaplain of Lord Percy's for the benefit of his own soul, and thus it obtained the name of Thoresby's chantry.

But in the list of chantries in York cathedral, 37 Hen. VIII. (Dodsworth, Bodl. 92. 143. printed in Stevens' continuation,) I find the chantry of our Lady by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Mary his wife, which shews that the archbishop appropriated this chantry to the Virgin. I cannot allow that this, the only error which can be shewn in Stubbs' statement, is sufficient to overthrow his authority, or to stamp him as a recorder of "so much erroneous and doubtful matter." For if the above opinion be correct, he after all has represented this transaction in accordance with the view which Thoresby's friends took of it. And it is not impossible that the archbishop may have augmented the foundation with property of his own.

tions from others. The only fabric roll that remains of this period (1370[s]) witnesses to an expenditure in one year of £627, and to the employment of thirty-five masons and eighteen labourers, the wages of the masons alone amounting to £245. The average annual expenditure upon Ely presbytery was but £318, and upon Exeter much less. There can be therefore no difficulty in believing that the presbytery of York cathedral, which includes the Lady-chapel, was finished and roofed during Thoresby's life, for he died in 1373, twelve years after the foundation stone was laid. Neither can there be any doubt that he might have translated the bodies of his predecessors into his new building, and have prepared his own tomb therein. And as one of his especial objects was to provide a Lady-chapel, he may be supposed to have fitted up this part of the building with carving, gilding, and painting, under his own superintendence[t], although the choir, namely, the part lying between the presbytery and the great tower, (see plans No. 4 and No. 5,) was not commenced.

Mr. Browne has with great care and industry analyzed a number of fabric rolls relating to the works of the church in the latter part of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth. To him we are most exceedingly indebted for bringing these rolls before the public for the first time, and I can only repeat my regrets that I am compelled to differ from him so completely in the interpretation and application of the information they contain to the history of the fabric.

Fabric rolls in general, valuable as they are, convey a species of information of the most tantalizing and uncertain description. They usually contain accounts of expenditure for the purchase of materials, stone, timber, glass, or lead, as the case may be, and also of workmen's wages; but

[s] Browne, p. 168.

[t] When Stubbs asserts that Thoresby fitted up the chapel with carving and gilding, we are not obliged to infer that this was necessarily done in his life-time, and under his own inspection. For the common practice of the medieval biographers was to state that a work was done by any one who provided the money for it. Many instances might be quoted to shew that this principle of interpretation may be safely employed without vitiating the authority of the writer quoted, in all cases when there is no specific assertion that the benefactor in question did really carry on the work in person. Thus Cotton, the monk and historian of Norwich, says that Bishop Alnwick made the great west door of Norwich cathedral, with the window over it. But the will of the bishop contains an injunction to his executors to make such a door and window.

they seldom inform us to what purpose these materials were respectively employed. An accidental expression will sometimes help us to this information, but for the most part we can only learn that in one year mason work prevailed, in another carpenter's work; that at one period windows were in process of glazing, and that at another lead work was the principal employment, whence we may infer that some part of the building was being covered in. If a single building or part of a building only is the subject of such an obscure chronicle, there is less difficulty in the case; we follow it from year to year, from the scaffolding provided at its commencement to the glazing of its windows and the leading of its roof, with tolerable certainty; but in the case before us we have a series of rolls, (or rather of specimens of rolls, for the series is miserably intermitted,) including only about thirty-six annual rolls through a period of about a hundred and forty-eight years. And these rolls relate to the works of at least five different and independent structures, namely, the presbytery or east part of the choir, the west part of the choir, the central tower and the two bell towers, each of which was separately carried up, roofed, leaded, and glazed, to say nothing of the wooden vaults of the choir, of the bell-tower, and the two transepts, each of them a separate and subsequent work. This may serve to excuse and explain the different manner in which Mr. Browne and myself have been led to interpret the documents in question. As my knowledge of them is solely derived from the valuable work of that author, I must refer to his pages for the particulars, and shall content myself with such a rapid analysis of their general bearing as may serve to make my own explanation intelligible. The work of the choir, as already stated, was commenced in 1361, and the rolls have been preserved for the following years only[n]; 1370—three about 1398—1399—1415, 1418, 1419, 1421, 1423—1433, 1434, 1435—1442, 1443, 1445, 1446, 1447—1456, 1457, 1458—1465—1470, 1471, 1472, 1474—1479, 1482, 1485—1489, 1499, 1504, 1508, 1509, 1515, 1518.

It will be seen that for the most part they are scattered over different years, detached by long intervals from each other, but that some of the rolls that remain are preserved in groups tolerably continuous.

The first four or five rolls are so widely separated that their

[n] Browne's History, pp. 168—270.

connexion with existing buildings can hardly be traced. The first (1370), in the tenth year of the operations, and during the life of Thoresby, shews that extensive mason work was proceeding. It provides scaffolding, and also mentions the making of a ceiling carved with bosses and painted, which was put up above the high altar. A new clock and certain bells are provided. The second roll is a mutilated fragment of uncertain date, which merely shews that considerable mason work was going on. The third roll is also an undated fragment, but it has in addition to the masonry a large sum expended for the iron work of window bars. The fourth is an undated fragment, c. 1399, which evidences masonry work, and also that much lead was bought. The fifth roll (1399) shews that the masonry was proceeding, and mentions a payment to watchmen for lying in the new works of the choir, and also has a very curious inventory of stores, which amongst other things shews that the crypt or cruddes, or part of them at least, were used as stores for tools. In 1415 we have linen cloth for the *reredorse* of the high altar, iron work for the crypt, tiles for paving the crypt, a beam bought for a rood-beam for the new choir, and iron for window bars. But now we find a group of rolls for 1418, 1419, 1421, 1423, in the three last of which the great bell-tower is mentioned, with mason work, timber, and scaffolding, which can leave no doubt that they relate to that lofty work. In the first the library is also mentioned. After an interval of nine years another group of rolls presents itself for 1433, 1434, 1435, in which stones for the *new bell-tower* are mentioned, and a great quantity of timber, iron, and lead provided. As Bermyngham became treasurer in 1432, and retained that office until his death in 1457, and his name is carved conspicuously on the south-western tower, there is no doubt that this latter is the *new* bell-tower in question. During his treasurership another set of rolls are preserved for 1442, 1443, 1445, 1446, 1447. These shew that comparatively few masons were employed, but that a quantity of timber was bought, as well as iron and lead. This iron is said to be for the bell-tower, probably therefore partly a completion of Bermyngham's tower, and the great tower is also mentioned. Three rolls for the years 1456, 1457, 1458, merely prove that very few masons were employed, and that no work of consequence was going on. The repair of the stone work of the windows in the nave indicates that the workmen were

only engaged in ordinary work[v]. In 1470, 1471, 1472, 1474, we are presented with rolls that exhibit great activity, and great numbers of masons and carpenters, especially the three first. The carpenters were working at a wooden vault, for the bosses are mentioned; glazing was extensively proceeding; also the painting and gilding of the great bell-tower is specified, and in the last roll much lead and lead-work, and bars of iron for the north bell-tower. These works, as Mr. Browne observes, probably belong to the vault of the great tower and its painting, and to the completion of the north-west bell-tower. Whether also to the roof of the great tower is doubtful. The battlement and "fynyallis" of the choir are also specified. But this was a work commonly left to the last. The remainder of the rolls are widely scattered, and appear to relate to little else than ordinary repairing and finishing[w].

I have now cast a rapid glance over these valuable documents, and can only regret that from the wide intervals of the years for which they have chanced to be preserved their information is of so desultory a nature, affording us only partial glimpses of operations, without allowing us to discover to what part of the building they belong. However in the latter part of the series some evidence of this kind is given in the rolls, as I have stated, and the history of the three towers is pretty well established thereby. But with respect to the period of erection of the presbytery and of the choir, I contend that these rolls give us little or no available information, and that we must seek it elsewhere.

If Thoresby finished the presbytery, as I have endeavoured to shew, the only fabric roll of this series that can belong to it is that of 1370, already quoted. There can be no doubt that the next work that was undertaken was the choir, which

[v] Mr. Browne infers from this that the windows of the nave had never been finished till this time. But the pattern of the tracery is sufficient to shew that this could not have been the case, and the sum paid is only 10s. Repairs of this kind constantly occur in fabric accounts, and only relate to mending and patching.

[w] In 1479 and 1485 the carving of Huddlestone crockets in great quantities occurs, and in the latter year *gargills* are also mentioned. Mr. Browne infers that they belonged to the organ screen, but if that were the case the other elements of tabernacle work would appear, as gablets, buttresses, &c. . . . They more probably were the exterior crockets and gargoyles of the choir and presbytery. Again, in 1482 and 1485 timber and planks are purchased, which Mr. Browne applies to the stall work; but as no allusion to that class of work occurs in these rolls, I would rather apply these materials to one of the wooden vaults, perhaps of the transepts.

includes five compartments, and it has two eastern transepts, (*S, S,* plan No. 5,) which are not distinguishable upon the plan because they do not project beyond the walls of the side aisles. The rolls that immediately succeed the first must therefore belong to the choir, and it only remains to determine when the said choir was finished.

In carrying on works that were so intimately connected with the sacred extremity of the building every arrangement would be made to ensure that the performance of the services should be as little interrupted as possible, and that they should be restored to their proper place after such interruption with every possible rapidity. To this effect the first parts of the work, including four compartments out of the nine which constitute its length, were so arranged, as the plan No. 4 shews, that they could be erected without disturbing or pulling down more than the aisle behind the east end of the choir of Roger and its crypt. This portion was beyond the high altar, and not essential to the performance of the services. The side-aisle walls of the choir itself could also have been built up to the Early English transepts without pulling down more than the flanking towers of Roger's apse, as the plan No. 4 also shews. But for the purpose of determining when the choir was *finished* we must digress a little, to examine when the work that followed it, namely, the great central tower, was *commenced.*

The four piers of the present tower were not newly erected for the purpose of carrying it, but are mere casings of the piers of the Norman tower that was built by Archbishop Thomas. Moreover it appears from the present state of the masonry that the casing of Perpendicular work that now clothes these Norman piers was not carried up all round each pier simultaneously, but that each side received its casing when the arches that abut against each side respectively were erected, as indeed might be expected. For example, when the nave was begun the Norman central tower remained intact with the exception of some Early English work, probably above the roof, (see plans No. 3 and No. 4.) For simplicity let us confine our attention to the history of one of these piers, the south-western, (*N,* No. 5.) When the present nave was begun (see No. 4) the western face of this pier received a casing in the form of the present half pier, (or *respond,*) from whence the pier-arches of the nave commence. The pier thus became

Decorated on the western face, and remained Norman on the three others. Afterwards the arch that springs from its southern face with its pier was erected, to connect this pier with the side-aisle wall and complete the eastern end of the side aisle. This addition was connected with some curious changes which I will explain below (see chap. iv.) The pier now became Decorated on the western and southern faces, and remained Norman on the other two. But when the time came (plan, No. 5) for completing the central tower in the same style as the choir, then the northern face and the eastern face of our pier received its new clothing as at present, and these two faces were carried up simultaneously, rather more than a century after the western face had been transformed. If the masonry of this pier be examined, it will be seen that there is no bond between the three works that I have pointed out, and that the beds of masonry of the three respectively are at different levels, shewing that they were, as I have explained, erected independently at successive periods. The same will be found to be the case with the two tower piers that lie to the east, and in connexion with the choir. The eastern faces of these piers next to the choir were completely finished in connexion with the masonry of that choir before the other faces were begun; or in other words, the choir was completed up to the tower before the works of the tower itself were commenced, so that it thus became possible to use the choir for the services before the tower work was attacked, and we may therefore be very sure that this was the method of proceeding, for it is incredible that any of the masons would be allowed to work upon other parts of the building which were not wanted for the services, so long as the portions that were so required remained unfinished.

Now amongst the chapter documents there remains an order printed at length below[x], dated Nov., 1409, which

[x] "Ordinatio per dnos de Capitulo xv. die mens. Novēbris anno Dni M. CCCC^{mo}. ix. Imprimis. quod dominus Thomas de Haxey sit supervisor operis iiij^{or} columpnæ. Item quod oblationes provenientes & proventuræ ad sepulchrum Ricardi* ultimi Archiep. convertuntur ad usus operis iiij^{or} columpnæ. Item omnia donata et legata ad fabricam ejusdem iiij^{or} columpnæ convertantur ad usum columpnæ prædictæ. Item logium pro cementariis construendum pro columpnæ hujusmodi sit inter consistorium et ostium domus capitularis. Item quod in eodem logio sint ad minus latomi duodecim. Item ordinatum est quod in antiquo logio sint xx ad minus latomi. Item provisio lapidum est concessa domino Thomæ Haxey de consensu ejusdem.

* Archbishop Richard Scrope died in 1405.

is to the effect that Thomas de Haxey is to be the supervisor of the work of the fourth pier, that the masons erect a workshop for the same, to be placed between the consistory and the door of the chapter-house, (that is, at the end of the north transept at *Q*, No. 5,) and that in the said workshop there shall be at least twelve masons. It also declares that the *coynes* at the angles of the bell-tower on the outside shall be reduced or removed, and that the wall shall be carried up plain at the corners of the bell-tower.

This document fixes the date of the alteration in the tower piers. As the fourth pier is mentioned three others must have been already completed, and as the eastern ones would probably be first operated upon as nearest to the choir, and as the position of the workshop is in the north transept, it may be concluded that the pier in question is the north-west pier.

However, the principal point to the purpose is, that according to the argument I have employed above, the mason work of the choir must have been completed before the date of this document, (namely, 1409,) and long enough before to give time for the casing of the other three piers. After the choir was finished a pause would probably be made before the next new work began, and thus I conclude that the building of the choir may be placed between 1373 (the death of Thoresby) and 1400, an interval of twenty-seven years. According to the calculation I have so often referred to[y], eleven years would have been sufficient had the work been carried on with activity. But this was not the case. We cannot tell how many years were allowed to elapse after the completion of the presbytery and the death of Thoresby in 1373, before the choir was begun. No fabric rolls occur until 1399, with the exception of two undated fragments, which appear to belong to the same period as the last, because the names of the

Item provideatur de calce coquendo ad magnam. quantitatem ad minus videlicet ij vel iiij kylnes. Item provideatur de sabulo in aqua Use cum careto et equis et navicula et si fieri possit cum navicula sancti Leonardi ad quantitatem magnam Item ordinatum est quod le Coynes in angulis Campanilis ad extra subducantur et quod plano modo ascendat murus in angulis campanilis Item ascensus graduum de ecclesia ad campanile fiat ex parte boreali vel alias ad ordinationem domini Thomæ Haxey, magistri Alani, dominorum T Gorton, et R^d^ Blackbirn. Item quod dominus Thomas de Gorton fieri transmittat absque mora sparres et meremium a Cawood ad fabricam." Registrum Q Acta Capitul. 1410, 1429. 2. 21, (not examined by Torre). For the copy of this valuable document I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. V. Harcourt.

[y] See note A at the end of this history.

plumber, of the glazier, and of the carpenter, are the same in all three[z].

In 1377 the church of Misterton was appropriated to the fabric of the choir for ten years. The preamble of the papal bull of 1379, by which this appropriation was confirmed[a], recites that a new choir, corresponding to the beauty of the nave, had been begun to be built, but that a large part of this choir still remained to be completed for want of funds, on account of the badness of the times.

The beginning of a new choir here mentioned refers to the presbytery of Thoresby, for the term choir is applied in general language to the entire eastern limb of the cross in the plan of a cruciform church, although the easterly portion of the same is properly termed the presbytery. The "large part which remained to be completed" must have been the western part of this building, which, from the language of this document, was probably still uncommenced, and the choir of Roger still untouched, in the state of plan No. 4.

Some assistance may be obtained in this investigation by observing the parts of the building in which the stone from the quarries of Huddlestone is used. The nave and presbytery are constructed from the quarries of Thevesdale and Bramham, and the Huddlestone was brought into use after the presbytery was erected, as the following account will shew. "The Huddlestone is employed (1) at the east end for the four spires, with the battlement round them, and down as low as the roofs; (2) for all the pinnacles and battlements on each side of the roof of the centre and side aisles, from the east end to the centre tower. (3) In the transepts of the choir it is used amongst the Bramham moorstone, from the roof of the side aisle upwards, and in many other parts; (4) for the centre tower from about the window sill; (5) for the west towers from about eight feet below the window sill of the belfry; and (6) for the floor of the whole church[b]." From this it appears that the Huddlestone was first employed in

[z] I confess myself unable to understand the grounds upon which Mr. Browne, pp. 194, 195, has placed these two rolls in the years 1386 and 1390, respectively. John Plummer, the plumber, and John Burgh, the glazier, occur in the roll of 1371 (Browne, p. 168) as well as in that of 1399, but the master carpenter's name in 1371 is Phillip, and in the other three is John Downam.

[a] Browne, p. 192, &c. gives a translation of this bull.

[b] For this memorandum I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Vernon Harcourt.

the eastern transepts of the choir, which belong to the second period of the work, and that it was then employed sparingly, and mingled with other stone; also that it was fully used for all the later works, namely, for the three towers, in all the parts that rise above the roof, and for the battlements and pinnacles of the choir end, which were of course added after the rest of the building was finished.

Now Mr. Browne informs us, (p. 248,) that on the 1st of April, 1465, an indenture, which had been held for the last eighty years and had expired, was renewed for quarries at Huddlestone. This would carry back the first occupation of this quarry to 1385, and thus we get an approximation to the state of the works, for it would shew that soon after that year the western part of the choir was more than half carried up, seeing that the Huddlestone only shews itself in the eastern transepts of the same, and not elsewhere in its walls.

In the fabric rolls which Mr. Browne has investigated, the first mention of Huddlestone does not occur until 1421[c], and this is bought of Sir John Langton, lord of Huddlestone. But the rolls are in so shattered and fragmentary a condition, that we cannot infer from this that it had not been used earlier.

After all we must conclude, that when the fabric had lost its vigorous benefactor Thoresby, the new choir was postponed for several years, and commenced probably soon after 1380, that it went slowly on, and was roofed in about 1400, thus occupying twenty years. This rate of proceeding is considerably more rapid than that of the presbytery of Ely[d], and even greater than the rate at which the nave of York was erected.

One of the articles of complaint at a visitation of the archbishop in 1390, stated that, by common report, the fabric of the church is delayed, and the rents and income of the fabric diverted from their proper purpose. Another article oddly declares, that the ministers of the church for the most part persist in wearing "patens and clogges" both in the church and in processions, contrary to decency, to old custom, and the chapter rules[e].

[c] Browne, p. 223.

[d] Vide note A.

[e] "Articuli comperti in visitaciones d^ni Arch^i 1390. .... Item, vulgariter dicitur quod fabrica ecclesie negligenter tardatur eo quod multi redditus et proventus ecclesie sunt assignati et fabrica non multum acceleratur. .... Item, omnes ministri ecclesie pro majori parte utuntur in ecclesia & in processione patens et clogges contra honestatem ecclesie et antiquam consuetudinem & ordinacionem capituli ....."—Harl. 6971. p. 227.

In 1405, an indenture was made between the dean and chapter, and John Thornton of Coventry, for glazing and painting the great eastern window of the presbytery, which work was to be finished in three years[f]. We are not to suppose that the stone tracery of the window was only just completed when this order was given. The plan pursued in the carrying on of works of this description, seems to have been to fill the windows with linen cloth, which gives a sufficient light[g], or with plain glass, until some benefactor could be found to furnish the glazing, or until it was convenient to employ funds for the purpose; it is well known that the glazing of a single window was a very favourite form in which to subscribe to the carrying on of ecclesiastical work in the middle ages.

We have seen that by the mode in which the eastern part of the choir, and the side walls of the whole were contrived, the interruption of the service was postponed to the latest possible moment. When the progress of the work made it necessary to take down Roger's choir, a service choir must have been fitted up in some other part of the church, with a temporary high altar, and probably with the seats and furniture that were already in use in the proper choir. In the absence of any certain information, it may be supposed that the nave and the central tower would be selected for this purpose. It is true that the walls and roof of the eastern portion were completed, but if this portion had been selected for the temporary choir, this choir would have been separated from the rest of the church by the intervention of the works in progress filled with scaffolding and litter, whereas if the tower and nave were so fitted up, the mason works would be completely cut off from the parts used for the service. Supposing this to have been the case, the postponement of the glazing of the great east window, to the time when the whole building of the choir was ready, is explained. Again, as I have shewn that the masonry of the tower piers was a distinct work from that part of the piers that lie towards the choir, it appears probable that as soon as it was time to begin the tower piers, the whole of the old fittings would again be transferred to the choir in the new structure, until time and funds could be

[f] Britton, App. p. 81.

[g] For example, "In xlv. ulnis canevagii emptis apud Lenne pro fenestris novi campanilis." Ely Fabric Roll, 13 Edw. III. This relates to the central lantern.

diverted from the more urgent work of completing the masonry (especially of the great tower) to the arrangement and fitting up of a new high altar, stalls, and other choir furniture of a style befitting the new building. For it is impossible to suppose that the entrance of the canons into the new choir could be retarded until this was done. There is good documentary evidence to shew that a new high altar was projected about 1412. Mr. Browne (p. 208) states that before this time it became a custom to bequeath sums of money to this object. In 1418, 1419, &c., bequests are quoted of this nature, and also to the reredos[h]. In fact, the old furniture of the choir, when removed into the new building, would by its incongruity plead forcibly with the public for the contribution of funds to complete the fittings of the choir in a suitable manner, and the beginning of such contributions, immediately after the time when I have supposed the new choir to have been so occupied, is a corroboration of this view.

In 1428, a tenth was granted towards the new building and the principal tabula of the high altar, which was about to be made and set up[i].

To confirm the opinion that the choir extremity of the church was in a condition to be resumed as the place of the services about 1405, when the glazing of the east window was ordered, it may be remarked that about this time sepulture begins at the east end. It is true that Thoresby and his six brethren were there interred at the beginning of the work, but we have no record of others. But in 1405 Archbishop Scrope died, and was buried at the east end; in 1406, and 1418, others of his family were also there buried. Stephen le Scrope of Masham, desires in 1405 to be buried "*in novo opere*" in the middle of the chapel of St. Stephen, which is the north-east chapel. In 1409, Thomas Walliworth desires to be buried within the enclosure of the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and near the tomb of Richard le Scrope[k]. The beautiful monument of Archbishop Bowet was erected in his lifetime, as he mentions in his will in 1423, and it is also

[h] Browne, pp. 216—218.

[i] "Tabulam principalem summi altaris ecclie' nostre sumptuosam de novo fiend'. fabricand' & erigend'. Reg. Dec. & Cap. Ebor. ab ann'. 1427. ad ann. 1509.—Harl. 6971. p. 18.

[k] "1409. Thomas Walliworth . . . ad sepel. infra novam fabricam ecclie' Ebr. videl[t] infra clausum altare b[s]. marie virginis et juxta sepulchrum bonæ memoriæ mag. Ric. le Scrope," &c.—Torre, 1522.

alluded to in the will of Archdeacon Pyttes in 1415, as newly built. These and similar cases shew that the east end of the church was accessible, and fit for occupation. At this time also, namely, in 1415, the new crypt was fitted with its iron work, and paved[l]. But this new crypt was in existence in the year 1399, for it is certain that the crypt or "cruddes," mentioned in the fabric roll of that year (Browne, p. 198) as containing certain tools could not have been the original crypt of Roger. That, to allow of the convenient construction of the foundations of the new piers, must have been unvaulted, and the pillars reduced to their present level when the choir was begun, about 1380.

W. Skirlawe, bishop of Durham, was a great builder, and his biographer, W. de Chambre[m], attributes to him the bridges of Shinkley, Yarom, and Auckland, the gatehouse of Auckland, the campanile and chapter-house of Howden and the hall of Howden, *great part of the lantern of York minster*, and great part of the cloister of Durham, besides a gift of 330 marks to the dormitory there. His executors also gave, at his command, 400 marks to this cloister, he having previously given 200. On all these edifices he placed his arms. He was translated from Bath to Durham in 1389, and died in 1406, and it may be supposed that his buildings in the north were all erected after this translation. His will confirms the above account, by shewing a bequest of 100 marks to the fabric of York minster[n]; and in the fabric roll of 1415 is a receipt of £52 from his executors[o]. He probably gave large sums during his life, the record of which has been lost, for his arms are placed not only on the spandrel of the lantern tower, but also in the south-eastern transept of the choir, confirming Chambre's account of his practice of so stamping his works, and also that he must at least have been a considerable benefactor to the fabric of York; for although he is not said to have paid all

[l] Browne, p. 210.

[m] "Hic etiam magnam partem campanilis *vulgo lantern* Minsterii Eboracensis construxit, in medio cujus operis arma sua posuit. Ibidem quoque fundavit cantariam ad australem angulum crucis dictæ ecclesiæ, ubi capellanum ordinavit, ad missam in perpetuum pro anima sua celebrandam."—W. de Chambre, (a cotemporary of Skirlawe,) p. 144, Surtees' edition.

This places the altar of St. Cuthbert in the south-east compartment of the south transept. The chantry is in Dodsworth's list as the chantry at the altar of St. Cuthbert, founded by Walter Skirlawe, sometime bishop of Durham, and Peter Delahay of York, dated 16 Ap. 1426.—Stevens, p. 74.

[n] Browne, p. 202.

[o] Browne, p. 211, speaks of the *traditional opinion* that Walter Skirlawe built the large tower.

the expenses of the great tower, he must have given a large proportion to have obtained so much of the credit of that work.

This chapter has been inevitably written in a very digressive style, from the nature of the documents upon which it is founded; the results arrived at may be recapitulated as follows. The nave was founded in 1291, carried on for thirty-three years, and finished in 1324, excepting the upper windows and gables of the west front. These were completed about 1338 by Archbishop Melton. The presbytery was begun in 1361, and completed before the founder Thoresby's death in 1373. The choir was commenced, carried on, and completed between 1380 and 1400. The central tower works lie between 1405 and the succeeding years. The south-western tower was erected under Bermyngham, the treasurer, from 1432 onwards for an uncertain time. The north-western tower was carried on about 1470; and about the same time the painted vault of the central tower was set up and finished. But the history of the wooden vaults of the presbytery, choir, and transepts, is lost. The wooden vault of the nave was constructed about 1350.

Finally, in 1472 it was thought necessary, as the church had been in fact rebuilt, that it should be reconsecrated, which was accordingly effected on the 3rd of July, and that day was decreed to be the feast of dedication of the church of York in future[p].

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE PIER ARCHES OF THE TRANSEPTS.

THERE is a strange peculiarity in the arrangement of the pier arches and triforium of the transepts, which requires an especial explanation. It has been shewn that when the present transepts were built the Norman nave and choir to which they were attached were considerably narrower than the present ones. It is true that the central aisle of the Norman

[p] Acta Cap. 25. Maii. 1472, de dedicatione eccl[ie].

"Imprimis ordinatum est et conclusum quod quia dubitatur de consecratione ecclie ac etiam quod est de novo edificata ecclesia consecrari debet tertio die mensis Julii prox. fut. Et quod ipso die celebrabitur festum dedicationis in dicta ecclesia cath. in futurum," &c. &c.—Harl. 6971. p. 50.

nave was very nearly of the same width as the new one, but its side aisles were exceedingly narrow in proportion, (see plan, No. 3.) Each side of each transept, in accordance with the then existing arrangements, was provided with one *narrow* pier arch opposite to the side aisle of the nave or choir, and with three other pier arches of greater width, as shewn in plan No. 3. When the present nave was built, its wide and spacious side aisles opened to each transept immediately against the narrow pier arch, which had been adjusted to the narrow aisle of the preceding nave, and its pier was now found to be in the very centre of the passage from the side aisle of the nave to the transept. As this arrangement was evidently intolerable, the pier was taken away, and a Decorated pier erected at a greater distance from the tower piers, so as to leave a proper space for the passage from the side aisles to the transepts. This will be understood by comparing No. 3 with No. 4. Instead, however, of constructing Decorated arches above the new pier, the Early English arches were simply shifted, and their arch-stones reset, so that at present the narrow arch which originally occupied the position nearest to each tower pier, and corresponded to the side aisles of the nave, is shifted to the second place, and the wide pier arch, which originally held the second place in order from the tower pier, has become the first in order, and serves to open the way to the side aisles. This will be understood from the different tint upon the plan No. 4, (at *O.*) To strengthen the building it was also found necessary to wall up the space between these new Decorated piers and the central pier of the transept on each side. When the choir was built, similar reasons compelled a similar change, as shewn in plan No. 5, and thus the two sides of each transept became assimilated. The triforiums, however, remained unaltered, and to this day preserve the original arrangement. They each have three wide and equal arches extending from their respective gables, and after these one narrow compartment in connection with the tower pier; and the clerestories, in like manner, present three equal compartments and one narrow one; but below, reckoning from the gable, we find two wide arches, then one narrow arch, and lastly one wide one. The whole of these peculiar arrangements are shewn in the section of the south transept, given in Britton's pl. 14.

When the tower in the centre was carried up to its present

height the addition of this lofty and ponderous mass to the existing piers was productive of the most disastrous effects. Each pier sank bodily into the ground to a depth of about eight inches. As the new casing of the piers had been previously carried up, and the arches on each side united to the piers, the effect of this sinking was to draw down and dislocate the masonry and arches in all directions, as may be perceived too plainly at present. The eastern pier arches of the nave exhibit the distortions that arose from this cause, but the subsequent repairs have concealed them to a certain extent. But in the transepts they are too great to escape the most careless observer. I examined and measured with care the arches and piers on the western side of the north transept. The south capital of the pier arch next to the tower being attached to the sunken pier, has been carried down with it, and is now eight inches lower than the opposite capital (at *O*) of the same arch. But the sinking pier has acted upon the masonry of the transept wall so as to thrust northward this opposite capital, and throw the pier (*O*, plan No. 5) itself five inches and a half out of the perpendicular at the neck molding. The Early English pier next in order, having being connected with this latter pier by its wall, is also thrust northward, and about three inches towards the east. As the piers are twenty-two feet in height, these displacements are exceedingly visible.

The triforium compartment above this pair of leaning piers is disjointed and deformed by the consequent settlements, and its southern portion dragged downwards by the mass of the tower pier. The clerestory has also suffered, but apparently so considerably as to have compelled a repair, which has obliterated many of the traces of the mischief. The bases of the tower pier must also have sunk below the then existing pavement, which was probably carried down on all sides and cracked. The present bases are not the original ones.

On the outside the sinking of the tower pier is shewn by the dislocation of the Early English corbel-table of the transept. The small piece of this which adheres to the tower pier is torn away from the remainder which runs along under the parapet of the clerestory, and now lies more than nine inches below it[q]. One of the capitals of the arched panel below the

[q] This effect may be seen in Britton's elevation of the transept wall, pl. 14. It is represented by the engraver as if the string-course was purposely bent downwards at a right angle and returned. But the truth of the case is

corbel-table is carried down also nine inches below its corresponding one on the north side of the arch. This arch has a rich Early English molding, and as the arch was torn asunder by this process of dislocation, the gap has been filled up with a piece of Huddlestone with the same moldings, and other rents and cracks in this part have also been repaired with the same stone, shewing that the repairs were made when the tower works were proceeding, for this stone was not employed in the earlier parts of the structure, as already explained.

In the north transept one of the western piers (*P*, plan No. 5) is a Decorated pier, and it is evident that the original Early English pier must have been taken away and this erected in its place. This, and the shifting of the Early English arches, present very remarkable examples of the bold engineering work of the middle ages. The present state of dislocation of the triforium above these altered arches might at first sight have been attributed to the shifting changes which the pier arches had undergone; but I have shewn that the dislocations are attributable to a totally different cause, namely, the addition of the ponderous tower; and the changes themselves appear to have been so carefully carried out, that there is no reason to suppose that any ill consequences would have followed from them alone, had the tower not been raised.

CHAPTER V.

ST. WILLIAM, HIS TOMB AND SHRINE.

WILLIAM, thirtieth archbishop of York, died in 1154, thirty days only after he had assumed his episcopal seat in the cathedral. He was buried in the church, as Stubbs relates, but he does not indicate the exact place of his sepulture. His exemplary piety, and his sudden death, which gave rise to reports that he had been poisoned in the sacred chalice, occasioned his tomb to be visited after his death, and miraculous histories of cures to be believed concerning this tomb. Eventually

as I have stated it in the text. The traces of the original position of the wide pier arch may still be seen in the spandrel, above and between the present wide and narrow pier arches. This is not delineated in Britton's engraving.

he was canonized[r], and the 8th of June, his death day, appointed for his festival. William Wykwane, the thirty-seventh archbishop, solemnly translated his bones in 1283, in presence of the king and queen, and of many of the nobility and prelates.

The tomb of St. William remained an object of veneration, and a profitable attraction for oblations, to the very Reformation, and it appears to have been placed in the nave of the church. But this was merely his original place of interment, for the account of his translation states expressly that he was removed to the choir[s]. And it also appears that his bones were deposited in a portable feretrum or shrine, so that they could be borne in procession. As in the case of Thomas à Becket and others, the original place where the body had been deposited was still made an object of veneration, even after the bones of the newly-canonized saint had been removed to a shrine in some more sacred place in the church. This shrine was probably deposited in the choir to the east of the high altar, and in later times in the space between the reredos of the high altar and the eastern screen, (*T*, No. 5,) as the usual custom at Westminster, Winchester, Durham, St. Alban's, &c., would thus be strictly followed.

In the inventory of jewels, vessels, &c., belonging to York minster, (Dugdale's Monasticon, t. iii. p. 169,) there occurs a list of various precious articles attached to the portable feretrum of St. William, "Circa feretrum sancti Willielmi portabile." A second list, "Circa caput sancti Willielmi," shews that the head of the saint had been separated from the remainder of his bones, and this latter list concludes with the silver chest and belt for carrying the said head in processions. "Item unus arcus argenti. Una zona garnishyt cum argento deaurato pro portando caput sancti Willielmi." Another and longer list relates to the tomb of Archbishop Scrope. "Pertinentia tumbæ Domini Ricardi le Scrope." The feretrum magnum S. Willielmi is mentioned, and apparently differs from the feretrum portabile, but no notice of the tomb of St. William occurs in this document.

But in some of the chamberlain's accounts of expenditure

[r] By Pope Honorius II., in 1226. Browne, p. 53.

[s] "Sic igitur S. Willielmi corpus ... ab imo in altum, a communi loco in chorum ... venerabiliter est translatum."—Acta Sanctorum, June 8. p. 144.

printed by Mr. Browne the feretrum and tomb of St. William are distinctly mentioned, so as to shew that they were not identical. In 1370 a compotus contains an item of 600 lbs. of wax bought for the high altar, the feretrum, and the tomb; also payments to the bearers of the banner, and to the bearers of the cloth over the feretrum[t]; and similar entries occur in other compotuses.

At the Reformation the shrine of St. William was demolished[u], and no remembrance left of the place but a tradition that this saint was laid under a long marble stone spotted in the nave of the church[x] (at *M*, plan No. 5.) When a new pavement was laid in 1732 a search was made under this stone under the direction of Drake, and a small leaden box full of bones carefully soldered up and inclosed in a large stone coffin were found, but no inscription by which these remains could be identified. But it is not improbable that for decency sake the bones of this celebrated man might have been so deposited, at or near their original resting place, although the tomb and the shrine were demolished. The exact position of the tomb of St. William is lost, although many allusions to it remain in the foundation deeds of altars, and in the wills of persons who desire to be buried near it[y].

"In 1691 the altar was still in its ancient position, where had been the high altar, with that of St. Stephen on the north and St. Mary on the south. The wooden screen behind it of the same work as the rest of the quire, surmounted with triangu-

[t] Vide Browne, p. 170. This tomb cannot have been the tomb of Archbishop Scrope, for he died in 1405. Wax for the high altar, feretrum, and tomb, is a constant entry. Vide Compotuses for 1388, p. 194; 1389, p. 195; 1398, p. 197.

[u] The dean and chapter, by order of the king in council, pulled down the shrine of silver gilt in which were contained the bones of St. William, and with the jewels and ornaments appropriated it to the public use of the Church.—Torre, 162.

[x] Drake, p. 420.

[y] In 1230 an altar was founded to St. William by Elias Bernard, (Harl. 6971. p. 46,) in navi Eccᵉ. Ebor. (fol. 67. ex Reg. dec. & cap.) Harl. 6971. p. 177.

In 1249 an altar of St. Andrew by J. Roman, archdeacon of York, was built (over) against the tomb of St. William. (north-west lanthorn pillar.—Torre, 1349.) juxta tumbam beati Willⁱ.—Harl. 6971. p. 48.

In 1326 an altar of St. Edmund the King by R. Pynchebecke, on the south side of the church, near the tomb of St. William.—Dodsworth's list, and Browne, p. 123.

In 1392 John de Clyfford Thesaurarius desires his body to be buried "juxta orientalem finem tumbæ beati Willielmi."—Torre, p. 104. He was buried near the east end of the nave, but the exact spot is not marked in Torre's plan.—Drake, p. 501. The same may be said of John Bermyngham Thesaurarius, who in 1457 desired to be buried on the south side of the tomb, near his predecessors, the treasurers.—Browne, p. 241.

lar coats of arms containing each a rose, &c., of the common form, supported behind by angels. The remains of this screen are still over our chapter-house." Thus far Torre (110). Drake tells us that this large wooden screen almost obstructed the view of the east window. "It was handsomely painted and gilt. It had a door at each end which opened into a place behind the altar, where antiently the archbishops used to robe themselves at the time of their enthronization, and thence proceeded to the high altar, where they were invested with the pall. On the top of this screen was a gallery for musick, as is usual in popish churches, for the celebration of high mass. By the taking away of this the altar was carried back one arch to a stone screen behind it, of excellent Gothick architecture. This work was done by order of the late Dean Finch." (Drake, 523.)

The authority for the vestry behind the high altar is to be found in the account of the enthronization of Archbishop Kemp in 1427, in the church register[z]. But it was apparently prepared only for that solemn occasion, and from other examples I believe was the place where the portable feretrum or shrine of St. William was kept.

[z] Browne, p. 229, gives a translation of this account at length, from Reg. G. 1. fol. 1.

NOTE A.

ON THE TIME REQUIRED FOR THE ERECTION OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF YORK MINSTER.

It is very difficult to estimate the time that would probably have been employed about a given work in the middle ages, for their method was a very desultory one. They began their works long before the sufficient funds were collected, trusting that the sight of an unfinished church would so appeal to the piety of their votaries, as to secure ample subscriptions, and if not, they were content to employ for the time fewer masons, or to suspend the work altogether for a period, until some new source of prosperity was opened to them. Moreover we have unfortunately very little information concerning the time that was occupied in building the several cathedrals and large churches that remain to us.

But as the question is a very curious one, and as from the nature of the history of York cathedral it becomes necessary to have some principle to guide us in judging of the time requisite for erecting its several parts, I have taken some pains to investigate such a principle.

The relative cost of buildings is sometimes estimated by comparing their respective cubic contents. But this method is not applicable to our purpose, because it takes no account of the stone vaulting which, as it happens to be absent in York, and employed in the other cases, must be made to enter into the calculation. Besides, it would be manifestly impossible to apply this method to the complex work of Canterbury.

The method I have pursued is to measure the superficies of the walls, considering a series of arches and piers, and a wall pierced with windows, to be equivalent to plain solid walling of the same length and height, (upon a common principle of valuation,) and computing also buttresses by their mean projection, as walls. Also to consider the area covered by stone vaulting as equivalent to walling. As the examples I have selected are all cathedrals of the first class of magnitude, the thickness of the walls, and general principles of proportion and arrangement, are so much alike that no essential error can be introduced on that ground. It would plainly be impossible to compare small chapels with lofty towers upon this principle, because the thickness of walls, and the time and money consumed by the necessity of raising materials to a great height, become in such cases most essential elements of the calculation, but are wholly kept out of sight when we confine ourselves to the comparison of wall surface only. But the towers of the six buildings I am about to select are wholly omitted from the investigation for this reason. These buildings are the only ones of this kind I could discover, of which the period of erection is sufficiently well defined to answer the purpose.

(1.) The cathedral of Canterbury was repaired and greatly enlarged after the fire of 1174. The work occupied ten years, of which one was spent in procuring an architect, deciding upon the plan, and preparing scaffolding and materials to begin; and for one year towards the end the work was intermitted for want of funds. But during the remaining eight of the ten years the works were diligently carried forward, and Gervase has distinctly recorded the work of every separate year. From this record it appears that in erecting the enlarged chapel of the Trinity at the east end, which was to occupy the place of a smaller one then in existence, the mode of proceeding was to erect the outer wall of the crypt without disturbing this chapel, until the wall was high enough for its vault. Then this small chapel was removed, and the piers for the vault erected on its site. The vault having been finished, the superstructure was carried up on the same principle. In the first place the outer wall and windows of the side aisles were built, and in the next the piers and pier-arches high enough to receive the vaults of the side aisles. After the vaults were finished the triforium and clerestory walls were carried up and the central vault put on, and finally the wooden roof. During the whole of this great work the two sides were carried on simultaneously. This order of proceeding is worth remarking as a guide for the intelligence of other buildings, for from many examples I believe it to have been a system generally employed, with the exception of the last named condition.

(2.) The second example is the cathedral of Salisbury, of which the first stone was laid in May, 1220[a], and it was finished in April, 1260. It was thus forty years in building. The tower and spire are plainly after-works, and the progress of the building itself was intermitted several times. It was fit for service in 1225, and was dedicated in 1258.

(3.) The presbytery of Ely cathedral was begun in 1235, and finished in seventeen years[b], a compact but elaborate work, which probably was carried on quietly and steadily without much interruption.

(4.) The stone work of the central octagon of Ely cathedral was begun in 1322, and occupied six years in building[c]. This is also an excellent example for our purpose from its compactness.

(5.) Westminster abbey was begun in 1245[d], and finished in 1285[e] to the end of the choir, that is, of the service choir, which extends along six arches of the nave. The part of the building that lies eastward of this point is plainly of a different work from the western portion, and must therefore be the part intended, which thus occupied forty years with interruptions. It was sufficiently finished in 1269 to allow of the translation of St. Edmund and the first performance of service.

(6.) Exeter cathedral, founded in 1288, was finished in the time of Bishop Grandisson, and probably near his death, so that it must have taken up eighty years in all. This is the most undefined example of all.

[a] Wilkins' Concilia, vol. i. p. 551; and Leland, Itin., vol. iii. p. 92.
[b] Ang. Sac., t. i. p. 636.
[c] Ang. Sac., p. 644.
[d] Mat. Paris, 581.
[e] Fabian, 389.

By measuring the superficial area of these structures in the manner described above, I obtain the numbers in the first column of the following table, and dividing each number by the years that each building occupied, I obtain the average number of superficial feet of work per year in each. Lastly, taking the average of these numbers, I obtain the average yearly work of a cathedral in superficial feet.

	Years.	Total superficies in feet.	Superficies yearly.
Canterbury	8	102,694	12,837
Salisbury	40	255,730	6,393
Ely presbytery . . .	17	38,054	2,238
Ely octagon	6	14,380	2,397
Westminster	40	185,205	4,630
Exeter	80	136,644	1,708
Total			30,203
Average yearly superficies . . .			5,034

The average yearly work in the respective examples differs exceedingly, as might have been expected from the difference of funds available in each case, and from the intermissions, of the extent of which we have no certain information. The number 5034 or 5000 superficial feet yearly is however certain to be below the real quantity, and accordingly in Canterbury, the only instance in which we know that every year of the eight was fully employed, the number rises to more than double the average. In applying this average, therefore, to the parts of York, we may be confident that the time obtained for carrying out each portion will be greater than necessary, for the result will there be separately given for each member of the building, for the transepts, the nave, the presbytery, and the choir respectively, in each of which separate enterprises the work would naturally be carried on with less proportional intermission than in the entire cathedrals, which have influenced the average results of the table. In the next place, then, I proceed to give in a table the superficies of the above members of York cathedral, and in its second column the quotient of each number by 5000, which will of course shew the average number of years required for erecting each part of the building; and as York is known to have been carried on with great resources, we may be sure that these terms of years are abundantly sufficient. It must be remembered that the numbers are calculated on the supposition that no stone vault is employed for the centre aisles, and that no allowance is made for the wooden one, which in most cases appears to have been an after-work.

York cathedral.	Total superficies.	Years required.
Transepts	58,493	12
Nave	82,056	16
Presbytery	46,255	9
Choir	53,188	11
Total	239,992	48

It is worth remarking, that in the first table the example whose average number is the nearest to 5000 is Westminster abbey, the altitude of whose walls is rather greater than that of York. The cost of Ely presbytery was 5,400*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*[f], or 318*l.* annually, on the average. The annual expenditure on Exeter was not so high, but from some memoranda in Lyttleton's history seems to have ranged from 156*l.* to 384*l.* annually. But in the York rolls published by Mr. Browne the annual expenditure is much greater. In 1370, during Thoresby's life, the expense was 627*l.*, and although it diminishes in the succeeding rolls, it never is less than 235*l.* I may add, however, that it appears from the previous pages that the nave actually occupied about thirty-three years in building, and that the choir was carried on for twenty years, and applying these year-numbers to the respective superficial extent of the works, we obtain for the nave $\frac{82196}{33}$= 2487 feet superficial per year, and for the choir $\frac{53168}{20}$=2659 feet superficial per year. These numbers shew a somewhat greater rate of working than Ely presbytery and octagon, but it must be remembered that York is in a country of stone and Ely far removed from quarries.

The relative cubic contents of two buildings afford no secure test of the time and expense of their erection, for by this method a long low building ought to cost as much time and money as a lofty tower of the same bulk, which is absurd, for a high building not only requires thicker walls, but time and labour is consumed in raising the materials aloft. In fact, even omitting the last consideration, the relative cost is more nearly proportioned to the joint product of the circumference, and of the square of the height of the walls, if the thickness of walls be supposed proportional to their altitudes. But medieval buildings are so irregular in their construction, that no such general rules are applicable, and the method which I have employed will be found quite sufficient, considering the many sources of error and variation which it is impossible to include in a calculation of this kind, with so few historical data upon which to form a basis. It can only be applied to the comparison of buildings of the same general construction and magnitude, and therefore I have not attempted to deduce from it any conclusions with respect to the towers of the Minster.

NOTE B.

The following list of chantries in the church of York in the year 1364, for the copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. V. Harcourt, is not to be considered as a complete document, for several chantries are omitted which are known to have existed at that time, and indeed the style of the latter part of it shews it to have been left unfinished. But it contains so much curious information, especially with respect to the suspension of the altars for the new work of the presbytery, that I have thought it worth printing.

[f] Ang. Sacra, t. i. p. 636.

In Stevens' Monasticon, vol. i. pp. 60 and 73, will be found the returns of the commissioners in the 27th and 37th of Hen. VIII., containing lists and particulars of the chantries attached to York cathedral that existed at the Dissolution, in number more than forty. Many of the foundation deeds of these, and of several others not included in this list, are given by Mr. Browne. Probably those which were omitted in the returns above mentioned had fallen to decay. The names of twenty-eight or thirty distinct altars can be gathered from these lists, but their number cannot be exactly determined, because the same altar seems to be sometimes designated under different titles, two or more altars dedicated to the same saint, or lastly, several chantries appropriated to the same altar. Moreover the same chantry was sometimes shifted from one altar to another, several examples of which occur in the list below, when the founder had not appropriated his chantry to any one altar in particular. The position of many of these altars can be gathered from one document or another, and on the whole it is apparent that in this cathedral, as in all others, altars were crowded into every possible position.

De cantariis in ecclia bti Petri Ebor, ad altaria ordinati, et de nominibus eorum, pro quabus animabus ordinantur, de ornamentis rebus et redditibus pertinentibus ad eosdem, et de nominibus personarum et vicariorum qui eos habuerunt anno dni mill^o CCC^mo. lx^mo quarto.

Ad altare Jhis. Evang. retro magnum altare quod nunc est suspensum saltum pro tempore nove fabrice et interim capellani optinentes illas cantarias celebrant ad altare Sci Gregorii. fundantur due cantariæ antiquitus per Simonem de Evesham, quondam Archidiaconum Richemondi et canonicum Eboracensem, pro anima sua—ad istud altare non pertinent nec pertinebant calix missale vestimentum de proprio sive alia ornamenta nisi quod deberunt capi et inveniri de vestibulo[s] de communi, et scilicet ad altare Innocentium et Sci Stephani cum illa altaria fuerunt infra chorum.

Item sunt duæ cantariæ fundatæ pro anima dni Henr^i Vavasour non habent in ordinacione nec continetur ubi nec ad quod altare. Sed duntaxat in ecclesia Cath. Solebant tamen celebrari ad altare S^ti Johannis Evangelistæ retro magnum altare. Et nunc celebrant contra ad supradictum altare Innocentium, non habent vestimenta sive alia ornamenta pro cantariis suis nisi de vestibulo ut supra.

Ad altare Sti Stephani ex parte boreali magni altaris est una cantaria pro animabus Walteri Gray et Will^i de Langton.

Altare ad dorsum stallorum chori ex parte australi proximus ostio vestibuli noviter facti; celebrant ibi duo vicarii, habent duas cantarias fundatas pro anima Willi de Hamelton nuper decani, de ecc^a. de Broddesworth, et fundata erat ista cantaria ad altare juxta et ante novum crucifixum in Australi parte eccl^e. sicut cum venimus ad illud altari plenius continetur.

Item est aliud altare ad dorsum stallorum chori ex parte australi juxta et propinquius ostium chori ubi celebrat nunc dnus Ric^dus de Crayingham et

[s] VESTIBULUM, Vestiarium, sacristia.—Du Cange.

una cantaria fundata et ordinata ad celebrandum in eccl. Ebor pro anima mag^{i} X^{r}. de la Forde. non est fundata ad certum altare sed in ecclesia et tamen ibi celebrat nunc dnus Ric. Crayingham consistit in Vm'.—non sunt ibi vestimenta sive ornamenta de proprio sed de vestibulo et infra ostium chori præd^{i}, tamen dnus R^{dus} qui nunc ibi celebrat habet ornamenta pro celebratione sua pro tempore quo ibi celebrat.

Altare b^{te} Marie in Cryptis, ubi solebat missa b^{te} Mariæ celebrari solenniter quotidie, unam cantariam habet.

Altare b^{te} Mariæ Magdalenæ in Cryptis, suspensum propter novam fab^{m}.

Altare sanctarum Martyr^{m} Agatha et Scholastica in cryptis in australi parte, suspensum propter novam fabricam.

Altare b^{te} Katerinæ in criptis, suspensum propter novam fabricam.

Altare S^{te} Ceciliæ in criptis ex parte boreali, quod nunc suspenditur propter novam fabricam.

Altare S^{ci} Blasii sub horologio.

Cantaria altaris S^{ci}.' Will^{i}. una alia cantaria fundata ad istud altare per J. de Cotyngham.

Altare sub pedibus novi crucifixi, due cantariæ pro anima Willi de Hamelton nuper decani, deberent celebrari ad hoc altare juxta et prope ostium vestibuli.

Altare Sci Michaelis cantaria per d^{nos}. Walt^{m}. Grey.

Altare S^{ci}. Edwardi.

Altare S^{ci}. Johannis juxta ostium australe eccl.

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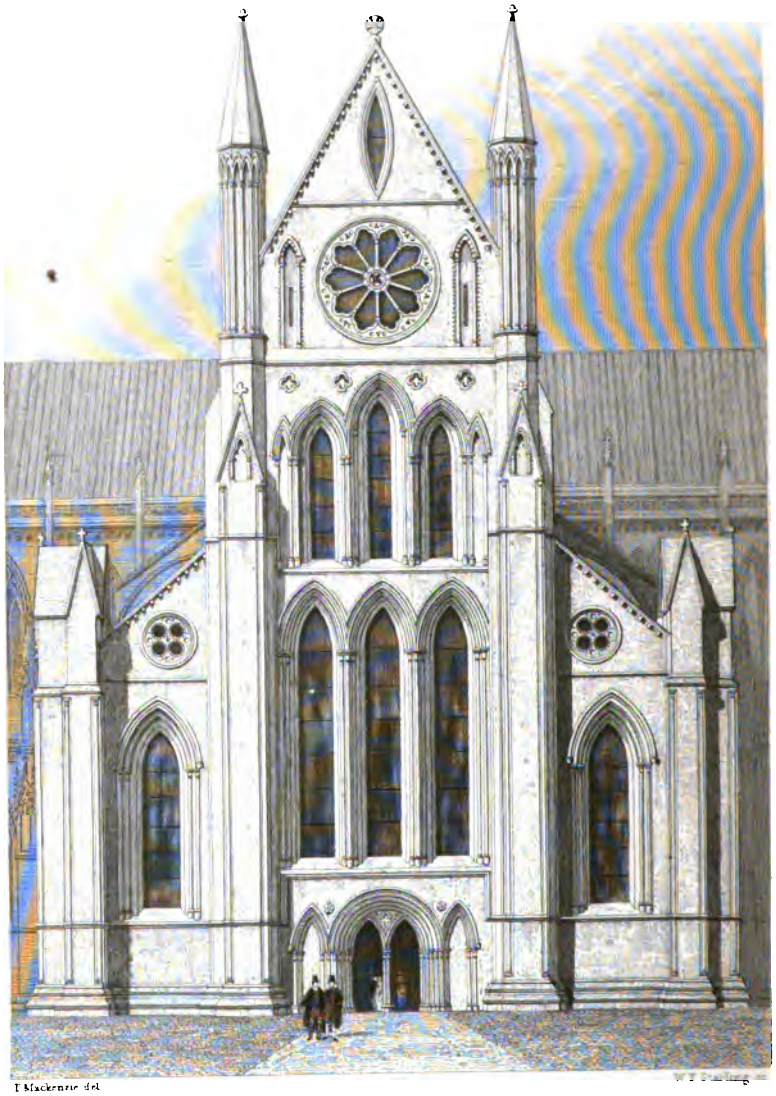

T Mackenzie del.

W. H. Bartlett sc.

NORTH TRANSEPT, NEWBERRY MONTROSE.

Published by J. H. Parker, Oxford, 1848.

REMARKS ON BEVERLEY MINSTER.

In Poulson's history of Beverley, called from its publisher, "Scaum's Beverlac," is contained a full account of the most important particulars connected with the monastery and church dedicated to St. John the Baptist, founded by the archbishop of York, who was afterwards called St. John de Beverley. As my design is rather to dwell upon the architectural features of the present building than upon its past history, I shall content myself with making a few extracts from the work I have mentioned, in order to shew the nature and dignity of the establishment with which it was connected.

The collegiate society appears, as instituted (I should perhaps say confirmed) by King Athelstan, (A.D. 938,) to have consisted of seven presbyters, to be canons secular; seven clerks called *berefellarii*. By Alfric, archbishop of York, (A.D. 1037,) were added, a precentor, chancellor, and sacrist; one canon called the eighth canon, with his one vicar. By Thomas, archbishop of York, in the fifth year of William the Conqueror, (A.D. 1070,) a provost. By Thurstan, archbishop of York, a ninth canon, of which the archbishop *pro tempore* received the profits, and was called the archbishop's prebend; one vicar. The society therefore in the reign of Stephen would consist of a provost, nine canons, of which the archbishop was one, nine canons' vicars, seven clerks called *berefellarii*, one precentor, one chancellor, one sacrist.

In the statutes made by Archbishop Arundel (A.D. 1320) for the government of the collegiate church of Beverley, we find besides the above, some inferior officers mentioned. The following is the list given: nine canons and prebendaries, the lord archbishop of York, who is a proper canon and prebendary, to be distinguished as president of them all when he shall be present; including also the canon and prebendary which is called the eighth; also three officers, viz., precentor, chancellor, and sacrist, and seven parsons who were formerly called *berefellarii;* nine vicars, seven chantry chaplains, nine

[illegible] clerks of the [illegible] eight chorister [illegible] two ringers or bell-[illegible]

[illegible] above [illegible] the situation of the [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] It is [illegible] after by the [illegible] persons who [illegible] were vested [illegible] In the [illegible] by them-[illegible] presented and de-[illegible] and demanded of [illegible] were to all [illegible] the whole of [illegible] levying [illegible] a court of record, [illegible] This description [illegible] be considered a [illegible] at the height of [illegible] the dissolu-[illegible] the names of many [illegible] as bishops and arch-[illegible] Becket.

[illegible] been attached to [illegible] connected [illegible] gives a very curious document, viz., the [illegible] of persons who sought sanctuary at Beverley, [illegible] the names of the crimes they had committed, with [illegible] taken by those who sought [illegible] peace within its [illegible] A stone chair, supposed to have been the fridstool, [illegible] by the occupation of which a person claimed sanctuary, still remains in the north aisle of the choir. Any [illegible] may have been [illegible]

I shall now extract two passages which bear upon the architectural history of the building.

"In the last year of King Henry II. a calamity of a most serious and terrific nature befell the collegiate society of St. John. The conflagration of the church on the night following the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, (Sept. 21,)

canons' clerks, one precentor's clerk; also seven clerks of the before-named seven parsons, two thuribulars, eight chorister boys, also two sacrist's clerks, and two vergers or bell-ringers.

Mr. Poulson (from whose work I have taken the above account) gives a document describing the situation of the provostry at the commencement of the fifteenth century, with the rights and privileges attached to it, and concludes, "It is not surprising that this dignity should be sought after by the aspirants to places of trust and honour. The persons who executed the duties of this important situation were vested with the powers of spiritual and temporal lords. In the former character they held their regular visitations by themselves or their officials; they instituted, presented, and deprived, the various clergy of their provostry, and demanded of them spiritual obedience. In the latter they were to all intents and purposes feudal lords, throughout the whole of their fee. They exercised the right of raising tolls, levying fines for breaches of the peace, and having a court of record, of deciding both civil and criminal causes. This description of the provostry in the fifteenth century may be considered a representation of it in its complete state, and at the height of its glory; and in this condition it continued till the dissolution." In the list of provosts we notice the names of many persons who afterwards became eminent as bishops and archbishops, among their number is Thomas à Becket.

Considerable importance must also have been attached to the church of St. John by the privilege of sanctuary connected with it. Poulson gives a very curious document, viz., the original registry of persons who sought sanctuary at Beverley, specifying the nature of the crimes they had committed, with the oath taken by those who sought "its peace within its mile." A stone chair, supposed to have been the fridstool, or seat by the occupation of which a person claimed sanctuary, still remains in the north aisle of the choir. Any inscription it may have borne is obliterated.

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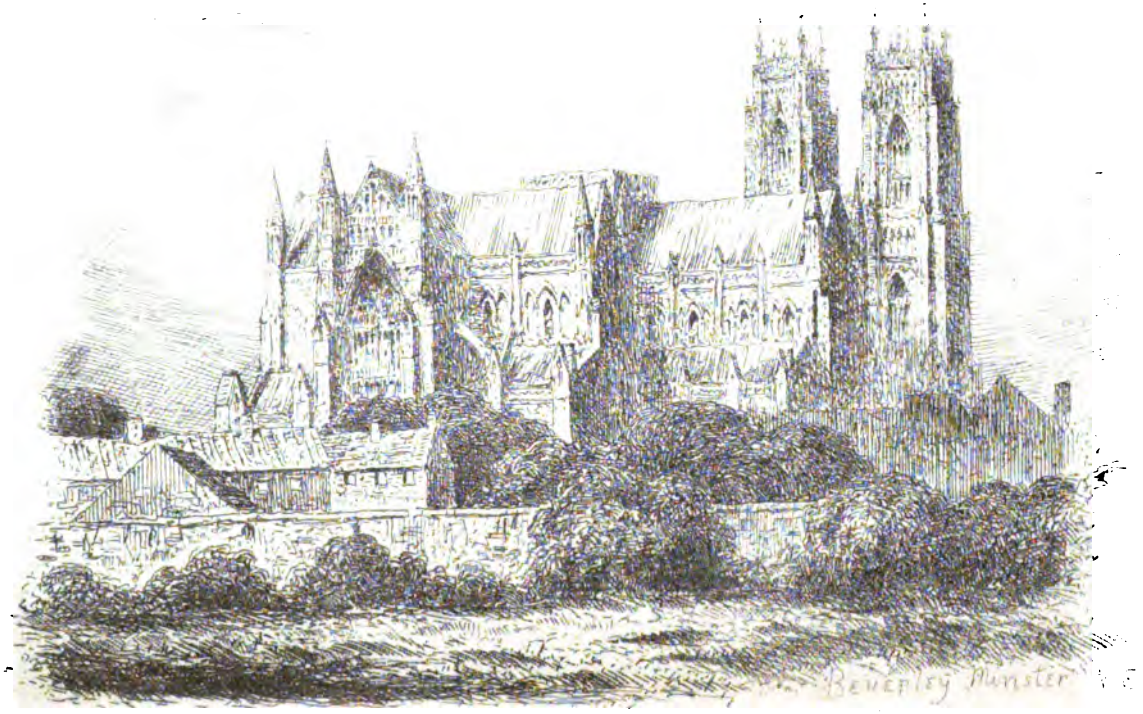

Beverley Minster

A.D. 1188. No records are left from which the cause of this melancholy event can be ascertained, or the proceedings of the clergy upon the occasion."

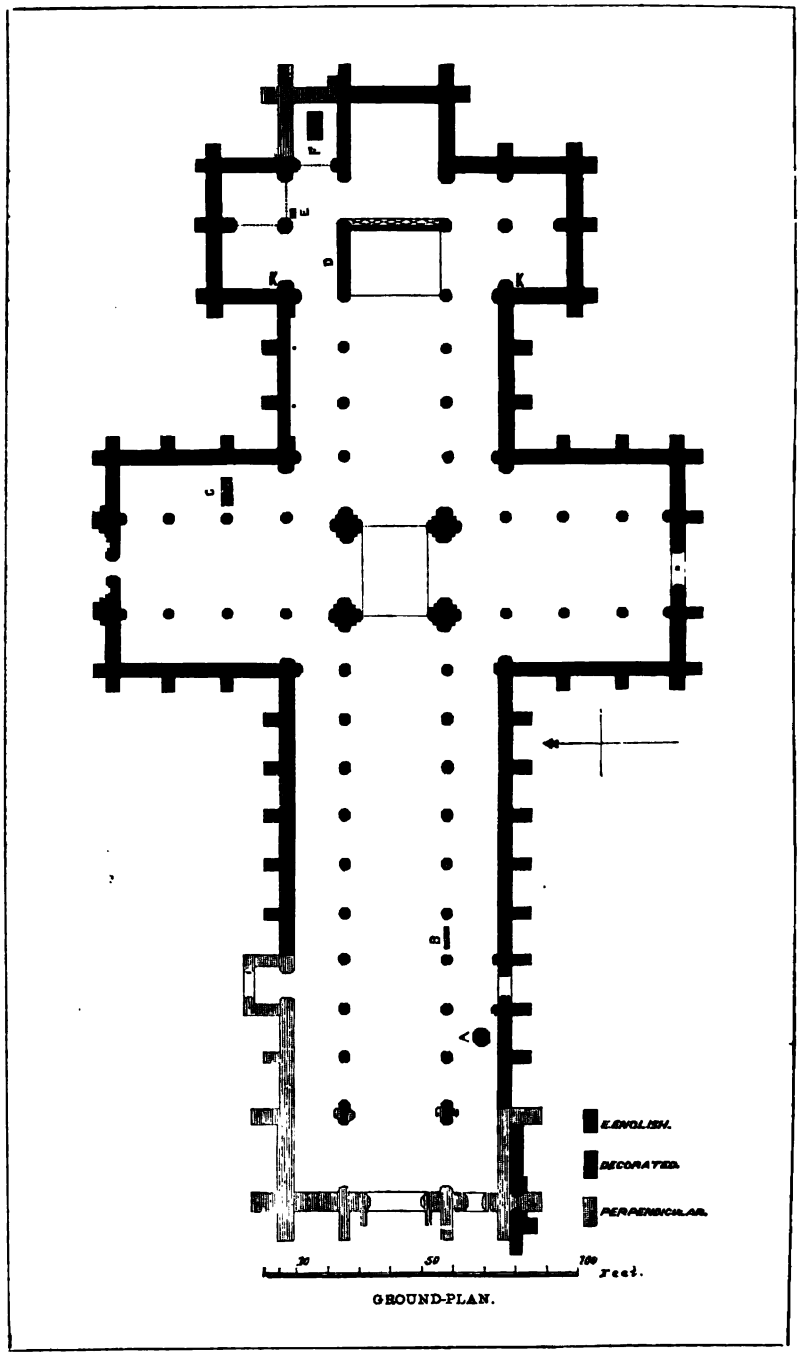
My next extract also refers to a period of some importance in the progress of ecclesiastical architecture.

"A.D. 1311. Rymer has published, in the Fœdera, a writ issued to sheriffs, bailiffs, &c., in the fourth year of Edward II., for the purpose of arresting those who feigned themselves procurators, or messengers of the chapter of Beverley. It sets forth, that serious complaint had been made by the chapter of Beverley, that persons were traversing certain parts of England, Wales, and *Ireland*, falsely representing themselves messengers and procurators of the same chapter; that they had begged and received from divers persons, money, cattle, legacies, and other goods, for the use of the fabric and chest of blessed John of Beverley, and that these things were not appropriated to the uses intended, but illicitly and fraudulently applied to their own purposes, to the manifest detriment of the said chest, and delay of completion of the said fabric." This passage should be borne in mind, as it may perhaps help us to account for some of the peculiarities which will be noticed in the structure.

The plan of the church comprehends a nave with north and south aisle and a north porch; north and south transepts at the principal intersection, each having an eastern and a western aisle; a choir with an intersection eastward of the principal one, both the north and south transept of which has an eastern aisle. The choir, between the two intersections, has a north and south aisle, but eastward of the smaller transept it has no south aisle, and a small sepulchral chapel or chantry occupies the place of a north aisle.

The dimensions of the church are as follows:—

		FT.	IN.
Total length inside		332	4
Extreme breadth inside (at principal intersection)		167	2
Breadth at the eastern intersection		106	4
Total interior width of nave and aisles		63	1
Distance between two opposite piers of nave		27	4½
Length of nave westward of great transept		171	2
Length of choir between west and east transepts		67	8½
Width of east transept exclusive of aisle		21	8
Distance from east transept to east end		35	3
Height of vaulting	about	65	0



GROUND-PLAN.

Though it is proved by documents that notwithstanding the wealth and resources of the society the want of funds for proceeding in the fabric was often severely felt, yet the execution of the work throughout, in whatever style, shews the greatest care and labour; no part betrays either negligence or want of skill, except it be that which is the first and most important of all; I mean, the foundation. In construction and masonry, as far as we can judge from the external facing, the Early English portions of Beverley minster exhibit quite as much strength as, perhaps more than, other large buildings of the same style and date; and the very operation by which in the beginning of last century the north front of the great transept was restored to its vertical position from an inclination of four feet beyond its base, (perhaps as wonderful an instance of mechanical skill as any we have on record,) proves the soundness of the building itself.

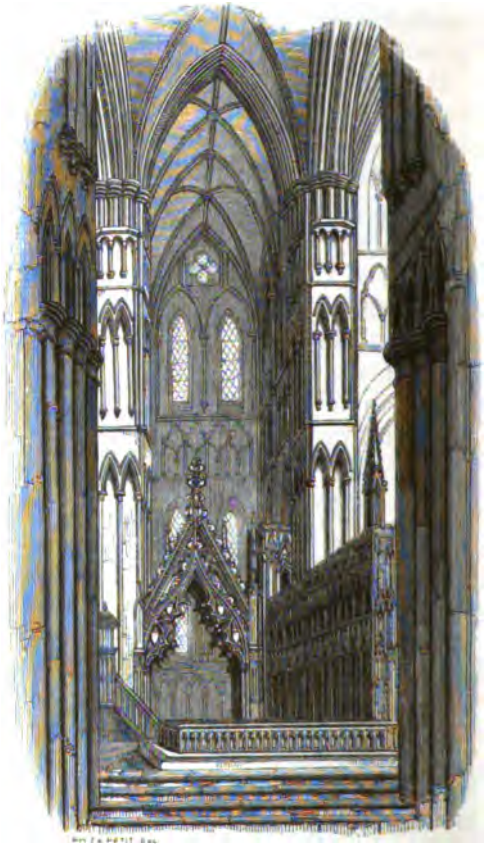
It is probable that to the defect in the foundation, whatever may have been its cause, must be attributed the want of that essential feature in an English cathedral, the central tower; for the present is an erection of the last century, of brick-work, cased with stone, and not raised more than a few feet above the ridge of the roof. We may infer, from the size of the piers at the intersection, that a central tower was intended. The girth of one of these piers is 30 ft. 4 in., and the distance between two opposite is 21 ft. 1½ in. Now at Lincoln, where the central tower is a very large and lofty one, the girth of the pier is only 32 ft. 5 in., while the width between two opposite tower piers is as much as 32 ft. 9¾ in. In the same cathedral, which I ought to say displays a surprising degree of boldness and lightness of construction throughout, the pier under the eastern intersection, which was never intended to support any tower, is 16 ft. 8 in. in girth. At Salisbury, the girth of a pier under the steeple is 27 ft. 6 in., the distance between two opposite piers being 28 ft. 6 in.

I may add that the vaulting over the intersection at Beverley is evidently later than the rest, being the only part of it in which the longitudinal and transverse rib are used. It may have been put up at the time of the erection of the present low tower.

The cruciform plan of the choir itself, given by the eastern intersection, is to be noticed in several other large buildings.

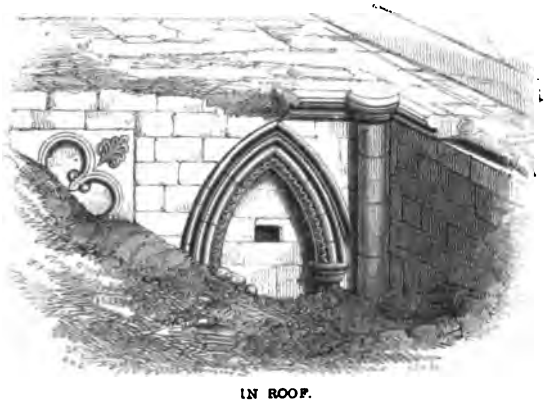
At Canterbury it appears in a style which may rather be called Transition than Early English; and in that instance the eastern transepts are larger in dimensions than those belonging to the tower. At Rochester, where the choir and transepts are Early English, the eastern and central transepts are nearly equal in dimensions. At Salisbury, Lincoln, and Worcester, as in the example before us, the eastern transepts are shorter and narrower than those of the central intersection. At Durham, and in Fountain's abbey, the eastern intersection is at the extreme end, by which great breadth is given to the eastern front. All these instances are Early English, to which style the arrangement seems peculiarly to belong in existing buildings, though the idea was occasionally followed up at a later period, as in York minster, where the choir has an intersection extending to the wall of the aisles.

The whole of the eastern part of Beverley minster, including the great transepts, is Early English, though with some important insertions; the great east window for instance, and other Perpendicular windows in the aisles on the south side, and the addition of the north-eastern chapel. The style appears to be perfectly developed throughout, though I cannot help thinking that the composition in one part of the structure shews less advancement than the rest.



NORTH-EAST TRANSEPT

I allude to the piers of the eastern intersection, which are of a totally different design from those of the principal transepts, and indeed every other part of the building. Instead of being carried up in continuous lines from the base to the spring of the arch, they are broken by horizontal strings into a series of stages, which project forwards as they ascend, and are terminated by a truncated cluster of columns, having a capital similar in its character to those in the other parts of the edifice. This intersection has, like the rest of the church, a vaulted roof; and the toothed ornament appears in its diagonal rib; but on the east face of the wall over the western arch we find the remains of Early English work, now shut out by the vaulting, but which seems intended originally to have been open to the choir. That this work is in its original position, and not to be accounted for by the working up of old materials, (of which instances occur in the walls over the clerestory,) is evident from the fact of its being symmetrical, the composition being the same on each side of the crown of the arch; it consists of a shaft at the angle, running up to a string-course; an Early



IN ROOF.

From a careful examination of the work represented in the above cut, (to which my attention was directed by Mr. Petit on the spot,) as well as from an investigation of the eastern part of the church, I was led to the following explanation:—The church was originally intended to be finished at the point where the eastern transepts now begin, and the masonry shewn in the cut is part of the eastern gable wall and projecting buttress, which was meant to form its eastern extremity. The eastern transepts must have been determined upon very soon after this part was erected, for their style is nearly the same. Confirmations of this view of the matter are to be found in the church below, but I have only space to mention the evident junction of the new masonry of the transepts at *KK*, (see ground-plan.) I am inclined to believe that an eastern aisle formed part of the original system.—R. Willis.

English arch, enriched with the toothed ornament, on shafts and capitals; and what I take to be a portion of a quatrefoil, much of which is built up in the vaulting. The capital of the shaft supporting the arch corresponds (in its profile) with those in the clerestory of the great transept.

With the exception of the piers I have described, the Early English appears to be of a somewhat advanced character; I do not mean that its mouldings differ materially from those of the earliest period, or that the windows shew any symptoms of the change that took place towards the end of the thirteenth century, for they are all plain lancets, a single one in each bay, without either division by a mullion, or any combination which might suggest the larger and more complicated window. But the arrangement of the whole shews a more perfect development of those principles which pervade the system of Gothic architecture, than many, perhaps most, buildings of the same style. The piers between the choir and aisles, instead of presenting to the eye a series of slender shafts, exhibit a cluster of eight bold massive columns, suited to the position they occupy, and the weight they have to sustain. For the sake of variety, those which face cardinally are round, the alternate ones being brought to an edge, and many of the round columns have the vertical fillet. The vaulting shaft springs from a bracket over the capital of the pier, and at the string under the triforium is tripled.

In speaking of the triforium, which is a somewhat remarkable feature in this building, both on account of its composition and its uniformity throughout the whole church, (for the same is continued in the Decorated work,) I may be permitted to make a few general observations.

The size, richness, and beauty of the triforium in some of our cathedrals might lead us to suppose it to be of so much importance, that an elevation would be incomplete or defective, in which it did not form a very prominent feature. I need say little upon its use as regards the services of the church; where it afforded a large space it was probably often made available, as we know it is in Germany; but that its absolute necessity was not recognised universally, is equally certain. Some churches of early date and considerable importance are altogether without it, the abbeys for instance of Kirkstall and Buildwas. In others it is small and insignificant, as in the naves of Tewkesbury and Gloucester. In the

nave and choir of York minster it could only be used as a mere thoroughfare. I shall therefore only look upon this feature as it bears upon the general effect of the whole elevation.

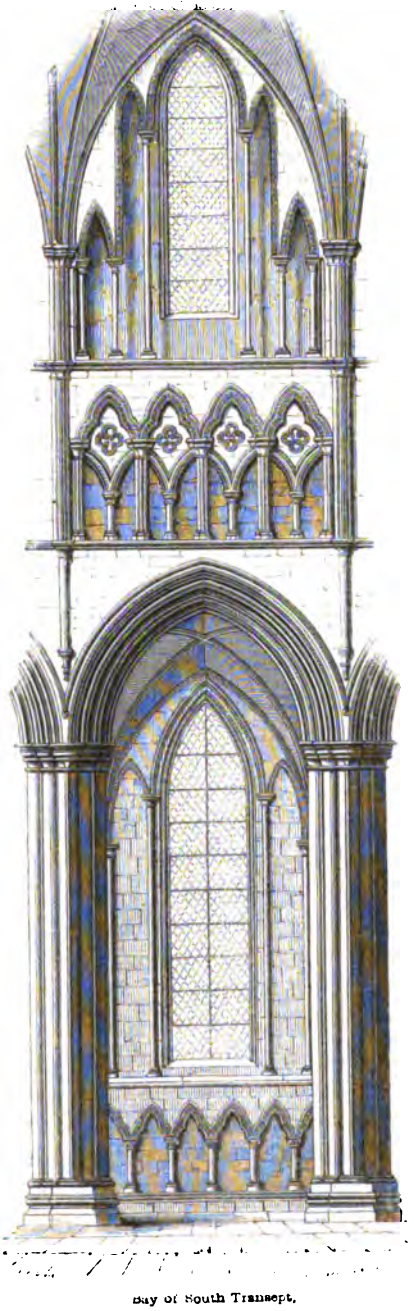
In a building which has a range of clerestory windows and vaulted aisles, the external roof of the latter being inclined at a considerable angle to the wall containing the former, a certain space, viz., that between the crown of the pier-arches and the base of the clerestory windows, is placed at the disposal of the architect. In some of the Romanesque churches in Germany (I will name Laach abbey as having a clearer recollection of it than others) this space is left perfectly plain; it may have been formerly enriched by paintings. But in an architectural point of view the blank space renders the elevation decidedly meagre, and we accordingly find that in most cases it is filled up. At Sinzig and Limburg, in Germany, where the transition to the Pointed style exhibits itself, the triforium gallery is large and open, and, as well as the aisles below, has a vaulting. This still leaves a space corresponding to that between an external roof and an internal vault. At Limburg this space is again ornamented by an arcade, thus giving the elevation of the cathedral no less than four ranges; the pier-arch, the triforium, the arcade above, and the clerestory. But at the time when that cathedral was erected, the great principle of Gothic architecture, namely, the predominance of vertical lines, had but imperfectly developed itself; and, although the pointed arch had appeared, as in the instance I am giving, yet the round arch was still frequently used, and the arrangements which its use rendered necessary, or at least the most graceful, still continued. A narrow round arch, supported on massive and lofty piers, as at Mainz, was probably found to have an unpleasing effect, and therefore the method of giving height to the whole elevation of the building would naturally be, by multiplying, or somewhat equalizing the stages. This may account for the large triforia of many of our Norman cathedrals, which in some instances, as at Ely, differ little in height from the pier-arches themselves, and often comprise an external stage or story of windows above those which light the aisles.

In the Romanesque then, or Norman style, the arrangement which combines in the greatest degree height and dignity with gracefulness of proportion, is that of the pier-arch, the large triforium of a single arch, clear or subdivided,

as the case may be, and the clerestory. That such, or a similar arrangement should occur in the succeeding styles, is not to be wondered at, but it was no longer the best. We observe it in Salisbury, and I cannot but look upon it as one of the very few defects of that noble cathedral. The piers themselves and pier-arches are of the most graceful form and proportions, but there is no vaulting shaft above each pier to carry its lines up into the roof. The triforium stands on an unbroken horizontal string, and consists, in each bay, of a large pointed arch, corresponding with the pier-arch below, but which on account of the vertical space into which it is compressed, is of necessity obtuse and segmental; consequently, though subdivided into arches with quatrefoils or other figures in the heads, and enriched by delicate mouldings, it does not satisfy the eye; it appears an incongruous and inharmonious insertion between the pier-arch and the equally beautiful clerestory, which comprehends a fine triplet of lancets.

Much was gained by doubling the triforial arch. The segmental spring was hereby avoided; the angle of the arch itself was enabled to harmonize both with that of the pier-arch below, and the clerestory above; and where this arrangement was properly treated, as in Westminster abbey, and many foreign cathedrals of the same date and character, the triforium gracefully occupied a limited space, while it admitted of an unlimited height both in the pier and clerestory ranges. But even after this change the architect seems to have dwelt too much upon the individual importance of the triforium. I can best explain myself by giving instances. In Lichfield cathedral the piers of the nave are rather massive than lofty, the arches of a good form, being nearly equilateral. The vaulting shafts run up, as at York, from the floor itself. The triforium consists of two large arches, not acutely pointed, but not segmental; with deep and enriched mouldings, each arch subdivided by a shaft into smaller arches, and having an open foliated circle in the head. The clerestory above is a triangular window containing three circles in its tracery, forming as it were the head of a composition of which the triforium is the base. Nothing can exceed this nave in beauty and gracefulness. But in sublimity it is exceeded by many, that, for instance, of Beverley minster, which, from its actual size, fairly admits of the comparison. And the reason seems to be, that a bay of the Lichfield nave is clearly limited in its height.

The triforium is made a principal, instead of a subordinate feature; you feel that if by the heightening of the pier-arches it were placed at a different level from the eye, much of its beauty would be lost. I have the less hesitation in asserting this from seeing the very thing done in Lincoln minster, where the triforium has much the same character with that of Lichfield, and is equally rich and beautiful; but is so raised above the eye by the large and lofty pier-arch, that its true proportions are lost. Now in Beverley, as in the nave and choir of York, the triforium is treated as an arcade, evidently intended to fill up the space between the pier-arch and the clerestory, and requiring no limitation in the height of either. It consists of four trefoil arches of Early English character, and enriched with the toothed ornament, even in the parts which belong to the Decorated period; the arches rest on slender clustered shafts standing free from the wall. Between these, and placed farther back so as to touch the wall within the arcade, is another row of short plain shafts bearing pointed arches, which cut the taller

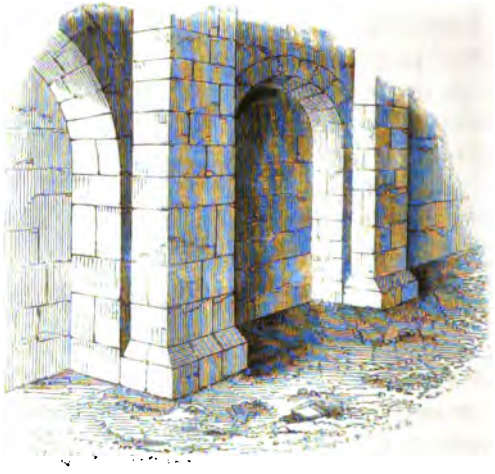


Bay of South Transept.

shafts just about their capitals. The space over each of these last-mentioned shafts contains a sunk quatrefoil.

The continuation of this arcade by the architect of the Decorated period without any marked alteration, except the disuse of marble in the shafts, throughout the whole church, shews that he appreciated its beauty and propriety. I may notice that a similar kind of arcade occurs in Lincoln cathedral in the aisles of the choir, but the intersection of the arches takes place about the cusp of the foliation of the superior arch, instead of the capital of the shaft. This may be on account of the arcade ranging at a lower level.

On examining the construction of the triforium at Beverley, as regards the support of the part above, (for which purpose we must go up into the passage above the vaulting of the aisles,) we observe the old Romanesque or Norman form, namely, the plain round arch between two piers or pilasters;



ARCHES IN ROOF.

which is obviously used as the most convenient on account of the space.

If we compare a bay of the nave of Beverley with one at Lincoln, we shall notice in the latter the great span of the pier-arch as compared with the diameter of the pier, and also the position of the spring of the vaulting arch, which is not so high as the string under the clerestory. Now at Beverley the vault springs from a point considerably above the clerestory string, and is not of a very high pitch; whereas that of

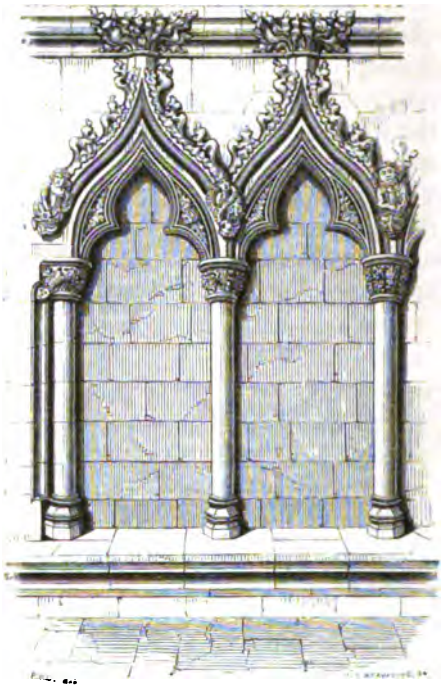
Lincoln is acutely pointed. It strikes me that the apparent height of the building depends much more upon that of the vaulting shaft, than of the crown of the vault itself, and that consequently, with but little real difference in their general proportions, the nave of Beverley seems extremely lofty, while in that of Lincoln, and even of York in a less degree, the width appears to predominate over the height.

The easternmost pier of the nave, with the arch on each side of it, is Early English. Westward of this the piers, though similar to the others in plan, shew a variation of style both in their capitals and bases. Foliage is introduced in the

Decorated Capital of Pier in Nave.

Early English Capital of Pier in Nave.

capitals of the alternate columns of each pier; the support to the label of the arch is of a richer character, and the mouldings of the architraves are such as to give a greater breadth of effect in the way of lights and shadows. The arcade before the clerestory window, which in the choir and transepts consists of five arches on single shafts (occasionally fluted), in the nave contains only three; the ball-flower is used instead of the toothed ornament, and the window has three lights with Decorated tracery. Below the aisle windows, as is common in buildings of this class, the wall is enriched with an arcade. In the Early English part, the arch of this is a trefoil, its mouldings exhibiting the toothed ornament. The wall of the south aisle of the nave, under a range of flowing Decorated windows, keeps still the same arch and toothed ornament. On the north side an ogee foliated, with the spandrels or faces of the foliations diapered, of clearly Decorated character, is



ARCADE IN NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

used. This is continued to the west end, where it appears under Perpendicular windows. The capitals of this arcade form an excellent study, and perhaps mark the progress of the style more than any other part. In the Early English portion they have that expanding feathery appearance which must be familiar to every one acquainted with early Pointed buildings. In the south aisle, where the trefoil arch and toothed ornament appear, the foliage is somewhat more compressed, but has not yet lost its free and flowing character. It is not materially different on the north side, where the windows above are Decorated; but under the Perpendicular windows, westward of the north porch, the foliage of the capital is compressed into a close

CAPITAL, ARCADE.

Capital in South Transept in Arcade

Capital, West end of North Aisle in Arcade.

ball. Where we meet with so much of imitation and adaptation as in the example before us, these marks of progression are important.

I am not aware whether sufficient attention has been given to the attempts occasionally made by the medieval architects to assimilate their work to the portions erected in an earlier style. In some instances, as in the choirs of Ely and Lincoln, this is done without sacrificing any of the distinctive features of the style then in use, but in Beverley minster, and in Whitby abbey, the case is different. We have already noticed the triforium of the former. In the latter the whole Early English arrangement of the choir, as regards its lancet windows, is continued in the transept, though the ornaments with which it is enriched shew that this part clearly belongs to the Decorated period.

I do not know whether I have just grounds for asserting, but I cannot help fancying, that in the north of England we may observe a greater degree of timidity in the relinquishing of an old style and the adoption of a new one, than in the south. A comparison between the Early Perpendicular portions of York and Winchester will explain what I mean.

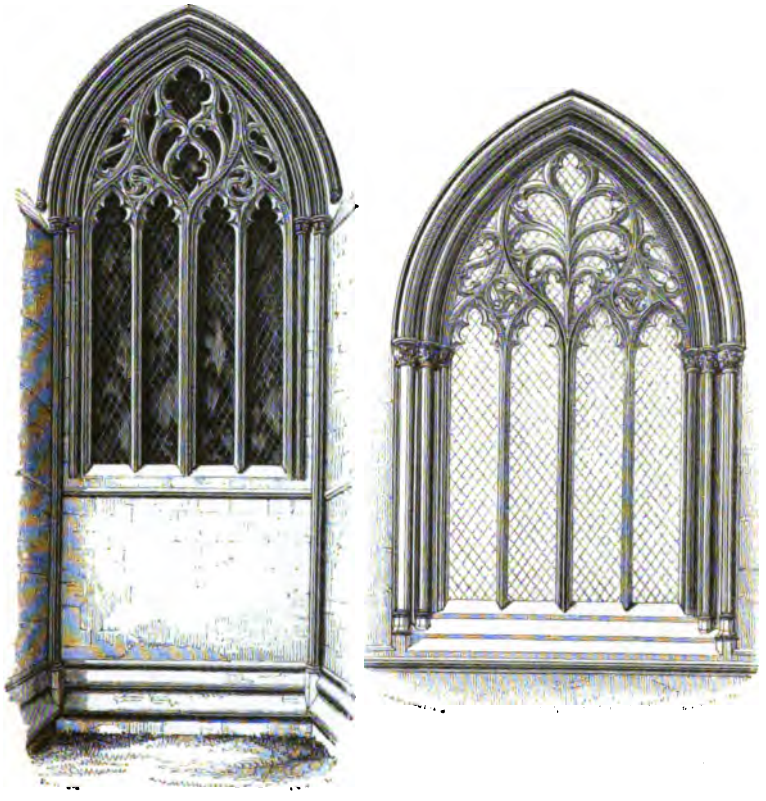
The doorways in the fronts of the transepts at Beverley have semicircular heads, and are subdivided each into two pointed arches. The small space which could be allowed

to the door, in order to admit of the fine composition of windows above, will satisfactorily account for the use of this form, which, I need not say, is no mark of an early date or imperfectly developed style. It constantly occurs in buildings of advanced Early English character, especially in the north. Furness in Lancashire affords fine examples, and most of the ecclesiastical remains in Scotland present instances.

From the remarkable adaptations I have mentioned, as occurring in the triforia and south aisle, it might be supposed that the work proceeded gradually, and with little or no interruption, till it was completed in the Decorated or Early Perpendicular period. But we must infer the contrary from what I look upon as a very curious circumstance; I mean the total absence of all early Decorated tracery throughout the church. I do not see a single instance either of the pure geometrical tracery, as exhibited in the chapter-houses of Salisbury and York, nor of that modification of it which we notice in the nave clerestory of York minster, nor of that kind which seems to have succeeded it, and which cannot properly be called either geometrical or flowing; of this the transepts at Hull afford a fine specimen. In Beverley all the Decorated tracery is flowing. The windows in the south aisle of the nave are all of one pattern, somewhat resembling in character the great western window of York. They are of four lights, with two orders of mullions and tracery; the jambs, but not the mullions, have shafts with capitals. The mouldings are numerous and delicate. The clerestory window has only three lights, and the tracery is somewhat stiffer. At York the aisle windows have only three lights, and the clerestory five; an essential difference in composition, and worthy of notice, as, in the later work, York has evidently been taken as a model by the architects of Beverley.

On the north side the aisle windows are somewhat different in tracery from those on the south, and probably of a later date; there is also a variety of pattern among themselves.

In our historical account we noticed the delay caused in the completion of the fabric by the frauds of pretended messengers, and which was made a subject of complaint in the year 1311. If this grievance had then existed for several years, as it is not unreasonable to suppose, may it not account for the omission of so remarkable a link as the geo-



North side. South side

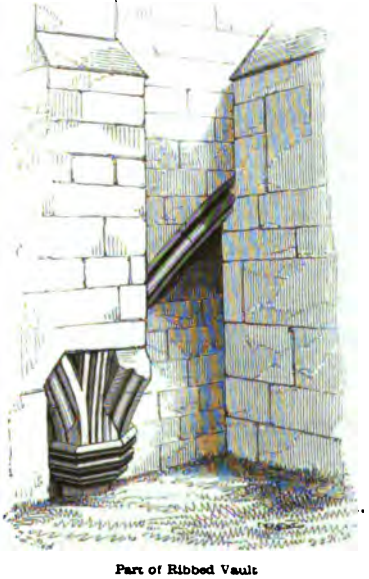
metrical Decorated window, in the progress from a pure and severe Early English to a rich flowing Decorated?

The buttresses of the nave aisles, connected with the clerestory by flying buttresses, and on the south aisle ornamented as at York by beautiful open niches; and the parapet, which is panelled with a waved line foliated, and carried round not only the Decorated parts of the building, but also the Early English choir and transepts, may be considered as fine specimens of the work executed in the fourteenth century.

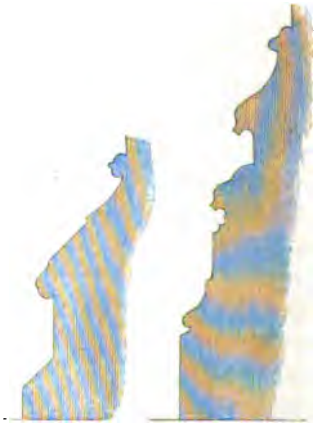
Whether the minster was ever actually completed according to the original plan, with only such variations as the progress of style demanded, or whether it was still incomplete when the present magnificent front was given to it, or whether the present towers were built in pursuance of an original design, including that kind of finish to the nave,

Buttress, South side

Buttress, &c of West end

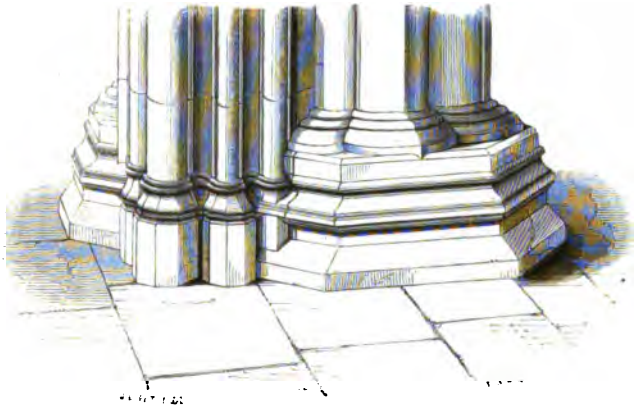


Part of Ribbed Vault



Sections of Buttress West end.

would not be very easy to ascertain. That Decorated work was continued up to the present front, is clear from some remains in the south side of the southern tower, which will be best understood from sketches. In the south wall of this tower is a part of a ribbed vault, springing from a capital now nearly level with the ground, and which appears to have belonged to a crypt, though this is not the usual position for one. And a buttress, and portion of wall, with what seems the jamb of a Decorated window attached to it, occurs at the south-west corner, into which is built the Perpendicular buttress of the tower, the masonry and colour of the stone being different.



BASE OF PIER IN NAVE, WEST END.

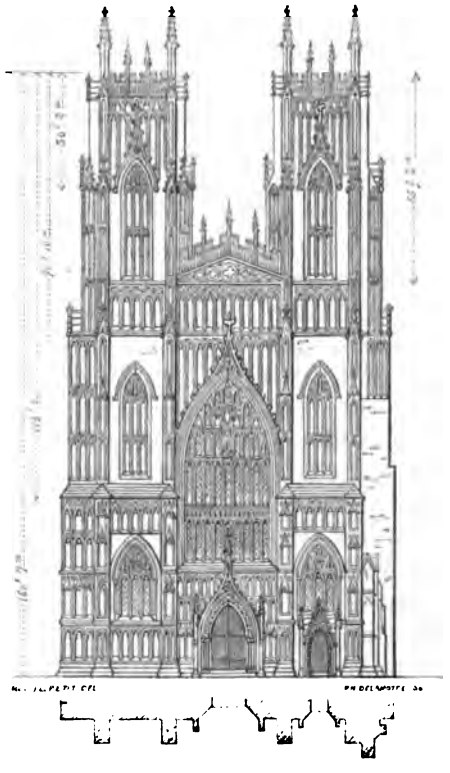
The plan of the piers under the inner angle of each tower is elongated, as if always intended for their present purpose, and to the east and west correspond in their base mouldings with the Decorated piers of the nave; but on the south side of the southern one is let in a portion of a Perpendicular pier, with a totally different base, for the support of the eastern arch of the south tower. The side shafts of the northern pier seem also to have been let in.

Sections of Bases in Nave

The aisle windows, westward of the north porch, and the corresponding window of the north tower, are of a Perpendicular style, much resembling in its character that in the choir of York, the mullions being shafted, and the jambs very much assimilating with Decorated work. It would be a curious problem, and one requiring a very careful examination, to trace in this, as in many other buildings, how far the original plan was carried out, merely modified by the progression of style, and where the break of design begins.

It is also worthy of remark, how differently two buildings which nearly resemble each other in their original design and the time of their commencement have been treated by subsequent architects. At Salisbury, the addition designed was suitable rather to the appearance, than the strength and construction of the building. It was felt that the low central tower, which barely comprised the roof, ought to be heightened and finished with the spire; and this the architect was determined to carry into effect, in spite of the weakness of the structure below; he therefore threw out a system of springers, buttresses, and cross arches, to strengthen his supports, by which means he was enabled to complete the structure in accordance with his bold design. At Beverley the architect made that addition which was the safest, and consulted the stability, rather than the general character of the building, which equally required the lofty central steeple; but he dared not impose additional weight upon its transepts, as they had, in all probability, already betrayed their insecurity of foundation; and perhaps a still unfinished west front shewed him where he might work to advantage, while the magnificent structure of York, then fresh from the hand of the mason, offered him an admirable model.

Yet, while he seized upon the spirit of his original, he did not tie himself down to a slavish imitation, as we shall see by examining the points of difference between the two fronts. At York, the height of the buttress is bounded by the string under the parapet, leaving the latter free. At Beverley, the buttress runs to the top of the parapet in one of the towers, and very nearly so in the other, while the pinnacle is set diagonally on the intersection of the facing and flanking buttress; this gives the upper part of the tower a striking and uncommon character. The arrangement of the buttresses themselves is, I think, simpler and bolder than at York. The



THE WEST FRONT.

lower stage, instead of being terminated in a gable or canopy, has a deep horizontal string and a slope, from which springs the next upper stage. This gives the basement story the air of a supporting mass, and any heaviness it might otherwise exhibit is amply relieved by the beauty, variety, and abundance of the niches which adorn it, and which have probably been occupied by, or intended for, statues; in fact one figure still remains on the north side. In this part, as indeed throughout the whole fabric, care has been taken to bring the richer details near the eye; as may be seen in the earlier portions, by a comparison of the capitals in the lower arcades, with those on a higher level; and also of the aisle windows with the clerestory. In the upper stages of the front, panelling prevails instead of niche-work, and the heads of the buttresses are gabled, canopied, and crocketed. At York the

gable or pediment between the towers corresponds with the ridge of the roof; at Beverley it has more the character of a screen or mask, being itself of a very low pitch, and receiving, below its horizontal line, the ridge of the high-pitched roof of the nave. The pediment and its parapet are in fact doubled, the eastern fronts of the towers being joined by a wall, as well as the westward, thus forming a room over the roof of the nave, between the towers. This arrangement leaves, above the west window, a considerable space, which is panelled, and pierced for light; the finial of the canopy over the window breaking upon it, and terminating in the centre panel. The pediment, from its low pitch, is even more graceful than that of York, which is of an angle the most unmanageable of any in a Gothic front, namely, one a little more obtuse than a right angle. The capping of the pediment, like that of the towers, is embattled, each battlement being panelled, and having a pinnacle in its centre. The tympanum is filled with very beautiful tracery. The front of each tower, as at York, contains a window, ranging, or nearly so, with the aisle windows, another with the clerestory, and a belfry window above. But a greater space intervenes between them, which contributes much to the beauty of the composition. The plain compartment in which the middle of these three windows is set, gives value to the rich panelling round the great west window, as well as to that of the buttresses. The belfry window, which is transomed, has an ogee canopy running through the panelled work above, and finishing in the string under the parapet. The west window of the nave has nine lights, with three orders of tracery. The transom is embattled, and below it is a range of inferior lights branching, as in the head of a window, from the principal ones. The western doorway is one of great beauty; it is flanked by pinnacled buttresses, from which rises an ogee canopy, crocketed, and finished at the top with a fine niche. Beneath the canopy is a feathered arch. The jamb of the doorway is varied by the shafts and hollows belonging to the best Perpendicular work, and enriched with flowers and canopies; the door itself is a fine piece of wood-work. The lowest compartment of the north tower and buttresses has sunk trefoil arches with diapered spandrels. In the front of the south tower is a door somewhat similar to the central one.

As this front does not project laterally from the rest of the building, more than is rendered necessary by the increased thickness of the walls, (that of the aisle walls is less than four feet, that of the towers and front, near the base, about six,) and as the height of the central part considerably exceeds that of the ridge of a high-pitched roof, it follows that the elevation is much more lofty than that of York in proportion to its breadth. Whether or not this proportion gives Beverley the pre-eminence in actual beauty, it is most certainly consistent with the spirit of Gothic architecture in general, and with the character of the building itself in particular. The main transept front is decidedly lofty in its proportions, and the narrower eastern one, as we stand in front of it, has almost the appearance of a tall steeple.

The size and importance of the building demanded a certain degree of massiveness in the towers, which, as their breadth was limited in front, could only be obtained by giving them an oblong plan. Their north and south sides are therefore wider than the eastern and western, and comprise three battlements with their pinnacles between the angles, instead of only two.

The principal dimensions of the front are as follows:—

Total width externally, 89 ft. 9 in., of which the central compartment is about 27 ft. 2 in., the door, between the jambs, being 9 ft. 7½ in.

Height of the towers, from the top of the battlement to the ground, 162 ft. 7 in.

Width of each tower from north to south, taken at the top from the ridges of the parapets, 19 ft. 11 in.

The same from east to west, 23 ft. 9 in.

Another important feature in the Perpendicular style is the north porch, a lofty and beautiful structure rising somewhat higher than the aisle, the upper part forming a parvise. The door has a fine feathered straight-sided canopy, over one of the ogee form, both crocketed. It is flanked with niches, buttresses, and pinnacles; the whole front is panelled, and crowned with a lofty central pinnacle having a niche. The east front, though it retains its Early English buttresses and turrets, appears (by its masonry) to have been built from the ground, or at least from the base moulding, during the Perpendicular period. The great window has nine lights and a

transom, which, like some at York, has a gallery in the interior of the building.

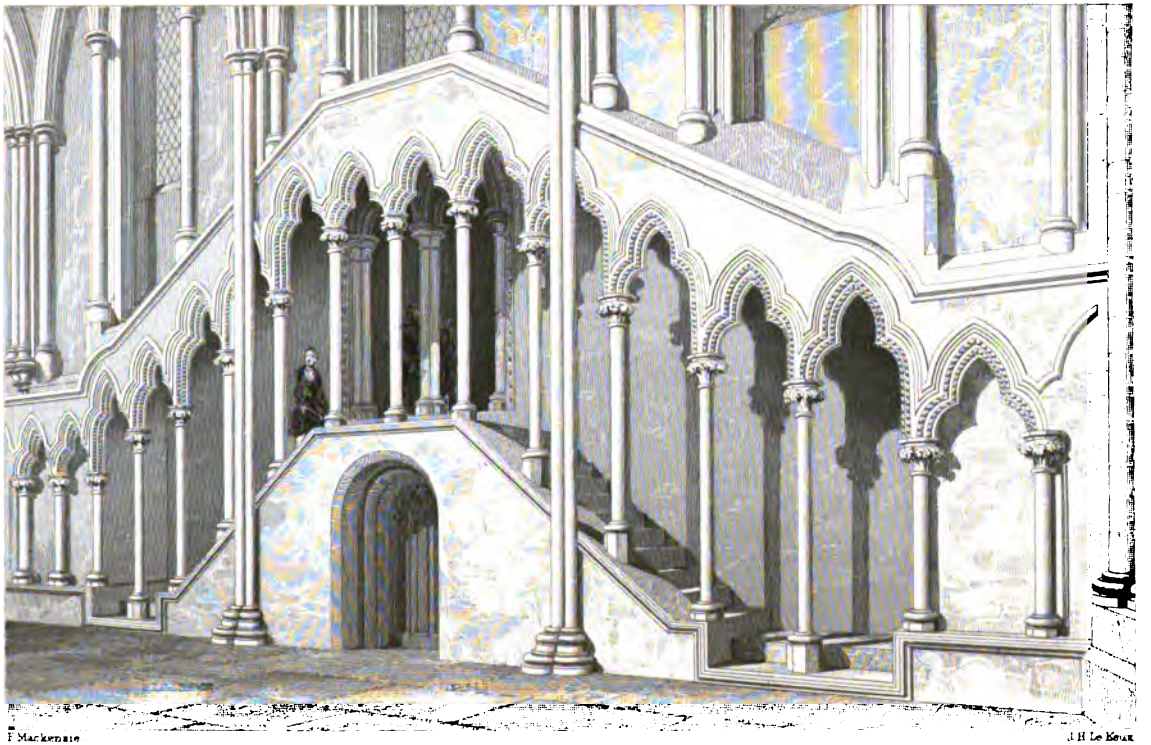
The Percy chapel, on the north side of the easternmost bay of the church, erected over the tomb of Henry, fourth earl of Northumberland, (who was slain near Thirsk in 1489,) has on the north side a four-centred window, corresponding in character to the alleged date: but on the east side a window apparently of an earlier character, and similar to those in the lower part of the towers; which, if they do not belong to the earliest Perpendicular, are evidently of a period considerably antecedent to that of the Tudor style.

THE FONT.

The font seems to be older than any part of the building. A sketch of it will be the best description I can offer.

The shrine of the well-known Percy monument (the effigy of which has disappeared) stands under the north arch of the eastern intersection. It is of the most beautiful composition, and the richest perhaps in ornament of any belonging to the period. Poulson seems inclined to assign it to Idonea, wife of Henry, second Lord Percy, who died in 1365.

Another beautiful monument stands between two of the piers on the south side of the nave, and an altar-tomb with an effigy, also belonging to the Percy family, in the east aisle of the great north transept.



F Mackenzie

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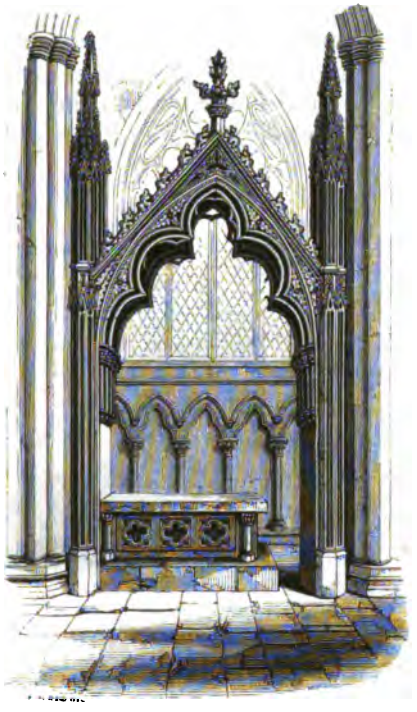
STAIRCASE IN BEVERLEY MINSTER.



MONUMENT IN NAVE.

The front of the altar-screen has been well restored; at its back is a fine Decorated composition of three arches on shafts, with a vaulted roof, the bays being panelled with flowing tracery, much of which is cut away for monuments.

In the north aisle of the choir, near the supposed fridstool, is an Early English staircase, which probably communicated with a chapter-house, or some external building.

The tabernacle-work of the stalls is very rich, and belongs to the early part of the sixteenth century. The sedilia are of wood, and may be somewhat earlier. All the painted glass of various dates, from the Early English to the Perpendicular, is collected in the east window.

My space will not allow me, even if I were able, to give a more minute account of this noble edifice. This, together with the necessary researches into its history, is the office of the local antiquary, rather than the casual visitor. Each however will strengthen and assist the other; the one, by his collection of facts and careful examination of particular details,

the other, by bringing to bear upon the subject the results of a more widely extended, though perhaps more superficial observation. Both, I trust, will ever unite their efforts in the development of truth, and contribute to the establishment of sound principles of investigation, and a right standard of criticism.

J. L. PETIT.

BASE OF COLUMN, SOUTH AISLE.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES

OF THE

Churches and other Ancient Buildings

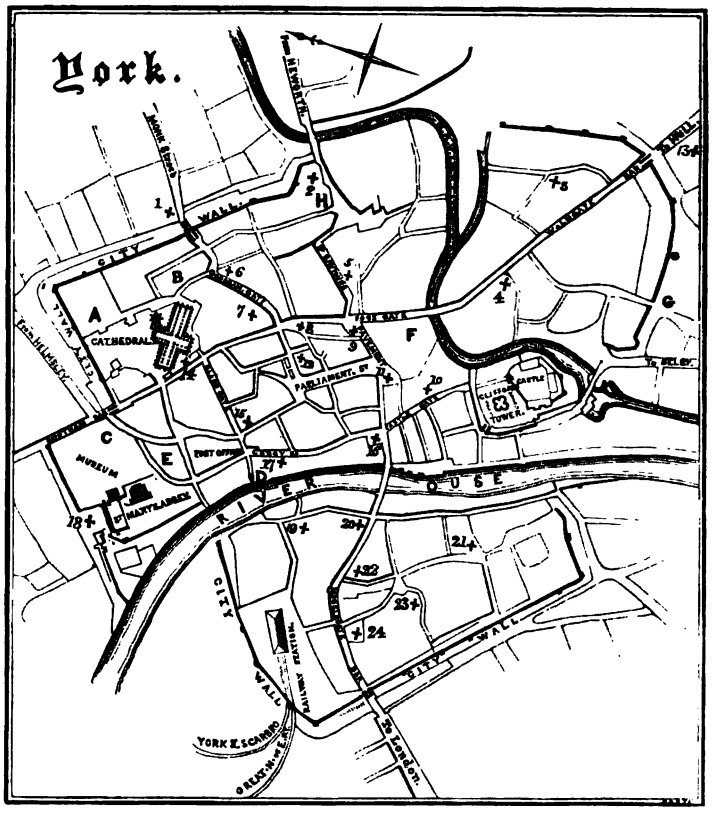
IN THE

CITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD OF YORK.

BY I. H. PARKER.

WITH NOTICES OF THE PAINTED GLASS BY JOHN BROWNE.

PLAN OF YORK.



CHURCHES.

1. St. Maurice's, Monk Street
2. St. Cuthbert's, Peasholme Green
3. St. Margaret's, Walmgate
4. St. Denis, Walmgate
5. St. Saviour's, St. Saviour Gate
6. St. Peter's, Bedern
7. Holy Trinity, Goodramgate
8. Christ Church, Colliergate
9. St. Crux, Pavement
10. St. Mary's, Castle Gate
11. All Saints, Pavement
12. St. Sampson's, Sampson Square
13. St. Lawrence's without Walmgate
14. St. Michael le Belfry, Petergate
15. St. Helen's, St. Helen's Square
16. St. Michael's, Spurriergate
17. St. Martin's, Coney Street
18. St. Olave's, Marygate
19. All Saints, North Street
20. St. John's, Micklegate
21. St. Mary, Bishop Hill the Elder
22. St. Martin's cum Gregory, Micklegate
23. St. Mary, Bishop Hill the Younger
24. Holy Trinity, Micklegate

ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

A. The Minster Library
B. St. William's College
C. The Manor House
D. The Guildhall
E. St. Leonard's Cloisters
F. The Merchants' Hall
G. Fishergate Bar
H. St. Anthony's Hall

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES OF THE CHURCHES AND OTHER ANCIENT BUILDINGS IN THE CITY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD OF YORK.

BY I. H. PARKER,

WITH NOTICES OF THE PAINTED GLASS BY JOHN BROWNE.

The Ruins of St. Mary's Abbey.

The ruins of St. Mary's Abbey are so celebrated, and so well known by views and descriptions, that it is only necessary to mention them as very interesting specimens of the time of Henry III.

The first stone of the original Church was laid by William Rufus in person in 1089. In 1270 Abbot Simon de Warwick laid the first stone of the choir of the present Church, and lived to see the whole Church completed within 24 years. He also laid the first stone of the body of the Church in 1276.

The manner in which they are now kept reflects the highest credit on the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and it would be difficult to find a more delightful promenade than is now afforded by their grounds, within which are contained, besides the ruins of the abbey, the Roman multangular tower, and a piece of the Roman wall of the city, and the Hospitium of the abbey, the lower part of which is of stone, and of the character of the 14th century; in the lower rooms some valuable fragments are preserved: the upper part is of plain timber.

St. Mary's Gateway, which now forms the back entrance to the Museum gardens, adjoining to the house of Professor Phillips, has some remains of Norman work of rather early character.

St. Leonard's Hospital.

The ruins of St. Leonard's Hospital are of Transition-Norman character. The hospital was burnt down in 1137, and King Stephen is said to have rebuilt it in a more magnificent

manner, but how long after the fire the works were carried on does not appear; and it should be remembered that works of any magnitude were in those days usually carried on for a great number of years. The east gable, and portions of the north and south walls of an elegant Early English chapel,

CHAPEL OF ST LEONARD'S HOSPITAL.

have recently been exposed to view by the removal of a dwelling house which had been built on the ruins, and will form an additional ornament to the gardens of the Museum, in which these interesting remains will shortly be enclosed. This hospital was founded in the time of William I., removed and enlarged by William II., and a Church built by King Stephen.

All Saints, North Street,

consists of nave and Chancel, with aisles to both; the outer walls with the windows are chiefly Perpendicular, but the pillars and arches and the south doorway are Early

English. The tower is octagonal, with buttresses up the alternate flat faces, instead of at the angles, and a lofty spire, both good Perpendicular. The roofs of the Chancel and Chancel-aisles are good Perpendicular. The font is Early English. The Chancel has some remains of Early English work, but the aisles are a later addition. The east window is Decorated, filled with fine painted glass of the 15th century, which has lately been badly restored. The east windows of the aisles are Decorated. The west front is a very good composition, the lower part of the tower square, the upper part octagonal, of two stories, and on this the spire. There are a few grave-stones built into the walls, and several good grave-stones with incised crosses laid in the floor. A fine miserere remains in the Chancel, and some good evangelistic symbols, with a late brass, are nailed in a spandrel of the south aisle arches. A fine niche, richly groined, remains in the exterior of the south wall, though sadly mutilated.

THE STAINED GLASS.

The glass of the three-light window over the altar has been much renovated of late. The original glass is of the 15th century, that in the tracery is modern. The three principal subjects represented are St. John the Baptist, St. Ann instructing the blessed Virgin, and St. Christopher bearing the divine Infant. Beneath, in the centre light, is a representation of the blessed Trinity on a throne. On the south side Nicholas Blakeburn, senior, once lord mayor of the city, and on the north side Nicholas Blakeburn, junior, also once lord mayor of the city, and his lady; they are at prayer.

The east window of the north aisle contains much good glass of the 14th century, but the whole has been much replaced and renovated of late. In the tracery are the figures of St. Michael, St. George, and the blessed Virgin. The principal compartments contain the annunciation, the nativity, the wise men's offering, the crucifixion, the resurrection, and also the coronation of the blessed Virgin.

The first window of the north aisle, proceeding westward, is generally styled the Bede window; the glass is of Perpendicular character. In the tracery is the reception by St. Peter of the just into Heaven, and also of the wicked by demons into hell. In the lights are represented the supposed events

of the last fifteen days of the world, with mutilated descriptions in rhyme.

The second window westward has glass of Decorated character, it contains six of the corporal works of mercy, viz., feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting those in captivity, harbouring the harbourless, and visiting the sick. The window has probably been a family donation, as part of a supplication remains in the lowest compartment.

The third window westward contains some good glass of Perpendicular character, and exhibits three large figures, viz., Christ rebuking Thomas? Thomas acknowledging his belief? and an archbishop in his archiepiscopal robes. St. William?

The east window of the south aisle is filled with painted glass, chiefly modern, but some fragments are worked in of good Decorated character. The principal subjects represented are the crucifixion, St. John the Apostle, Christ in the garden, and three female saints.

The glass in the first window westward is of good Perpendicular character, though much mutilated, but it contains fragments of canopies, St. Michael and the many-headed monster; St. Michael's head has been displaced, and a beautiful head of the Almighty is inserted instead. There is also a good figure of St. John the Evangelist with his branch, book, eagle, and ink-horn, with a label containing "Benedictus sit sermo oris tui."

The glass in the second window, westward, is of similar character. The two rows of compartments are now masses of confusion, but they evidently are remnants of a gorgeous procession.

The glass in the third window, westward, contains some good examples of Perpendicular character; there are also a mutilated figure of St. John the Baptist, (head lately stolen,) a crowned figure of the blessed Virgin and Child, (the Child's head has also been stolen,) and part of the figure of an archbishop (probably S. Odo? or S. Gregory?) offering up at mass the host, to whom is appearing Jesus Christ, holding a scroll containing the words "Accipe hoc c . . . mẽ p̃ quibuscumque pecieris impetrabis."

All Saints, Pavement.

A Perpendicular Church, with clerestory and aisles, and a good octagonal lantern on a square tower at the west end, the lower part engaged in the body of the Church. The Chancel was destroyed some years since to widen the street, and the other walls rebuilt, but the old character preserved. The buttresses on the south side were omitted on the reconstruction of the Church to widen the street. The octagonal lantern has also been rebuilt, but after the old design, with a bold open parapet. The pulpit has the date 1634. The woodwork of the north door is modern, but on it is preserved a very good scutcheon to the door-handle, probably of the time of Charles I. It is of brass, and has a head holding another in its mouth, in bold relief, the circumference being ornamented with foliage deeply engraved on its surface: the ring is of iron, and is modern.

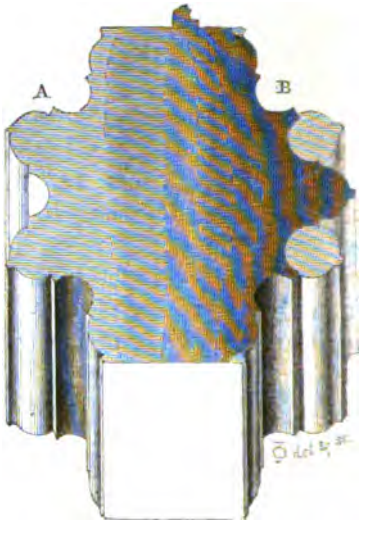
DOOR HANDLE.

Holy Cross, or St. Crux, or Pavement.

This Church is said to have been dedicated in 1424, and the tower rebuilt in the Italian style in 1697 of brick, but the arches and staircase preserved. The windows are all Perpendicular. The south door is original, panelled oak, early Perpendicular. On the south side of the altar is a small door which appears to have originally opened into a vestry behind the altar, now destroyed, but the marks of it are visible on the outside. The pillars are very good, light and elegant, of

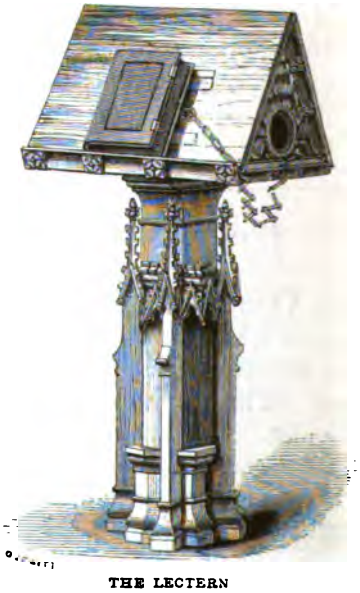
Decorated character, without capitals, and the section being different from that of the arches, the impost offers a curious

IMPOST.



SECTION OF PILLAR AND ARCH MOULDINGS

example of the crossing or interpenetration of mouldings. At the east end is a wooden lectern of early Perpendicular character, and which has still the book attached to it by a chain. The remains of a stoup and the weathermould of the roof point out the position of the north Porch, now destroyed. There is a late mural brass against one of the nave piers, and a shield bearing an interesting example of a merchant's mark with its companion charged with the city arms remain on the floor. A vast and hideous Elizabethan monument, only curious as professing the effigies to be likenesses of the deceased, fills up the end of the south aisle, formerly a chantry chapel.



THE LECTERN

DOOR, ST. CRUX.

St. Cuthbert, Peasholme Green.

A small, plain, late Perpendicular Church, with a good open timber roof coved and panelled. The span of this roof is remarkably wide, about thirty feet; it is supported by good buttresses, there being no aisles, but it has forced out the walls a little. The font is good Early English, chalice shaped; it was long used as a water-butt, afterwards as a flower-pot, and is now stowed away under the gallery stairs, and a modern slender one, in bad imitation of Perpendicular work, is used as a stand for a basin. The hideous gallery was erected about three years since. The door and window of a crypt or room under the Chancel are visible on the exterior, though blocked.

The windows of this Church contain several fragments of Perpendicular character, and the arms of England, York, and Neville.

St. Dyonis or Denis, Walmgate.

The remains of a fine Church, the nave of which was destroyed in 1798. The Chancel, with its aisles, forms the present Church. The east window is Perpendicular, inserted, of five lights, filled with good Perpendicular glass. The south door-

way is rich Norman, five times recessed, removed from the nave, and built up without the shafts in its present situation. The font is good Perpendicular. The tower arches are Norman, the upper part of the tower rebuilt. The north arch of the Chancel is transition from Norman; the south arch Perpendicular. The aisles are unusually wide. The north aisle has a fine Decorated east window, with very uncommon tracery of flowing character, which seems to be an imitation of the great west window of the cathedral. The three side windows of this aisle are Decorated, with flowing tracery, filled with fine Decorated glass, but much mutilated. The south aisle has a Perpendicular east window, the side windows are Decorated; all have remains of good glass, but that in this aisle is later than the other. A new tower of poor design has been lately added; in digging the foundations for it some interesting monumental slabs were discovered.

THE STAINED GLASS.

In the tracery of the altar window of this Church are two shields of the Scropes, and in the lights are much injured figures of saints; thus, a bishop, the blessed Virgin, the crucifixion, St. John, and St. Dionis, all of Perpendicular character.

In the window north of the altar, which is of five lights, and with its glass is of the Decorated character, there are inserted fifteen subjects or portions of a Jesse, but the whole is very imperfect.

In the first window on the north side are some fine specimens of early Decorated glass, among which are Christ in the garden, St. Thomas, and Christ rebuking him: and there are some curious quarrels with butterflies.

In the second window, which is of the same period, there are the figures of St. Margaret, and a mutilated figure of the blessed Virgin and Child. In the third window are remnants of early Decorated and Perpendicular glass, among which is a much injured figure of St. John the Baptist.

In the east window of the south aisle is a large quantity of the Perpendicular styled glass, jumbled together, among which are remnants of St. Nicholas, and St. John the Evangelist. In the first window south are some good fragments of Perpendicular workmanship, principally shewing remnants

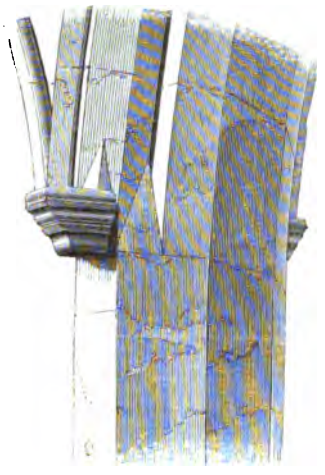
of St. Catharine, of the Queen of Heaven, and probably St. Michael. The second window contains some good fragments, but nothing worthy of description.

ST. HELEN, STONEGATE.

LANTERN.

The general character of this Church is Decorated; its most remarkable feature is an octagon lantern at the west end, carried upon an external arch over the west window, supported by good buttresses, and corbelled out in a remarkable manner; it has an open parapet and small buttresses with pinnacles at the angles. The design is original and very good, although the work was repaired and partly rebuilt in 1805. The detail has been much injured by repeated *scrapings* and ignorant repairs. The character of the west front has been nearly lost by the removal of the gables to the aisles, cutting off a corner to make room for a street, and the substitution of the present parapet.

The side windows are square-headed, but they are work of the fourteenth century, though most of them are mutilated.



IMPOST

The east window is also Decorated, and has some of the original glass remaining in it. The arches are of the same period, of plain work, recessed and chamfered, on octagonal pillars, which, instead of the usual moulded caps, have corbels on the north and south sides carrying the outer arch, or, as Professor Willis calls it, the first order of the arch. This practice of using corbels instead of caps is unusual, but seems to be a provincialism, as it recurs in several other Churches in York. The font is curious, Norman, bowl-shaped, ornamented with an arcade, the shafts of which are carved under the lower part of the bowl; it has the original round base, stilted upon a Decorated one.

The east window contains three pediments of the Decorated style of painting, and some mutilated figures of Perpendicular character, but none can be identified as interesting.

FONT.

St. John, Micklegate.

A poor Church, chiefly Perpendicular, with aisles the whole length of the Chancel, nave and tower. The east window is Decorated. The upper part of the tower was blown down in 1551, and its place supplied by a square wood and plaster turret. The font is Decorated. The arches are quite plain,

pointed and recessed, dying into octagon pillars without imposts, except that the outer arch or first order rests upon corbels projecting from the face of the pillar; they are almost devoid of character, but seem to be early, probably Early English, or the transition from Norman. The south aisle is Perpendicular, but the doorway is Decorated, with a niche by the side. The windows are all Perpendicular. There is some good glass, partly late Decorated, and partly Perpendicular, in a very neglected state, and in danger of falling out for want of fresh leading. In the north wall is a Perpendicular high tomb. There has formerly been a south porch, and the stoup remains.

THE STAINED GLASS.

The glass of the east window of this Church is plain, except the lowest compartments, the two side ones of which are about 1340. In the centre one is a figure in a religious habit at prayer, probably the donor.

In the window north of the altar there are in the tracery eight shields supported by angels, representing the families connected with the founders of the chantry. Some of the principal compartments of the window, which are of the Perpendicular character, have suffered materially from the carelessness of modern glaziers, yet there remains a portion of a representation of the Trinity, and portions of St. Christopher and St. Michael. Beneath are remains of a priest offering up the mass for the donors, who kneel behind him.

In the window south of the altar there are in the tracery the blessed Virgin enthroned, and Christ blessing her, both of Perpendicular character. Beneath are the arms of York, and Neville, part of a Magdalene, St. George and the dragon, St. Christopher, and St. Michael and the devil. The lights of this window are of good Decorated character, they have been mutilated to get them into the Perpendicular window; the centre one contains principally the figure of St. John the Baptist, on the north side of which is the birth of St. John, and the baptism of Christ; on the south side of the window is St. John rebuking Herod, and his being beheaded. The lowest compartments contain remnants of individuals supplicating for the welfare of the donor.

St. Lawrence, beyond Walmgate Bar.

A Church of mixed styles which long remained in ruins, and is patched up of the old materials. There is a good, rich, and deeply recessed Norman doorway on the south side; the north doorway is also Norman, but plain. The nave is modern; the Chancel is Decorated; the east window of three lights, side windows of two, with flowing tracery; a sedile formed in the sill of the south window, and a piscina on the east side of it.

There remains in this Church the bowl of a font, of rich and good Perpendicular work.—The tower has an open parapet.

St. Margaret, Walmgate.

Has a good Norman porch, with a deeply recessed doorway very richly ornamented, the rest of the Church is mixed, and not remarkable; round the arch of the doorway are the twelve signs of the zodiac, with an ornament supposed to be a thirteenth month, according to the Saxon calendar, which continued in general use in England long after the Norman conquest. Between the signs are small groups of figures in panels, representing some characteristic emblem for each month.

A Norman gable-cross is built into the wall of the present vestry, which may have been a chantry chapel.

St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney-street.

A good specimen of late Perpendicular work, much injured externally; the tower is at the west end of the south aisle. The arches are plain, merely recessed, and die into the pillars without caps or imposts, but they have good Perpendicular bases.

The buttresses at the east end have been pared down to widen the street.

There is a small niche containing a figure of the Virgin in the east wall of the north aisle.

The roof has a flat ceiling divided into square panels by moulded ribs, with richly carved bosses at the intersections.

The font is plain Perpendicular, with a richly carved oak cover of the Italian fashion, with the date of 1717.

THE STAINED GLASS.

This Church contains some good specimens of stained glass, principally of the period about 1450. The large east window is now filled with plain glass, the stained glass thereof having been taken from it in 1722, and removed, says Gent, to the Minster. The clerestory windows in the south side are also of plain glass. The windows in the south aisle contain many remnants of well-painted subjects, but nothing of any consequence for description. In the east window of the north aisle there is a good figure of St. George and the Dragon. In the tracery of the west window of this aisle there is a representation of the blessed Trinity enthroned, with angels adoring, also the exaltation of the blessed Virgin in two compartments, and three evangelists.

The large window in the west end is well known as the St. Martin's window. It contains a large representation of that saint in archiepiscopal robes, and several events of his life, the whole having been produced probably by the munificence of Master Robert Semer, vicar of the Church, who is represented in one compartment at prayer, with a book before him with part of the Psalm, Miserere mei Deus; and from him proceeds a label containing a mutilated request to St. Martin, and at the bottom of the principal compartments are remnants of an inscription, bearing date 1447, and is a memorial of Master Robert Semer, who bequeathed by will £40 towards the rebuilding of the Church.

In the tracery of the window are represented the hierarchy of heaven, and in the lights, some of the events of St. Martin's life; as the presentation of a young female; Martin in front of the army; Martin raising a young dead person to life; a young person introduced to a disciplinarian; a bishop saying mass, with Martin probably as an acolyte; Martin with the pope; a female sick in bed; Martin dividing his cloak; Martin beholding the vision; Martin with the devil; Martin protecting a hare from the hounds; Martin's death.

In the first window eastward are some remains of a figure of St. Mary Magdalene. In the second window are the arms of St. Edward, St. Oswald, St. Peter, St. William, Bishop Skyrlaw, England, London, York, &c., and imperfect figures of an archbishop, a bishop, another archbishop, and St. John the Baptist.

In the tracery of the third window are angels, and in the heads of the lights are representations of the four prophets suffering punishments, as Daniel in the lions' den, &c., also large figures of the four doctors of the Church, viz., Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory.

In the fourth window are good figures of the four evangelists.

In the fifth window are represented St. Mary Magdalene, St. Catherine, probably St. William, and St. Dionis.

In the sixth or the eastern window there are St. George, St. Christopher, the blessed Virgin, and the archangel Gabriel. These clerestory windows seem from the imperfect inscriptions at the bottom of each to have been donations.

St. Martin-cum-Gregory, Micklegate.

A Church of mixed styles. The tower is at the west end of the nave; the upper part was rebuilt in 1845. The Chancel is plain Perpendicular, and its aisles the same except the east window of the north aisle, which is Decorated, with flowing tracery, and filled with very fine Decorated glass, but mutilated. The nave has two good Early English arches on each side; the windows of the north aisle are Perpendicular; those of the south aisle are Decorated, with remains of fine Decorated glass. The clerestory and roof are late Perpendicular. A good stoup remains near the south door inside the Church.

In the exterior of the north wall is built in a child's gravestone of the 14th century, with a cross incised upon it. In the west wall is a rude piece of sculpture supposed to be Roman; the foundation walls appear also to be of Roman masonry, and there are traces of a crypt.

THE STAINED GLASS.

The two western windows in the north side of this Church, and the windows in the vestry, contain some good, although much mutilated, Decorated glass. In the window in the vestry St. Martin is represented dividing his cloak with the beggar. In the first side window there are St. Thomas and his Lord rebuking him, the resurrection, and Christ in the garden with Magdalene. In the second window are represented St. John the Baptist, and St. Catherine; these windows seem to have been the gift of some one individual. There are some singular and beautiful borders and quarries in this

Church. Some atrocious modern lights in memory of the friends of the glass stainer have been inserted in the north aisle.

St. Mary, Bishop-hill, Senior.

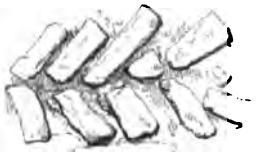
Has portions of good Early English and Decorated work, amidst various alterations and insertions.

The tower, which is of brick, was built in 1659 upon the old walls at the west end of the north aisle. The south doorway is good transition Norman; the walls are principally Early English, but the south windows are Decorated, and the east window Perpendicular. The altar-slab has been used as a grave-stone, with the date of 1699, but the crosses are perfect. On the north side are three good Early English windows, with foliated circles in the head. In the south wall an early grave-stone is built in, ornamented with the reticulated pattern, like Runic work, but used also in the 12th century. There are some good transition Early English buttresses.

This Church contains no remarkable glass, there being only a few fragments in two of the windows in the south side, among which may be distinguished the annunciation and coronation of the blessed Virgin, of Early English character.

St. Mary, Bishop-hill, Junior.

The tower of this Church is one of those supposed to be Saxon, and has undoubtedly most of the features of the buildings of that class; the belfry windows are of the usual rude character, with long and short work in the jambs; the masonry is partly built in herringbone fashion, and has bricks or tiles of the Roman form built in; the tower-arch is also rude, though it is recessed. On a careful examination however, it is evident that this tower has been rebuilt of old materials, at a period clearly subsequent to the 12th century. There are stones with Norman sculpture on them, used up as old materials in the interior of the tower; and on the exterior, but built into the walls, are many bricks of the shape of the modern or Flemish bricks, a form not used before the 13th century. The corbels throughout the tower supporting the floors are

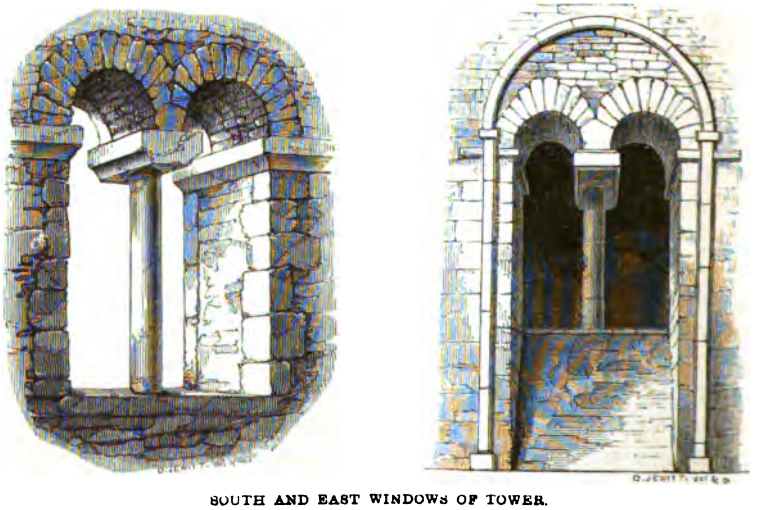


MASONRY.

of the ogee form, and look like the work of the 15th century. There are two bells of that period with inscriptions.

The two arches on the south side of the nave are very curious, they are nearly straight-sided, with bold Decorated mouldings, and of very wide span, while the two responds and the central pillar are Norman. On the north side are two Norman arches. The south wall of the Chancel has been rebuilt of old materials like the tower. The east window is early Decorated, with three foliated openings in the head, the lights not fo-

TOWER.



SOUTH AND EAST WINDOWS OF TOWER.

liated. Several of the side windows are Decorated. The gable cross of the Chancel remains. There are several portions of rich incised slabs in the floor.

This Church has nothing remarkable in stained glass, there remaining only a few remnants, implying that there have existed specimens of the Perpendicular character.

St. Mary, Castlegate.

A Church of mixed styles, with a fine Perpendicular tower and spire at the west end, the lower story is square, the second octagonal and lofty, with small buttresses up the faces of the octagon, and on this is the spire.

The windows are partly Decorated and partly Perpendicular; the pillars and arches of the nave are partly transition Norman.

The font is of the time of Charles II., with a cover of wood and iron-work, having hasps to fasten it down. The altar-covering is a rich piece of work of stamped leather, crimson and gold flock, probably also of the time of Charles II.

The buttresses are Early English, having pedimented heads standing up above the parapet, with Perpendicular windows inserted between them. The south doorway is Early English. There is a late piece of wood carving of the assumption of the Virgin. Several curious arches exist in the north-west wall, which have probably been places of sepulture for benefactors, &c. Some Elizabethan pews remain, and a few of the old misereres are existing among the pews, where portions of carved and moulded oak, probably parts of the ancient rood-screen, may be found.

There is no glass worthy of remark, except a good head of our Saviour, and another of His blessed Mother, over the north door, and some good monograms in the south window of the Chancel.

St. Michael-le-Belfry.

A good, though late Perpendicular Church, said to have been built in 1535-45. There is a band of panelled work with armorial bearings under the string, below the windows of the south side; there is some good painted glass. The aisles extend the whole length, and there is no separation of the Chancel. There are six arches on each side, with four-centred arches, wide and nearly flat, on tall pillars. On the west gable is the lower part of a bell-cot, corbelled out in a bold and unusual manner. There is some good painted glass of the time of Henry VIII., in the four south windows, and the

east window of the aisle; that in the east window of the nave, over the altar, is partly of the 14th century. In the later glass the badge of Cardinal Wolsey occurs.

BELL-COT.

THE STAINED GLASS.

The east window, which is of five lights, contains some mutilated examples of late Perpendicular workmanship, among which the annunciation, the birth, the resurrection of our Saviour may be traced, also two apostles.

The glass in the window north of the altar is also much confused; it is of late Perpendicular character, and chiefly consists of St. George and the dragon, St. Christopher, St. ——, and the blessed Virgin, being part of the annunciation.

The glass in the window on the south side of the Church is principally of a date about 1540 and 1550, and is very much jumbled and mutilated.

In the second from the east end are the figures of St. James, St. Peter, St. Wilfrid, and St. John the Baptist.

In the third are the remains of a sainted bishop, probably St. Hugo, St. Paul, St. William, and St. Peter, with their allusive arms beneath.

In the fourth several remains exist of St. George and the dragon, a warrior, a bishop, and St. Christopher.

In the fifth the glass is yet more mutilated, and it seems to have been painted about the time of Henry VIII.

St. Michael, Spurriergate.

A plain Perpendicular Church, with a west tower and a good west door. There is some peculiarity in the pillars and caps of the nave-arches, which are clustered, with caps of the character of transition from Norman. The pillars are clustered, and unusually slender for that period. The nave was shortened a few years ago to widen the street, and the walls are modern, with windows in imitation of Perpendicular, in which some good painted glass of that period is preserved. The font is a modern balustre, quite ludicrous. The altar-covering is of stamped leather, of the time of Charles II.

THE STAINED GLASS.

Prior to the alteration of this Church in 1821-2, there was placed in the window north of the altar a good Perpendicular-charactered Jesse, which, at the re-adorning of the windows, was divided, mutilated, and placed among some of the other windows. The present north window has now two very confused lights.

The altar window is plain glass, and the window south of it contains two lights of good but jumbled glass.

The first on the south side has two lights, with some good portions of representations from the Te Deum.

The second and third contain mutilated portions of the Jesse.

St. Olave, Marygate.

A very late Perpendicular Church, nave and aisles, with good buttresses, gurgoyles, and pinnacles, and a Perpendicular tower with tall pinnacles and fleurs-de-lys between. The font is of the time of Charles II. The pillars are very singular, some round, others octagonal, with Doric capitals. The Church was probably rebuilt, or nearly so, in the time of Charles II. In the east window is some Perpendicular glass, but much mutilated; over it on the outside is a small piece of sculpture of the crucifixion, and on the gable a good small Perpendicular cross. Over the north door is a fine Perpendicular Niche.

St. Sampson.

At the time of the meeting of the Institute at York this was a mixed Church, Decorated and Perpendicular; the tower Perpendicular, and most of the windows, but the nave-arches Decorated; the roofs of the nave and aisles coved, with ribs springing from carved corbels: a stoup in the east side of the south door, and a very small but beautiful niche at the end of the north aisle, very much defaced.

The Church was then said to be in a dangerous state, and it has since been mostly pulled down and rebuilt.

St. Saviour.

This Church has been lately *restored*. The tower is late Perpendicular, of small diameter and tall proportions, but good of its kind. The aisles have been raised to accommodate the galleries, and the side windows are *ingeniously* lengthened, so as to light both above and below them.

The east window of this Church contains principally fifteen much injured compartments; among them may be traced the elevation of the cross, the crucifixion, the dead Redeemer, the taking down from the cross, and the entombment. In the tracery are several naked figures supplicating.

Holy Trinity, Goodramgate.

Chiefly Decorated, with parts of Perpendicular work, with a plain Perpendicular tower, having a saddle-back roof partly hid by a battlement. There is an oblique opening on the north side of the chantry chapel, in the direction of the high altar. The lower portion of a parclose of rich and good Perpendicular work, separating this chapel from the aisle, was destroyed about four years since; part of the tracery has been worked up in the present pews. There is a good Piscina.

The arches on the south side are plain, recessed, with the outer arch (or order) springing from corbels instead of caps: those on the north side have Decorated caps, except one, which is Early English.

The windows of the aisles are Decorated, square-headed. On the south side is a Decorated chantry chapel, with square-headed windows and heraldic glass.

THE STAINED GLASS.

The east window of this Church presents eight subjects of good Perpendicular character, namely, five large and five small ones. The first large one from the left hand is St. George and the dragon, the second St. John the Baptist, the third is chiefly a bleeding Redeemer, although the Holy Trinity is pourtrayed, and before whom kneels a human figure from whom proceeds a scroll containing, "Te adoro tẽ mgfica ac beata Trinitas." In the fourth stands a figure of St. John the Evangelist with his chalice and branch, and in the fifth is a beautiful figure of St. Christopher. Beneath these compartments runs an imperfect inscription, which seemingly bears the date 1470. The first of the lower compartments contains the Holy Family accompanied by angels. The second St. Joachim, St. Ann, the blessed Virgin, and the infant Jesus. The centre one contains a representation of the three crowned kings, for the blessed Trinity, seated on a throne, and the blessed Virgin seated in front. In the fourth or next is represented St. Zachary, St. Elizabeth, and the young Baptist; in the fifth or last is placed St. Ursula with her barbed arrow and her companion martyrs.

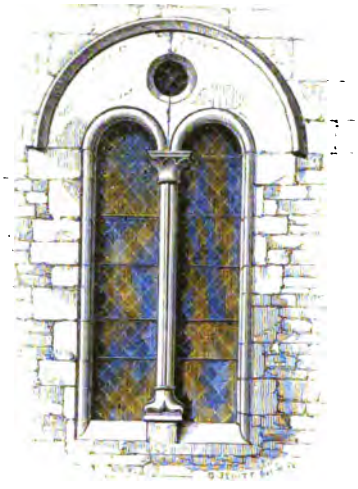
The window north of the altar contains a figure of the blessed Virgin crowned, with the title, Regina Celi. The next lower compartment contains a mutilated figure of the blessed Virgin and Child, with the words, Sancta Maria. The lowest compartment contains fragments of the figure of St. William.

The upper figure in the next light is apparently a bishop seated, giving his blessing, although the reforming glazier has left the title, near the head, of 'Dnã mundi.' The compartments below are jumbles of fragments.

The windows south of the altar contain chiefly jumbles of remnants and a few shields, among which are Old England, Roos, Vere, Old Percy, and Mowbray.

St. Maurice, near Monk Bar.

A small and poor Church, of mixed styles; there is a south aisle only, which is plain Perpendicular. The west window is a good specimen of the transition from Norman to Early English, and one of the earliest approaches to tracery; it is



WINDOW.

CROSS.

of two lights, round-headed, with a plain small circle over them in the head. Over this, in the gable, is a good small Norman window. On the east gable of the arch is a very good Perpendicular cross and finial combined.

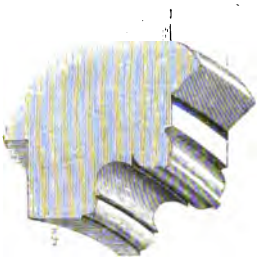
In the wall of the aisle, which is of the 15th century, two grave-stones of the 14th are built in; they have good crosses incised on them.

Holy Trinity, King's Court, (or Christ Church.)

Chiefly Decorated, with a tower at the west end, having double two-light belfry windows well managed; the aisles extend on the exterior west of the tower; the eastern part was destroyed a few years ago to widen the street. The tower-arches are Decorated, with good corbels, the upper part Perpendicular; the nave-arches are Decorated, the east window Perpendicular; the clerestory and roof late Perpendicular. The north aisle has a large flat Perpendicular east window; in the north wall are

CAPITAL.

two Decorated arches, with good hood-molds and corbel-heads; they formerly opened into a chapel, now destroyed; the south doorway is good Decorated, with a niche on each side, a very elegant composition. Some rich wood-work with delicate tracery remains in the churchwardens' pew.



MOULDING OF DOOR.

SOUTH DOOR, CHRIST CHURCH.

Holy Trinity in Micklegate.

The remains of this Church are of mixed styles, but the aisles and Chancel have been destroyed, and some of the old windows built in under the arches. The tower stands on the north side of the nave, originally at the west end of the aisle. The south side of the tower is Early English, with an arcade, which seems to have been originally internal, and there are remains of a fine Early English arch attached to it; the other three sides of the tower are built of old materials; the old wall does not appear to have belonged to a tower, but is merely a bit of the side wall of the original nave preserved of its original height, and made use of in the manner described.

The original tower appears to have been a central one, of which the western arch only remains in the present east wall of the nave. The side arches are Norman, now built up, with Decorated windows built in on the north side, and modern ones on the south.

Near this Church are the remains of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, to which it belonged; these consist only of an Early English gateway, and part of the gatehouse over it, with a good corbel-table of the peculiar ornament called *masks*, or by some *notch-heads*; the hoodmold of the arch has the tooth-ornament. This monastery was given in 1089 to an alien priory at Tours. [See a paper in the present volume, by T. Stapleton, Esq., V.P.S.A.]

The Bederne Chapel (Holy Trinity),

or chapel of the College of Vicars Choral in Goodramgate.

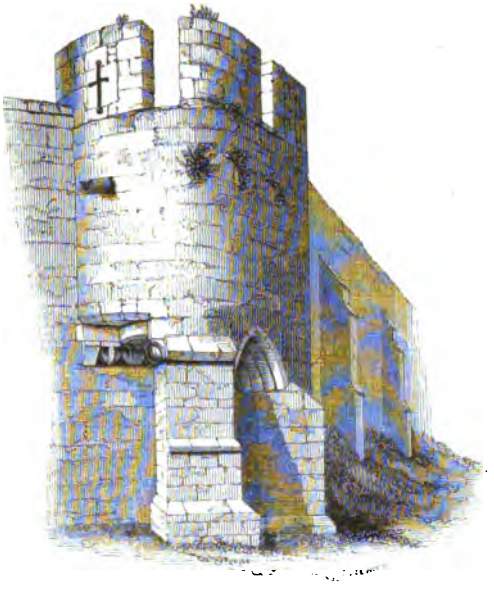
A small plain chapel of late Decorated character; it has three square-headed Decorated windows on each side. The seats are open, but late; there are remains of three stalls of late Decorated work. The altar-screen is made up of patch-work of old materials, chiefly taken from a Perpendicular font-cover. The font is small, plain, octagonal. This chapel is now used for christenings and churchings only.

This chapel is said by Hargrave to have been founded in 1348 by Thomas de Otteley and William de Cotingham. But according to Tanner, "This place was given to the Vicars Choral in the time of Henry III., about 1252, by Walter Tanner a canon, and Abp. Walter Gray."

CIVIL AND MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES.

The City Walls

Are perfect all round the city, but built and repaired at so many different periods, that very little ancient work can now be made out, but the portion near to Foss Island appears to be of Edwardian character, and the tower at the angle of the walls near the bridge over the Foss at Peasholme Green is worthy of notice; it is corbelled out in a very singular manner.



TOWER, PEASHOLME GREEN.

The different BARS are so remarkable a feature of the city of York that they cannot escape attention; they are chiefly of the 14th century, though the lower arches of some are earlier.

Monk Bar is still the best, and what is left of the original work is good Decorated; at the angles are round turrets boldly corbelled out, and the corbels well moulded. The parapets were curious, with stone figures on them, which had evidently been good, but were so much defaced by time that little more than the mere outline could be made out. Over the archway was a large room with a Decorated stone vault, and the machinery for raising the portcullis, which still remains.

Bootham Bar has preserved the Norman arches, but the upper part is chiefly of the 14th century, and part much later, probably about Henry VIII.; there are remains of figures on the parapet.

Walmgate Bar is principally plain work of the 14th century, with the barbican rebuilt in 1648; on the inner side a domestic building of Elizabethan work is attached.

Fishergate Bar is plain work of the earlier part of the 14th

century; the large arch is round, the side arches flat, with curved corbels at each end in the form called the square-headed trefoil.

Strangers will observe that in the northern dialect a "Gate" means a street, and a "Bar" a gate, or what is usually called a gate-house. The city walls are commonly called the *Bar-Walls*.

The Guildhall.

The Guildhall, erected in 1446, is a fine Perpendicular room divided into a nave and aisles by two rows of octagonal wooden pillars, with moulded caps and bases, and four-centred arches. The roof is of good open timber-work, with arches across both nave and aisles. The walls are of stone, and the windows good plain Perpendicular. The west window is filled with modern painted glass.

The Merchants' Hall

Has a late and poor Perpendicular chapel, with square-headed windows; at the west end is a tolerably good Perpendicular screen under a low wide-spreading arch. The original altar-slab is cut up into four pieces and used to make the steps; the crosses are still visible. The rest of the building is either modern or the earliest parts Jacobean.

St. Anthony's Hall,

now the Blue coat School,

Has a fine Perpendicular open timber roof of very good construction, quite worthy of careful study; it is framed on wooden posts which rise from the ground, though now divided by a floor; the dimensions are 81 feet long, by 27 feet wide; the principal timbers or wooden arches spring some way down the pillars, and are carried up to the collar-beam with braces to the purlins; they are about 8 feet apart, and have angel corbels at the springing; there were carved bosses, but these were taken away a few years since by the corporation to be put up as ornaments in the Guildhall. The wall-plates are moulded and battlemented. On each side of this hall are aisles, which also have good roofs. The whole building is of timber construction, though cased with stone, and brick, and modern floors introduced. St. Anthony's hospital was founded about 1440, by Sir John Langton.

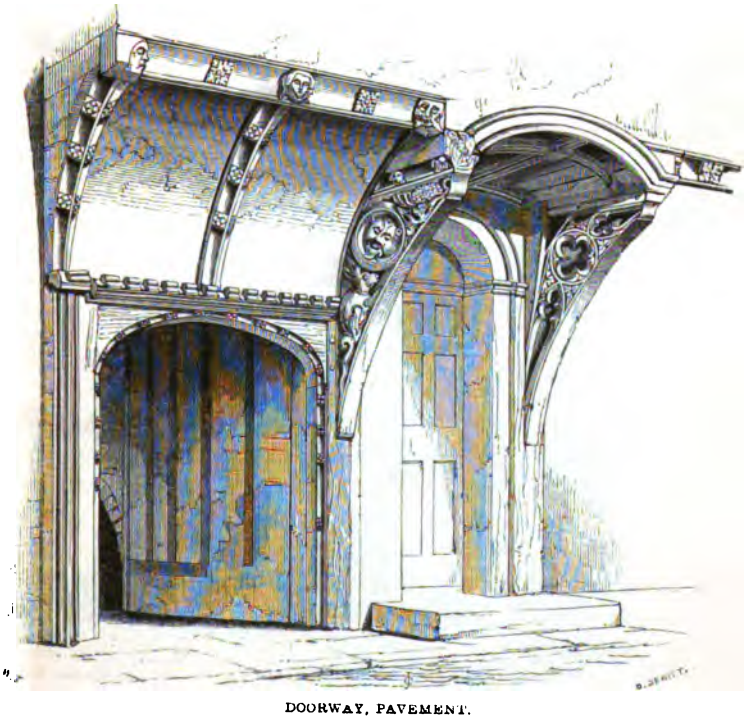
St. William's College,

FOUNDED BY THE NEVILLES, IN 1460,

Has a very good entrance doorway of Perpendicular work. On the brackets on each side of the gateway are carved figures of St. Christopher bearing Christ, and of the blessed Virgin. In the niche over the gateway is a mutilated figure, probably of St. William. This gateway is altogether well deserving of notice. The greater part of the building is of Jacobean character, but part of it is original, and there are some other carvings in the quadrangle.

Old Houses.

Of the fine fragments of the street architecture of the middle ages, with which York abounded a few years since,



DOORWAY, PAVEMENT.

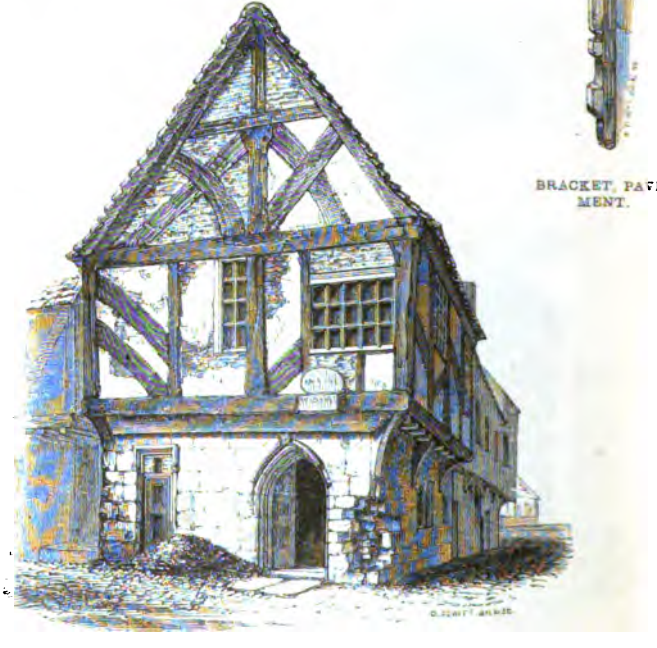
very little now remains, yet enough to shew how rich it must have been. A large timber house at the end of the Pavement,

now divided into several tenements, one of which is the office of the York Herald newspaper, is a very interesting specimen of the latter.

The carved spurs or brackets, which carry the overhanging story, are worthy of particular attention.

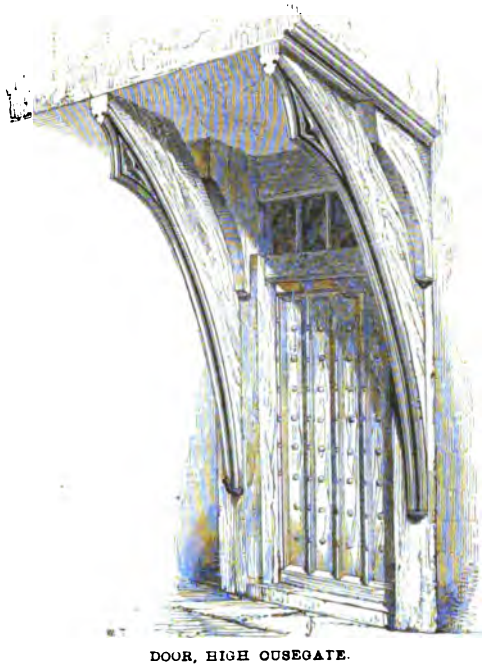
BRACKET, PAVEMENT.

A house called Newgate, in a narrow street of the same name, near the Shambles, is also a curious specimen of the fourteenth century; the lower part is of stone, and has an original doorway and two curious windows, one of which is engraved in the Glossary of Architecture; the upper part

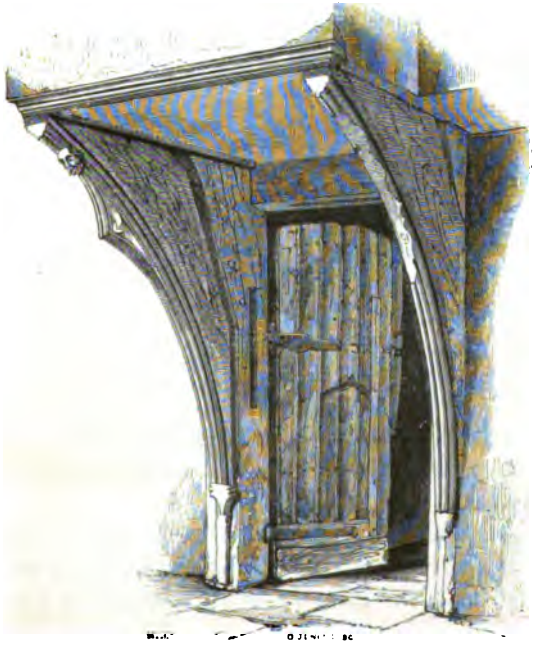


HOUSE, NEWGATE.

of the house is of timber, of early character, but plain. Several other houses in the Shambles, and in the Waterlanes, are of



DOOR, HIGH OUSEGATE.



DOOR GOODRAMGATE

early style, though generally mutilated, and there are some other good specimens in Petergate, Stonegate, Walmgate, Goodramgate, Jubbersgate, High Ousegate, and Foss-gate; some of these have preserved their rich overhanging porches, though built round with modern work. The specimens here given are from drawings made by W. Twopeny, Esq., some years since, but much mutilation has occurred since then.

DOOR, JUBBERSGATE.

The Manor House.

The Manor House is of the time of James I., a fair specimen of that period, though by no means worthy of a royal palace, which it is said to have been.

The Castle has been almost entirely *rebuilt*, but the ruins of Clifford's Tower have been preserved, which was a grand massive keep, with the remains of an interesting Early English chapel.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF YORK.

Bishopthorpe, three miles from York.

The chapel of the Archbishop's palace is an interesting piece of Early English work, built by Archbishop Walter Gray.

Skelton Church, four miles from York.

A well-known and beautiful example of a small Early English Church, without a tower, and with the nave and aisles under one roof. The original character has been a good deal destroyed of late years by the introduction of a plaster vault. The elegant bell-cot for two bells remains over the Chancel-arch, but the bells are now hung under the roof at the west end. There have been three altars, of which the piscinas and ambries remain. The porch is original, but has modern shafts; the Chancel door and the north door are blocked up. The string throughout is the same, and very good, a pear-shaped moulding with the nail-head ornament on both sides. The font is original and singular.

Overton Church, five miles from York, and one from Skelton.

A small plain Church, chiefly of the period of transition from Norman, with Decorated windows inserted. The roof extends over the nave and aisle, the side wall is not more than five feet high; there are good and uncommon Early English buttresses.

On the north side of the nave are two arches in the style of transition from Norman, on the south side the two arches have been thrown into one. The Chancel has a Decorated east window, square-headed, and the south windows are foliated lancets, on the north side an aisle has been destroyed, the arches of which remain in the wall, they are transition from Norman. The niche for the stoup remains by the side of the door, which is now blocked up, and a west door opened. It would add materially to the comfort of the worshippers to

stop up the modern west door and re-open the south door and porch. The font is good, in the style of transition from Norman. There is an ancient bell in a wooden bell-cot.

A small priory of Gilbertine canons was founded here before the fifth of King John, by Alan de Wilton.

Nun Monkton, St. Mary's Church,

Ten miles from York, coming by the road, but by the footpath and over the ferry, seven miles from York, and two from Overton.

A small but very beautiful Early English Church, consisting of the nave and west tower only, the Chancel destroyed.

THE WEST FRONT.

The west front is of very singular design, perhaps unique, and remarkably elegant. The west doorway, placed in a shallow porch, is round-headed, deeply recessed, and richly moulded, with a little of the Norman character remaining, though more of the Early English. Over the doorway, and filling up the pediment of the porch, is a small trefoil-headed niche. Over this are three fine lancet windows, the centre the highest, running up quite into the tower, which is very small, the east side of it standing upon tall square piers and pointed arches, all open to the Church. The original roof of the nave reached to the top of the tower.

On each side of the nave is a range of five lancet windows, plain externally, but rich within, having shafts with well-moulded caps, bases, and bands; between these windows, in the interior, are lancet-shaped arches, with trefoil heads, opening into a triforium or passage in the wall; the whole range

Interior of the West End, shewing the Tower and part of the North Side

forming a sort of rich triforium arcade. There are vaulting shafts, but the present roof is modern and concealed by a plaster ceiling in imitation of a groined vault; in the view here given, the plaster ceiling and the stopping up of the upper part of the eastern arch of the tower, has been removed. There are remains of another doorway of transition from Norman character on the south side.

Section or Profile of the Arch-Mouldings of the West Doorway.

The font is Early English, and rather singular.

A small nunnery of the Benedictine order was founded here in the time of King Stephen, by William de Arches and Ivetta his wife. [See a paper in the Archaeological Journal for June, 1847.]

EXCURSIONS FROM YORK.

St. Mary's Church, Beverley.

A magnificent Church, which may almost be considered as a rival to the Minster. It is cruciform, of mixed styles, in which the Perpendicular preponderates at first sight, but on examination many parts are found to belong to the earlier periods.

The Chancel consists of five bays, the arches early Decorated; the clerestory, and roof, and the east window, fine Perpendicular; the ceiling is nearly flat, divided by ribs into panels, with old painting, in each square a head, with a label bearing the name of one of the Saxon kings: on the north wall of the Chancel is a good Decorated string, a hollow moulding with the pointed ball or nutmeg ornament, common in the north, but rarely found in the south. The north aisle of the Chancel is rich and beautiful Decorated work, with a good groined vault; the windows have flowing tracery; an original screen and some Perpendicular stalls remain.

The south aisle of the Chancel is also Decorated work, the roof flat, with old painting in the squares, blue, spangled with gilt stars.

The central tower and the arches it stands upon, are fine massive Perpendicular, the parapet panelled, with numerous small pinnacles. The transepts have both been rebuilt in the Perpendicular style, but some of the old materials worked up again; the three arches on the east side of each have good Early English mouldings on Perpendicular pillars, the large south window has Decorated tracery, but Perpendicular jambs and hoodmolds, the east windows are also Decorated. The doorway and wooden door in the north transept are good rich Perpendicular.

The nave consists of six bays of fine Perpendicular work, the windows of the clerestory are large and lofty, the roof is also Perpendicular, nearly flat, and panelled. The west window is fine large Perpendicular, of seven lights, on each side of it is a light and elegant turret, the upper part open, very rich and beautiful work; these are Decorated, but late in the style, and

the west doorway is of the same period, a fine rich example; the whole of the west end is in fact transition from Decorated to Perpendicular, or late in the reign of Edward III. The north aisle has five good Decorated windows, the west window Perpendicular. The south aisle is also mixed, part Decorated, and part Perpendicular. The south doorway has the inner arch semicircular, with Norman ornaments; the outer arch fine Early English. Over this is a remarkably fine Perpendicular porch with four very good windows on each side; over the door is a good Decorated canopy.

The font is very remarkable, having the appearance of a fine Decorated one, but with an English inscription, and the date of 1530. The small figures of angels which terminate the hoodmolds of the nave-arches, carry labels with inscriptions bearing the name of those who gave particular arches. Part of a fine rood-loft and screen remains, but built up in a modern organ gallery.

St. Mary's Church, Hull.

A very fine cruciform Church with a central tower. The Chancel, with its aisles and clerestory, very good Decorated; the east end is a celebrated example of a front of this style, with a fine east window. The end windows of the transepts are also particularly good. The Chancel is unusually large, and contains some good screen-work and seats against the walls.

The nave and its aisles are Perpendicular. The material of this fine Church is brick with stone dressings.

St. Peter's Abbey Church, Howden.

A magnificent cruciform Church, with tower in the centre; the Chancel and the chapter-house are in ruins; the nave with its aisles, the tower, and transepts, are perfect. The west front is one of the finest examples of the Decorated style that remain in England; it is a very beautiful composition, with four exquisite open pinnacle turrets. The nave is fine Decorated work, the transepts Early English, the tower Perpendicular. The remains of the Chancel are fine Decorated work, the east

end, with a sort of pinnacle termination to the gable, particularly good.

The remains of the chapter-house are some of the richest early Perpendicular work that exists, and could never be surpassed.

Wressil Castle.

This ancient seat of the Percy's was built by Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, in the time of Richard II., and is a fine specimen of the castellated mansions of that period. The greater part of the walls are standing, and are of early Perpendicular character.

Abbey Church of St. Mary and St. German, Selby.

Another magnificent cruciform Abbey Church, of which the leading features only are here indicated. This Abbey was founded in 1069, by William I.

The nave is in the style of transition from Norman, consisting of eight bays with semicircular arches; the tower fell down in 1609, and did a good deal of injury to other parts of the Church, and destroyed the greater part of the south transept: the north transept is mixed, Norman and Decorated, with a fine large Perpendicular north window.

The Chancel is a splendid piece of Decorated work, of seven bays, with a groined ceiling of wood. The east end is particularly fine, with a superb Decorated window of seven lights, containing a good deal of the old painted glass. The vestry is good Decorated, and contains a curious lavatory.

Ripon Minster.

A very fine cruciform Church, of mixed styles, but chiefly Early English, with two square towers at the west end, and a central tower, on which there were formerly spires. The west end is a fine composition of Early English work, with two tiers of lancet windows, five lights in each tier. The east end is Decorated, with a very fine east window of early character, with geometrical tracery.

There are some remains of Norman work, and two crypts, one of which is supposed to be of the Saxon times.

The nave has been rebuilt in the late Perpendicular style, and one half of the central tower, which fell down about 1459. The choir also appears to have been undergoing the process of transformation from the Early English to the Perpendicular style at the period of the Dissolution, and the manner in which this was effected without rebuilding, is very curiously shewn. All the three towers formerly had wooden spires covered with lead, which are represented in King's plate published in the Monasticon. The central spire fell down in 1660, and those on the western towers were removed in 1664. The central spire fell through the roof of the choir and damaged the wood-work, which was partially restored soon afterwards.

Ripon, St. Mary Magdalene Chapel.

A hospital for lepers was founded here by the Archbishop Thurston who died in 1139. The Chapel of this edifice remains, though in a dilapidated state. It is of various styles, with a picturesque bell-gable, but has a Norman doorway. It has a stone altar, but the original slab marked with the five crosses may be seen in the pavement: the altar platform is paved with a curious tesselated pavement of the 13th century; the ancient seats remain in the Chancel, which is parted off by a Perpendicular screen. There is a low side-window.

Fountains Abbey.

This Abbey was founded in 1132. The existing buildings seem to have been commenced soon after the foundation of the Abbey, and continued to near the close of the 13th century. The ruins are the most extensive and valuable we have remaining in any part of England, and are remarkable especially for the unusual number of the domestic buildings, in a more or less perfect state. The admirable order in which they are kept, and the great care bestowed in preserving them, are worthy of the greatest praise, and the most cordial thanks of archæologists.

Of the Church, the nave and aisles are a fine specimen of the transition from Norman, the south transept is also of that character. The tower stands on the north side, and the lower

part of it partially forms the north transept; it has very fine buttresses with a round-headed niche in the face of each stage.

The Chancel and Lady-chapel are fine Early English.

The chapter-house is an oblong building, and has been divided into three aisles by two rows of arches, it is chiefly Early English, but part transition from Norman.

The whole of the Early English portion of the Church, including the eastern transept, were the work of three successive Abbots of the name of John. Of whom John of York began (1203—9), John de Fontibus, the bishop of Ely (1209—20) carried it on, and John of Kent (1220—45) finished it.

A curious and interesting vaulted room, called the court room, is of very plain but good character of the end of the 12th century. The kitchen is of the same character with two original fire-places, very large and wide, with straight heads formed of stones dovetailed together on the principle of an arch, and a good chimney, the lower part square, the shaft round; this work is all of transition Norman character.

The refectory is very fine Early English; on the south side is a staircase in the wall, and a landing place leading to the reading pulpit.

The cloisters are very fine, 100 yards long, by 14 wide, divided down the middle by a row of pillars and arches into two aisles, the work of the same plain character as the rest; some of the windows are round-headed, others lancet-shaped, but all of the same age. The lavatory is octagonal, a plain large shallow basin with a drain in the centre.

The dormitory is a very large room over the cloisters, the windows Norman, the roof is gone.

The porter's lodge is a small square room of more decided Norman character, with a good vault, and an original fire-place with a segmental arch springing from projecting Norman corbels.

The abbot's apartment is another Norman room, divided by a row of short pillars, on which the vault has rested, and another Norman chimney, very good, with its original capping, which the other wants; this one is much concealed by ivy.

Adjoining to this is a good Norman bridge of two arches, over a small stream which runs also under part of the cloisters.

Near this is another small bridge, more of Early English character, it is also of two arches, but pointed; the parapet

and coping here seem original, being of the usual ridge shape. Close to this small bridge is the mill, originally of Early English work, but much altered, being still in use.

St. Bartholomew's Church, Aldborough.

A fine Church, of mixed styles, partly Decorated and partly Perpendicular. There is a good brass of a knight of the end of the fourteenth century, with the legend "Wills de Aldbrugh," this is nailed against the wall of the north aisle, on the floor of which is the matrix of a handsome cross.

St. Mary's Church, Thirsk.

A fine Perpendicular Church, consisting of Chancel, nave with aisles, and west tower. Under the altar platform is a crypt, now used as a school-room; the Church stands on a bank, overlooking the river, so that the crypt is above ground. The door at the top of the staircase which led from the Chancel to the crypt is original panelled work, with a curious square padlock. The roof of the nave is very good open timber, coved with ribs and bosses; there are parclose screens at the end of both aisles. The font is plain, with a fine cover of open carved work, the remains of a very magnificent one. There are remains of Perpendicular painted glass in some of the windows, and the east window is filled with modern glass in imitation of old, and very creditably done, the work of the five daughters of Sir R. Frankland Russell, Bart.

At Thirsk, in the market place, the steps and base of the market cross remain. The market house is ancient, and worthy of attention.

St. Michael's Church, Coxwold.

A fine Perpendicular Church, with an octagonal west tower, large and massive, with a lantern, surmounted by a good open parapet and pinnacles; the lantern has been open to the Church, but is now shut out by a gallery, and the fine tower-arch blocked up. The body of the Church has also an open

parapet and pinnacles, and has an imposing appearance from the road, but the interior rather disappoints the expectations thus raised. The Chancel is modern; there are no aisles; the heads of most of the windows of the nave are filled with good Perpendicular glass. The font is modern, of mahogany!

Byland Abbey.

The ruins of a very fine Early English Church; the west front is the only part perfect, the design of this is very good. The west doorway is not of very large dimensions, but very good, with a trefoiled head, well moulded, and enriched with the tooth ornament; on each side is a smaller doorway at the ends of the aisles. Over the centre doorway are three lancet windows, and over these a circular window, the upper part of which is gone; the buttresses are of small projection, and have terminated in pinnacles, one of which remains. The north wall of the aisle and transept, and the east wall, remain, they are of plain Early English work, early in the style, and the windows are round-headed. On the south side one angle of the transept remains, and in the centre is the base of a fine tower-arch. There are some small remains of the walls of domestic buildings on the south side, but nothing very remarkable.

Byland Abbey was removed to this site in 1177.

All Saints Church, Helmsley.

A large Church, cruciform, with a west tower, the walls are Norman, but most of the windows are later insertions, though some of the original ones remain. There is a north aisle to the nave only, the arches of which are fine transition Norman, as are the Chancel-arch and the transept arches, and there is a good Norman doorway on the south side of the nave. The tower-arch is also fine transition Norman, now blocked up. The windows of the aisle are all Decorated. The font is good Early English, octagon, with attached shafts. At the east end of the north aisle is a Decorated piscina, with a projecting oasin and canopy over it, the upper part of which is destroyed.

Helmsley Castle.

The remains of a fine Early English castle; about half of the keep is standing, the other half lies in huge masses in the moat. Part of the walls of the barbican remain, with the entrance gateway tolerably perfect and good Early English, with its vault, the massive ribs of which spring from a corbel-table on each side; the outer doorway is flat-topped with a semicircular hoodmold over it, all of Early English character, early in the style. A triple line of moats and mounds remain perfect, and afford a very good example of the fortification of the period.

An Elizabethan house, built in the ruins, is now itself a ruin.

At Helmsley, in the market place, the steps and shaft of the market cross remain.

Rievaulx Abbey.

The ruins of a very fine Early English Church of magnificent size. The walls of the choir tolerably perfect, and part of the transepts, the nave destroyed. The east front is very good, two sets of three lancet windows one above the other, the upper set the latest; above these seem to have been again other openings in the gable, the whole flanked by massive octagon buttresses, and then the aisles. The work is of rather plain and early character, but very good.

The choir consists of seven bays, the arches richly moulded, on clustered pillars, with well-moulded caps and bases, but no other ornament, the dripstones terminated by carved bosses. The blind story or triforium arcade is of richer character, with two rows of the nail-head ornament in the mouldings. The cleristory windows are small lancets, two under one bold arch, with small blank arches on each side. The vaulting-shafts rest on good carved corbels, and the springing of the ribs remains. The Chancel-arch springs from fine moulded corbels.

The aisles are almost destroyed, but two octagonal buttresses remain, with the half arches butting against the wall of the clerestory, called flying buttresses.

The east sides of the transepts are of the same character as the Chancel, and at the end of each is an Early English triplet of simple character. The west sides are earlier, the lower part of them quite Norman, and it is probable that the nave was of that style also.

Part of the arches of the cloisters remain, and are good Early English, slightly trefoiled in rather a singular manner, and springing from corbels. The doorway of the refectory has a trefoil arch under a round one, with good Early English mouldings. The walls of the refectory are nearly perfect, and are fine Early English, with lancet windows alternating with blank arches; at each end is a triplet, and over that a smaller triplet. On the south side is a recess for the reading pulpit, and the staircase to it, similar to that now remaining at Beaulieu, in Hampshire. Under the refectory has been a crypt with a trefoil-arched doorway and lancet windows. The exterior is very plain, with good square buttresses, having two sets-off. The remains of the dormitory, and other domestic buildings, are Norman, but one Norman doorway has a Perpendicular one inserted under it, with a piece of sculpture of the annunciation.

The Church stands nearly north and south, the refectory nearly east and west.

At a short distance up the hill are the remains of a small Early English house, said to have been the place where the monks relieved travellers. This Abbey was founded in 1131 by Walter Espec.

St. Mary's Church, Scawton, near Rievaulx.

A small plain Norman Church, containing several curious and interesting features. The south doorway is original and good, the shafts are destroyed, but the caps remain; the impost is remarkably clumsy, measuring six inches in thickness, chamfered off underneath. The nave is very small. On each side of the small Chancel-arch is an opening or squint into the Chancel, all of original Norman work; the openings are now partly blocked up, but may be distinctly traced. On the north side of the Chancel is a Norman low side-window, blocked up within. On the south side is a very rude sedile, with an irregular pointed arched canopy; eastward to this is a square recess, probably part of a second sedile, the window over it being modern. The bells are ancient, with inscriptions, placed in a wooden bell-cot on the west gable.

St. Cuthbert's Church, Darlington.

A very fine Early English Church, cruciform, with a central tower and spire; it is very early in the style, partaking of the Norman character. The east end is quite Norman, with four round-headed windows arranged two and two, and square turrets at the angles. On each side of the Chancel in the interior are two arcades, one over the other, of transition Norman work. The sedilia and piscina are Decorated; the sepulchre arch, the stalls and desks, are Perpendicular. The tower-arches are fine Early English, but the east arch rests upon Norman piers, and under it a plain stone roodloft is preserved and used for an organ loft. The transepts are fine Early English, with the same arrangement as the Chancel, but the south transept is richer work, with small circular sunk panels, as at Rievaulx and York. The nave is of four bays, with transition Norman arches; the aisles have square-headed Decorated windows inserted. The west front is a very fine composition of Early English work. The west doorway deeply recessed in a shallow porch, with a trefoil-headed niche in the head of the pediment. Over this an arcade of five lancet arches, two of them open as windows; over these a triplet, the centre only open; above this the gable, flanked by square buttresses, terminated by early pinnacles with small panels. The central tower and spire are part of the original work, with Early English arcades round the tower, having Decorated tracery inserted in the windows. The font is plain transition Norman, with a late but fine canopy.

Richmond Castle.

The ruins of a very fine Norman castle, in a splendid situation. The keep stands at one angle, it is very fine Norman; all the walls perfect, the roof and floors destroyed; it is said to have been commenced in 1146; the lower story is vaulted, but the vaulting is an insertion. On the first floor is a Norman pillar, standing in the middle, which carried the floor above. The four square corner towers are perfect; the battlements appear to be chiefly original; the embrasures are very deep and bold; the walls of a Norman hall are also perfect at another angle of the area, they appear to be earlier than the keep, and are said to have been built in 1071; the walls of

enceinte enclose a space of five acres, they appear to be all Norman.

St. Mary's Church, Richmond.

A fine Church, of mixed styles, consisting of Chancel with aisles, nave with aisles, and west tower.

The tower is Perpendicular, of lofty proportions, with a good stair-turret projecting at the south-east angle, and fine diagonal buttresses with canopies at the principal sets-off. The lower part of the Chancel is Norman, the upper part and the east window Perpendicular; the nave-arches are transition Norman; the aisle windows Decorated, those on the south side good, of two lights, those on the north side spoiled, and two arches thrown into one; the clerestory and roof late bad Perpendicular.

Trinity Chapel, Richmond.

The poor remains of a Decorated Church, the nave only, the arches walled up, the aisles and Chancel destroyed, the west tower Perpendicular, castellated.

Grey Friars' Monastery, Richmond.

The central tower of the Church is all that remains; this forms a fine picturesque object; the upper part is very good, with open parapet and pinnacles; the buttresses are corbelled out from the springing of the arches in a singular manner, and ornamented with canopies. This house was founded in 1258.

Easby Abbey.

The gate-house is good early Decorated of the time of Edward I., and a considerable part of the ruins are of the same period. The walls of the refectory remain, the windows have lost most of their tracery, but the east window is nearly perfect, of five lights, with geometrical tracery in the head, a large circle and five trefoils. At the opposite end are the remains of a fire-place. There has been a crypt under the refectory. Other parts of the domestic buildings are Early

English; the walls of a smaller hall, with a vaulted room under it, are standing. No part of the chapel seems to remain.

Easby Church.

A plain transition Norman Church, with a south aisle to the nave, and a bell-gable for two bells at the west end. The east window is of three lancet lights under one round arch, the eyes open, with a Norman hoodmold to the arch; this seems to be an early example of this kind of window. The three sedilia and piscina have trefoil heads, there is a Norman sepulchral arch with a stone coffin under it, the lid removed. The nave is chiefly of Norman character. The font Norman, round, cup-shaped, with an arcade and sculpture. The south doorway and porch are Early English, with two brackets in the wall and some good iron-work on the door.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAXON CRYPT UNDER THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF RIPON,

Commonly called St. Wilfrid's Needle.

At the last congress of the British Archæological Association, I endeavoured through the medium of a communication that was then partially read, to draw attention to the existence of a crypt under the central tower of the cathedral church of Ripon, which, from the peculiarity of its form, and the very antique mode of its construction, was evidently to be classed among monuments, not only important from their rarity, but for the evidence they afford in the deduction of our architectural system from the remains of classical antiquity. As the evidences and arguments I then adduced and employed will, I believe, be published in the official record of that meeting, it will be unnecessary for me to recapitulate or allude to them further than to suggest, as a prelude to the few remarks I now feel it incumbent on me to make, that, after a detail of the ecclesiastical history of Ripon from the latter part of the seventh century, and a description of the crypt itself, I endeavoured, in the absence of all outward denotation or distinctive data, to prove that it could have formed no integral part of any of those successive structures of which portions are remaining in the present cathedral. Having likewise premised that, from the similitude which the body of the crypt bore to a Roman sepulchral vault, it had been supposed to have been originally appropriated to that purpose, but that it was equally probable that from the extraordinary sanctity which Roman tombs and catacombs acquired in the early ages of Christianity (by having been the refuges and temples of the martyrs and persecuted professors of its faith), it might have been constructed during the Saxon period, I summed up my observations in these words. "The whole enquiry may appear therefore resolved to this; that though from the similitude of this crypt to acknowledged relics of the Roman nation, it would appear that it has been a tomb constructed by that people, its position being rendered *reasonable* by the fact that the great Roman station of Isurium was but

seven miles hence, and that a settlement of that people was in this place, and *probable* by the recorded fact that original Roman tombs have been, in Italy, appropriated to Christian purposes; nevertheless, that from the peculiar sanctity with which Roman tombs became in process of time invested, their forms were copied, in constructing the basement stories of churches by the Christians: and the Roman British and the Northumbrian Saxons having alike derived their religious ceremonial practices, as well as their modes of architectural construction, from Rome, it must, in the absence of written record or further local denotation, remain uncertain to which of these very early periods its construction must be assigned. If Roman, it is original in the intent as well as in the mode of its construction; if of a later age, it is but a type and similitude of that intent, and an imitation of that construction."

This latitude of hypothesis would not indeed have been presented, if there had appeared sufficient testimony to prove that the site of the celebrated monastery which St. Wilfrid erected at Ripon, between the years 670 and 678, had occupied that of the present cathedral; for that Wolsey of the Saxons, during his sojourn at Rome, had been especially mindful of its peerless architectural treasures, and had brought with him from thence, artificers from whom it was extremely natural that a work like this crypt would have proceeded. The site of that structure, of which not one stone is now left above the sward, is however distinctly and definitely said by Leland, in the first volume of his Itinerary, to have been removed a certain space from the present minster. "The old abbay of Ripon," says that industrious and accurate observer, "the old abbay of Ripon stode wher now is a chapelle of our lady, in a botom one close distant by ——— from the new minstre. One Marmaduke, abbate of Fountaines, a man familiar with Salvage, Archebishop of York (1501-7), obteined this chapelle of hym and prebendaries of Ripon: and having it gyven onto hym and to his abbay, *pullid down the est end of it, a pece of exceding auncient wark*, and buildid a fair pece of new werk with squarid stones for it, *leving the west ende of very old werk stonding*. He began also and finishid, a very fair high waul of squarid ston, at the est end of the garth that this chapel stondeth yn," &c.

By this wall, which still remains, the site of the building of which Leland spoke is sufficiently identified. It is adjacent

to the street called St. Marygate, and about one hundred and twenty yards from the north-east angle of the cathedral.

When, however, on the occasion before mentioned, I produced this statement of Leland's, as evidence that the only ecclesiastical structure which we had direct and explicit authority for concluding was erected by Wilfrid, at Ripon, occupied the site now identified by Huby's wall, I threw out the conjecture, that as Wilfrid was said, by Richard the prior of Hexham, to have been the founder of two churches at Hexham, beside that which bore the dedication of St. Andrew, the patron saint of his monastery there, he *might* have provided *more than one church* for this his favourite place of retirement, and that a church, *enclosing the present crypt, might have* subsequently become *the parish church*—a character which the present cathedral possesses—though Leland has recorded of a building that had nevertheless perished before his day, and of the origin of which we know nothing, "There hath bene about the north part of the olde towne a paroch church by the name of Alhalowes."

Of this uncertain character then, was the amount of evidence on the subject, at the recent period to which I have alluded. Since that time, however, the gratuitous conjecture I offered has in a great measure been verified, and the uncertainty that has long prevailed as to the date of this important monument entirely set at rest: a fact which I now come forward to explain, not only because I think this is both a fitting place and opportunity to give publicity to a curious subject which I was the first to discuss, but also because it affords a striking proof of the utility of an institution, constituted like that which I have now the honour to address, in evoking and recording that species of information, which, with reference to those medieval monuments which no written evidence can reach, nor unaided reason adequately explain, accumulates and amounts, by careful application and assiduous comparison, to the certainty of direct testimony.

It must be remembered then, that beside the conventual church of Ripon, Wilfrid erected another, in honour of St. Andrew, at Hexham, in Northumberland. Of this structure, Richard the prior of Hexham, who minutely described it towards the end of the twelfth century, states, "the foundations were laid by Wilfrid, deep in the earth, for the crypts and oratories, and the passages leading to them, which were

then, with great exactness, contrived and built underground." No traces of this singular work, however, were known to exist, in the beginning of the last century, until an excavation at the west end of the present abbey church of St. Andrew disclosed a crypt, which so minutely corresponded in its appearance with that peculiar design commemorated by prior Richard, as to leave no doubt but that it was verily and indeed the work of the great Wilfrid. It obtained, however, little or no attention, except on account of some Roman inscribed stones that have been used in its construction, until Mr. Fairless of that town communicated a ground-plan of it with some remarks to Mr. Hudson Turner, the Secretary of the Archæological Institute, who embodied them in a brief memorial of the crypt published in the second volume of our Journal, and suggested a comparison between it and that of Ripon, unaware of the existence of the unpublished plan that I had exhibited at Winchester, which would have settled the question at once. As the crypt at Hexham is occupied as a family vault, (though the contents, it is to be hoped, will now be removed elsewhere,) the investigation was not extended, at the time when the plan was made, to some passages that have been since explored; a circumstance which was alluded to in the last number of the Journal of the Institute, where the identity that had become evident by the comparison of a plan of each crypt was recorded. Since, however, I had prepared several drawings of the crypt at Ripon for the information of the Institute, on the appearance of their plan of that at Hexham, which I was unable at the time to exhibit, I now avail myself of this more public opportunity of presenting them in juxtaposition with the amended plan of the crypt at Hexham, by Mr. Fairless, in the trust that your authoritative opinion will assign, on certain and indisputable evidence, to the cathedral of Ripon, the hitherto dubious honour of possessing one of the most ancient and interesting christian monuments in the kingdom.

No. 1. Exhibits the relative position of what Leland stated to be the site of the old monastery of Ripon, and the present cathedral. (1. the deanery; 2. the deanery gardens; 3. the site of the "old abbay of Ripon," bounded on the east by Huby's wall; 4. the supposed site of Eata's monastery; 5. the site of the church of Allhallows; 6. the site of the Archbishop of York's palace; 7. the burial ground of the cathedral.)

No. 2. Is the ground-plan of the crypt.

No. 3. The elevation of the sides.

No. 4. Is a section of the crypt, from east to west, and shews the connexion of the adjacent vault.

No. 5. A section from north to south, exhibiting also the appurtenant passages.

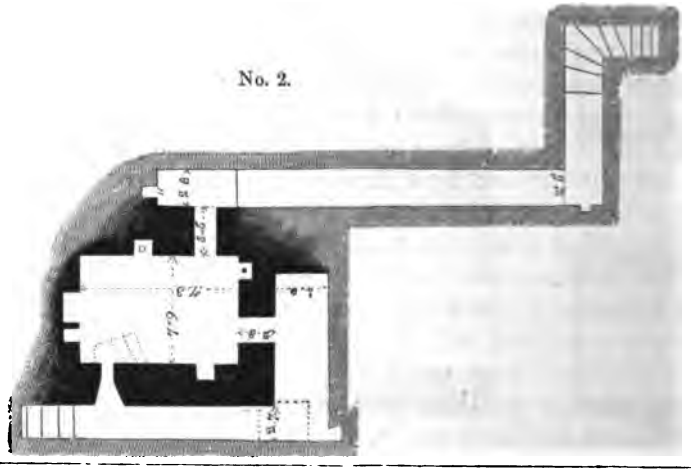
No. 6. Sections of the niches in the chapel. (A on the west side; B on the south side; C and D on the north side, C being the celebrated "St. Wilfrid's needle;" E on the east side.

As my present purpose is but to prove and establish the Saxon origin of the crypt, I forbear to enter again into a minute detail of its appearance, especially since many whom I have the honour to address, have viewed it within a few days past, and, at the request of some of them, I intend to prepare an account of the structure, when such operations as seem necessary to develope its several parts shall have been accomplished. After the exhibition of these plans and diagrams, I need scarcely remark, that not only in the general spirit of the design, but also considerably in the detail, such an identity, both of intent and construction, is palpably manifested, as precludes the necessity of argument, and leaves no doubt that they had one common founder and origin. There is, in both, the same small barrel-vaulted chapel, with small niches in the walls, the same singular demi-vaulted space at the west end of the chapel, intended no doubt originally to support the steps leading to the altar, and (so far as we can imagine the crypt at Ripon to be undisturbed by more recent operations) nearly the same disposition of the passages by which the chapel was to be approached. There is, in both, the same kind of semicircular-headed doorway, agreeing in the height of six feet three inches; the same mode of construction in the small niches of the chapel, the peculiar form of which will be best understood by their sections—nay, even the width of the passages agree, within an inch.

It remains to be seen, when the modern plaster and the coats of lime wash are removed (which the dean has kindly promised the members of the Institute shall be forthwith done), whether we are acquainted with the full extent of the crypt at Ripon, and whether it may not have possessed an additional cell or more, similar to those still remaining at Hexham. Thus, there is at the south end of the demi-vaulted space at the end

No. 1.

No. 2.



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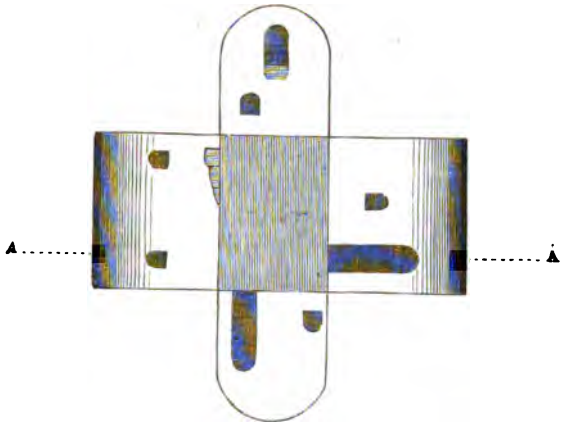
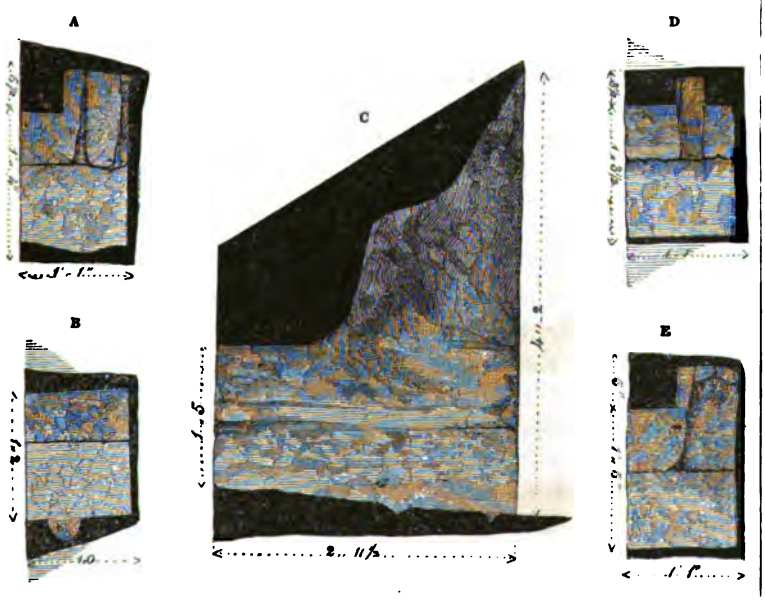


No. 4.

No. 5.

No. 6.



of the chapel, an indication, by the bulging of the plaster, that a semicircular aperture has been walled up. It is not remembered to have been open, or to have presented a different appearance, but it is to be remarked that when John Carter was at Ripon, on one of his painful peregrinations, in 1790, the result of which he published in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1806, he observed, "on the south side of the chapel is a small opening communicating with a receptacle for bones." If that accurate observer used the term *chapel* indifferently, in alluding to either of the chambers, it is not at all improbable that this is the place alluded to, and that the "opening" was not one of the small niches that had been pierced, as I once surmised. The ground-plan, however, shews the receptacle, as he calls it, must be of small dimensions. The flat stones that cover the passages by which the apartments are approached have, I presume, been also partially relaid, and the first part of the western passage elongated or diverted from its original course; indeed, a small sepulchral stone, bearing the worn figure of a plain cross, may be observed in the roof. The termination of the eastern passage is uncertain, though tradition says that it communicated with the sub-dean's stall. Carter writes, "there is a flight of steps which ascends into a small chamber on the right hand of the porch of the choir," but appearances do not at present corroborate either statement. Carter speaks also of the "remains of the altar." It may be hoped, therefore, that on the removal of the earth that is accumulated on the floor to the depth of eight inches or more, some traces of this interesting object may still be discovered.

There is yet one question connected with this subject, which, though it is a local one, it would not be more difficult than interesting to settle. Although the distance of the cathedral from the place where Leland says, and tradition has ever maintained, Wilfrid's monastery stood, will not preclude the supposition that the crypt might have been enclosed within the *precinct of the Monastery*, yet—as I cannot feel justified in interpreting the clear and explicit statement of that faithful observer, by a theory for which I have seen no tangible proof,—I must resist the supposition, which my veneration for the noble existing structure inclines me to affirm, that the old conventual church of St. Peter, or as it is called in the Saxon chronicle, "that great minster at Rypon which St. Wilferth built," and was destroyed by King Edred in 948, did actually

cover the ground occupied by the crypt in the present cathedral. Not only do I feel persuaded by his direct and unqualified assertion, that "the old abbay stood one close distant from the new minstre," and assured that the "pece of auncient werk" which he deemed to be a remnant of it, was a fragment of that most sacred portion, which, after the successive devastations of King Edred and William the Conqueror, had demanded restoration—but I recognise a reiteration of his testimony and of his weighty opinion, in the distinctive appellations, which he systematically applied, to the successive foundations of the abbey and the collegiate church. In the passage already quoted, he distinguishes them as the "*old abbay*" and the "*new minstre.*" In the beginning of his description of the collegiate church, he styles it "the *new* minstre," and in stating immediately after "the commune opinion" of its original foundation, he records that "Odo Archebishop of Cantewarbyri cumming ynto the North Partes with King —(sic) had pitie on the desolation of Ripon Chirch, and began or caussid *a new work to be edified*, wher the Minstre now is." Finally, with reference to the evidence provided by Leland, it may be urged, that the existence of three crosses which he saw "standing in row, at the este ende of the chapelle garth," and which he deemed to be "thinges antiquissimi operis," and of an antiquity prior to King Edred's devastation, indicate the immediate contiguity of the most sacred portion of the monastery; whether the occasion of their erection was the dedication of the church, or the commemoration, as Leland thought, of "sum notable men buried ther."

Again—The argument derived from the fact of the dedication of the collegiate church having been to St. Peter and St. Wilfrid, and that of the chapel, which existed in the time of Leland, on the site of the old monastery, to the Virgin Mary, suggests as impotently to me, that the site of the one is *therefore* identical with that of the conventual church which Wilfrid did actually dedicate to St. Peter, as that the lady-chapel had been originally a church founded by him in honour of the Virgin. The dedication that had been selected by the great Wilfrid for his Benedictine monastery, would of course be retained and assumed, as reasonably, after its destruction, by Odo or the subsequent founders of the collegiate church, as were the privileges which had been granted to the monks by the Saxon kings, and which were held by the canons to the

period of the Reformation. As to the dedication of the chapel to the Virgin, future observation may decide, whether it might not have been bestowed by him who reverently protected the site of the abandoned monastery, by its foundation; not so much in consequence of his own personal feelings, as in accordance with a systematic practice of thus dedicating chapels of similar origin and appropriation. The site of the church of Old Sarum was hallowed by a chapel which bore this dedication, and I believe that many of us may remember similar instances. I cannot, I confess, give any adequate reason for such a practice, but merely throw out the remark for discussion.

Neither—to turn to a third point of this many-sided question—does another hypothesis that has been suggested to me appear tenable; that—since the monasteries of Ripon and Hexham were dedicated, respectively, to St. Peter and St. Andrew, and the peculiar crypts that we can safely ascribe to St. Wilfrid are found under churches there, retaining these dedications—the sites of these existing churches are *thus* conclusively *identified* as those of the ancient conventual or principal churches of the monasteries, inasmuch as it is assumed, from the early chroniclers, that similar crypts were constructed under these churches, *only*. This inference, however, is drawn from insufficient premises, for, be it remembered, we are not informed, either by Eddius or Richard of Hexham, that any crypt was constructed, at Ripon, by Wilfrid, at all. Nor will it be assisted by an analogical reference to the crypt at Hexham, until the unexplored site of the monastery at Ripon, and those of the demolished churches of St. Mary and St. Peter at Hexham, have been found destitute of this appendage, which even the abbey church of St. Andrew there was not known to have contained, until the last century. Moreover, it is not proved to a decided demonstration, that the present church of St. Andrew at Hexham, albeit the abbey church, occupies the *exact* site and covers the very ground of Wilfrid's conventual church of St. Andrew, inasmuch as that building was destroyed by the Danes in 875, and lay in ruins until the beginning of the twelfth century, when the second Thomas archbishop of York built a new structure, which he gave to a body of Augustine canons, and of which it is said some portions remain in the present neglected church.

If then, finally, the position cannot be conceded, that the

conventual church or principal portion of the monastery built by St. Wilfrid at Ripon, occupies the precise site of the present cathedral church there, without violating the testimony of an observer who had means of information, we know not how extensive, and with no part of which we can now be favoured, it seems most safe and reasonable to conclude, either that this crypt has been constructed by St. Wilfrid, under another and a forgotten church, either within the monastic pale or not, or that, independent of the superstructure of a church, it has been—like those sepulchral remains from which a portion of its form was derived—a place of retirement, meditation, penance and prayer, or certain purposes of the Saxon ritual, which, at this distance of time, we are not able, distinctly, to discriminate.

On the whole,—be the local tendency of the question as it may,—it is not, I flatter myself, a little interesting or important, that by the unexpected discovery of the age and founder of the crypt, there is added to our scanty relics of Saxon times—one, that may not only be *confidently* viewed by the architect and the antiquary, as a structure drawn in spirit directly from the source of classical antiquity, and erected by men that had handled familiarly the mighty wrecks of imperial Rome, but, at the same time, be contemplated by the Christian and the scholar, as a monument of one of the most energetic, influential, and memorable characters of the English Church;—and, as that thrice-hallowed cell, in whose retirement and solitude, men, now translated to the eternal temple of heaven, cherished—amid trials and temptations and discouragements that we cannot now understand, and difficulties and dangers and oppressions that are now forgotten—that immortal, but then feeble flame of Christian truth and trust, which their successors have been the glorious means of diffusing, in its imposing noon-day radiance, to the nethermost parts of the earth.

July 16, 1846. J. R. WALBRAN.

ON THE BATTLE OF TOWTON:

OR PALM SUNDAY FIELD.

It will be inexpedient at this time or place to consider either the origin, the durance, or the consequences of those fatal wars which prevailed throughout the fifteenth century. An almost internecine combat was waged through this century between the houses of York and Lancaster, the wearers of the white or of the red rose. There was every alternation from the direst disaster and defeat to the most overwhelming triumph and success. These alternations of fortune were no less rapid than capricious. The fatal battle fought at Wakefield, in the West Riding of this county, on the eve of Christmas Day, 1460, appeared to give a permanence to the throne of Henry VI. He had now been reigning upwards of 30 years: and in this battle, his rival Richard, duke of York, was slain, and his head was cut off after the fight, and placed with a paper crown upon it, on the walls of the Mickle-gate bar in this city, by Margaret, with the insulting sneer "that York may over-look the town of York." Earl Salisbury, and other leaders, shared the same fate. Although this great victory, mainly achieved by the courage and perseverance of the queen, appeared to give the promise of stability and continuance of the crown to Henry, yet its ultimate effects tended quite in a contrary direction. For by this defeat, the envy and energy of Edward, son of Richard duke of York; the pride and policy of the potent Earl Warwick, 'that setter up, and plucker down of kings;' and the fiercer animosities of the supporters of the house of York; were more keenly excited against their conquerors. The earl of March on hearing of his father's death, instead of disbanding his forces, retained them in the field. Sending to his generals, the more powerful of the barons who aided him, notice of his purposes, he marched towards London. The king and queen retire at his approach, and gradually recede through the kingdom, until they found an haven of safety within the walls of York. Edward, having in the interim

been named as King in London, urges on his forces, and follows on the pursuit: and neither he nor his generals rest from their exertions, until they had wiped away the dishonour and disasters of the fight of Wakefield, in the bloody reprisals, and deadly retaliation of the battle of Towton.

The battle-field of Towton is located about ten miles from this place. It is a long brow or ridge of land, with a slight ascent to it, from Castleford on the one side, and from Tadcaster and Saxton on the other. It must have been very suitable for a combat of armed men meeting in battle-field, where the skill of the bow, and the strength of the man, were to decide the fortunes of the day. If indeed it had been even the practice of the day to bring artillery on all occasions into the field, yet the hasty marching and counter-marching of the two parties, the rapid flight of the king and queen from London, and the hasty tracking of their path by Edward, united with the badness of the roads, and with the difficulty of conveyance, would prevent the bringing these heavier and more deadly machines of slaughter into the action.

On the day before the battle, on Saturday, Lord Clifford made a charge at Ferrybridge to dispossess the Yorkists of that position. This attack was made at evening, and so suddenly, that Lord Fitzwater, imagining it to be a quarrel among his own soldiers, rushed out among them unarmed, and was slain. The earl of Salisbury at the same time shared the same fate. The rout indeed appeared to be becoming general, when an act of heroism of the great Lord Warwick, restored order and confidence to his soldiers. "For when the Earle of Warwike was informed hereof, like a Man desperat, he mounted on his hacknie, and hasted puffing and blowing to King Edward, saieng; 'Sir, I praie God have mercie of their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise have lost their lives. And bicause I see no succors of the world, but in God, I remit the vengeance to him our Creator and Redeemer.' With that he alighted downe, and slue his horse with his sword, saieng 'Let him flee that will: for suerlie I will tarry with him, that will tarry with me;' and kissed the crosse of his sword as it were for a vow to the promise." Hollingshed. The king, inspirited by the bravery of his great ally, and himself not deficient in courage, made proclamation, that any one who liked might retire: but that if any one who remained was caught turning his back on the foe, a reward

and honour was offered to the comrade who would slay him. The next morning Lord Fauconbridge and Sir Walter Blount passed the river Aire at Castleford: and Lords Clifford, Northumberland, and Dacres drew up their men at Dartingdale, between Towton and Saxton. There are several circumstances here worthy of being recorded. The war had now become one of extinction and extermination. Neither party could hope for the forgiveness of the other. The hope of life was set aside on either part: and the taking of prisoners was proclaimed a great offence. Every man was determined to vanquish or to die on the field. The importance of the crisis must not be overlooked. Each party had made the utmost efforts for success. Exhausting every resource, they brought every endeavour to bear on obtaining present victory. Sixty thousand men were collected by Henry, and forty-eight thousand by Edward: so that on the issue of this combat would depend, as the result shewed, the superiority and subjection of the one party to the other for some years. On the 29th of March, Palm Sunday, 1460, the two armies met face to face, and the men on perceiving each other set up a great shout, a shout perhaps of joy—

> "Such joy forsooth as warriors feel,
> In foemen worthy of their steel:"

for they who now met were all Englishmen, of one nation, and equal in bravery, firmness, and resolution. The elements however mingled in the fray, and where the courage of both was equal, one party did not disdain to resort to trick and artifice. As the battle began at nine in the morning, a great storm of snow and sleet began to fall, and to beat against the faces of the soldiers of King Henry, blinding their eyes, and leading them astray in the aiming their arrows against the foe. The disadvantage of the Lancastrians was further promoted by a trick resorted to by Lord Fauconbridge; he ordered his soldiers to shoot a flight of blind arrows, (provided for the purpose,) and then to retire a few yards; this irritated the enemy, who shot their good arrows in return. These necessarily fell short of the enemy, and not only did them no injury, but sticking in the ground, when the close combat began, inflicted wounds on the very men by whom they had been sent. The combat lasted, with various oscillations of success, for ten hours according to some, and for six hours

according to other historians. Mr. Lingard supposes that at 3 o'clock, after six hours' fight, the king's party began to retire. The fugitives fled towards Tadcaster, and stained the streams of the Cock and of the Wharfe with their blood. Over the former indeed, then as now a narrow stream, the corpses of the slain were so numerous as to make a bridge for their fellows to pass over. The slaughter indeed in the field and the retreat must have been, from the circumstances already recorded, very great. The general reckoning of the killed were thirty-six thousand, seven hundred, threescore and six persons; and Edward in a letter to his mother estimated the slain at twenty-eight thousand, and it is not improbable, from the circumstances recorded, that this was a true statement of the number of the slain. Thus ended the great battle of Towton, or as it is sometimes called 'Palm Sunday Field:' a battle, which though it did not permanently influence the succession of the crown, for the house of Lancaster was shortly restored, yet added for a season to the splendour of the sun of York. We may be thankful that we are spared the horrors of civil strife, and of intestine warfare. May Englishmen long contend on no other field, than that of literature, science, and archæology; and desire no other trophies, than those of peace, civilization, and mutual improvement.

On this great victory being achieved, Henry and his queen retire into Scotland; while the victor is received with all due solemnity into the city of York. Fresh from the heat of combat, in the spirit of revenge, Edward makes reprisals on the foes opposed to him. He removes at once the heads of his father, the late duke of York, and of Lord Salisbury, set up by Margaret on the gates of York, and causes them to be buried with their bodies: and in the fashion of the day, places in their stead the heads of the earl of Devonshire, (whom having taken prisoner he caused to be beheaded,) of the earl of Kyme, and of Sir W. Hill. Edward tarries not long in York, but hastens to London, where he was crowned on the 29th day of June, 1461.

The three Lancastrian leaders, Clifford, Northumberland, and Dacres, all met their death in this battle. It may be interesting to mention something of each.

Lord Clifford had obtained for himself by his extreme cruelty towards the Yorkists, the nickname of "butcher." The same, after the battle of Wakefield slew with his own hand

the youthful earl of Rutland, while in the very act of kneeling to him as a suppliant. His son and successor was for these reasons peculiarly hateful to the Yorkists, and was brought up as a shepherd, 'in a poore habit, ever in feare to be knowne,' until Henry VII., the war of succession being over, restored him to his name and honours.

The earl of Northumberland was a baron of great power and puissance. He had a palace in this northern capital, situated in Walmgate. His body is said to have been brought home by some of his retainers, and in the church of St. Dyonisius, or St. Dennis, in this city, the curious may yet see a large blue stone in the north aisle, under which it is believed lies the body of Henry, earl of Northumberland, slain in the battle of Towton Field.

I took the trouble yesterday morning to visit the place of which I have been speaking. I conversed with several of the villagers, and they point out a place which by tradition is said to be the spot where Lord Dacres, the other general, fell. The place is called Towton Dale or Tartingdale, and a road runs between two stone quarries, which are said to be, with no ostensible improbability, the scene of slaughter. The body of Lord Dacres is buried in the church-yard at Saxton. His remains are covered with a plain stone, raised by a low wall about 20 inches from the ground; it is broken across the centre, and divided into two parts; it is unprotected by any palisade, hedge, or railing. The inscription is in Latin, in large Old English letters, cut round the border of the flat stone. Drake gives the inscription.

"Hic jacet Ranulphus Ds de Dacres et ——— miles et occisus erat in bello Principe Henrico VI. Anno D. MCCCCXLI. XXIX Die Martii videlicet dominica die palmarum—cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen."

These words, though more defaced since his day, are yet intelligible enough to verify the tomb; and if any archæologist present has influence in that neighbourhood, he would be only acting in due regard to his character as a member of an Institute, which would preserve as well as elucidate the past, if he would obtain some protection to the tomb, that it fall not into worse ruin.

I may mention also another tradition, which is likewise verified by facts. It is reported that the soldiers were buried in large mounds on the field of battle, and that the Yorkists,

either in affection or in triumph, planted some rose-trees on the tombs of their fallen countrymen. These mounds through the lapse of four centuries have worn nearly down to the level surface of the soil; but you may yet see a kind of circles in the field, above the quarry which I have mentioned; and these circles are covered with patches and clusters of rose-trees. The rose is white, and now and then on the appearance of a pink spot on the flower, the rustic, happy in his legendary lore, traces the blood of Lancaster. I brought away some few slips of the roses, in testimony of the truth of the tradition, and any lady or gentleman is welcome to take them, in remembrance of this anniversary. I thank you for your attention. I have read only a slight and hastily written paper, but at the conclusion of so copious a feast, as this meeting has afforded, like the lighter viands after the more substantial entertainment, I hope this slight paper may not be unacceptable. How thankful we should be, that we live in a day, when instead of meeting as foes in hostile array, we meet as friends in learned counsel; and that instead of being summoned to decide on the claims of contending sovereigns, or the election of martial leaders, we are only called upon to make our choice of lecture rooms; and to decide to what paper, or section of the Institute, we shall give our temporary adhesion.

GEO. FYLER TOWNSEND, M.A.,
Vicar of Brantingham, Yorkshire.

ON THE PAINTED GLASS IN THE CATHEDRAL AND CHURCHES OF YORK.

FEW cities can boast of more extensive and important remains of painted glass, than York. The examples extend over a period of nearly four centuries, but it is the almost unbroken series of glass paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which renders this collection so interesting to the student.

The greater portion of these specimens is in the Minster, and their value as evidences of the state of the art at different periods, has been enhanced by Mr. Browne's laborious investigation of a vast mass of original documents relating to the building and adorning of the cathedral, which has enabled him to assign dates to most of the windows with considerable precision.

It is not my intention to enter into any detailed statement concerning these windows, but simply to point out, as nearly as I can, the *order* in which they should be examined; leaving it to the student to ascertain the difference of style observable in these works, and referring him for particular dates to Browne's History of York Cathedral. Mr. Browne's excellent notes on the painted glass in the Parish Churches, which are in the hands of the members of the Institute, render it unnecessary for me to offer many observations on this subject.

The earliest painted glass in this city, and indeed one of the earliest specimens that I am acquainted with in England, is a portion of a *Jesse* in the second window from the west, on the north side of the clearstory of the nave, of the cathedral. It forms the upper subject in the westernmost lower light of this window. The date of the glass is about 1200, it is therefore much older than the greater part of the Early English glass at Canterbury cathedral, to which I do not think a date can be assigned much earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. A coloured engraving of this very curious example, is given in Browne's History of York Cathedral, plate 123. Much Early English glass varying in date from the beginning

to the middle of the thirteenth century, has been employed to fill the wheel of tracery in the head of the last-mentioned window, as well as the wheels in the tracery of the five next clearstory windows. The upper tier of subjects in the lower lights of the fifth and seventh windows, counting from the west, on the north side of this clearstory, are also Early English. An Early English subject is inserted in one of the lower lights of the sixth clearstory window, counting from the west. The wheels in the tracery of all but three of the clearstory windows, on the south side of the nave, are likewise filled with Early English glass; and Early English glass paintings are also to be found amongst the subjects in their lower lights. Coloured engravings of some of this glass are given in Browne's History of York Cathedral; one plate,—of great value to the antiquary,—represents a series of borders, from the commencement to the middle of the thirteenth century.

The next glass in order of date is that in the Five Sisters: which beautiful pattern windows are of the latter half of the thirteenth century. It is hardly necessary to observe that the glazing of the five lancets above the Sisters, is modern. A portion of the pattern of each of the Five Sisters, has been carefully engraved in Browne's York, plates 61, 63, 65, 67, and 69. Some glass of the same character and date as that in the Five Sisters, has been inserted in the tracery of the second window, from the door, in the vestibule or passage leading into the chapter-house. The remains of a very nice Early English window of the latter half of the thirteenth century, are inserted in two Decorated windows on the north side of St. Dennis, or Dionis church, Walmgate, in this city.

The next glass in order of date, is that in the chapter-house, and vestibule leading into it. This is of the time of Edward II., and commencement of the reign of Edward III., and is an extremely beautiful specimen of early Decorated work. Accurate engravings of the patterns of some of these windows are given in Browne's York, plates 79, 83, 85, 88, and 92; and a coloured print of one of the subjects, the Annunciation, has lately been published in this city. One window in the chapter-house, that opposite the entrance, is a restoration by Messrs. Barnett and Sons, of York; it has been carefully executed, and if it does not produce so satisfactory an effect as the original windows, this arises not from the fault of the artist, but from the impossibility of procuring at

the present day, a material similar in texture to the glass of the fourteenth century.

The next glass in order of date is that in the nave of the cathedral, its clearstory, and aisles. This glass is all of the time of Edward III. The contract for glazing the great west window, is dated 1330, and none of the glass probably is later than 1350. The general arrangement and execution of the designs throughout this part of the building are well worthy of notice, as evincing the attention paid by our ancestors to general effects in these matters. The west windows of the nave and aisles, of which distant views may be obtained, have their lower lights filled with large figures and canopies; while the windows of the aisles, with but one exception, are adorned with paintings of a more complicated character, and on a smaller scale, and which are therefore better calculated for a near inspection. Much of the plain geometrical glazing in the clearstory windows is original, and like that in a similar position in Cologne cathedral, affords a proof that the ancient glass painters did not consider themselves *bound* to finish *patterns* destined to occupy a distant position, as highly as those placed nearer the eye. Some Decorated glass of the same character and date as that in the nave, has been placed in the first window from the west, of the south aisle of the choir. The second and third clearstory windows from the east, on the south side of the choir, contain similar glass, which, as I conjecture, has been removed thither from one or other of the two blank side windows of the north and south aisles of the nave. Many of the churches in the town possess good Decorated glass in their windows; I may mention in particular the east window of the north aisle of All Saints', North-street, and the westernmost window of the north aisle of St. Martin's cum Gregory: there are also the remains of a Decorated Jesse, like that in one of the windows of the south aisle of the nave of the cathedral, in St. Dennis, or Dionis church; and some very perfect Decorated designs in the first and second windows from the east on the north side of that building.

The earliest Perpendicular glass in the cathedral is contained in the third window from the east in the south aisle of the choir; in the third and fourth windows from the east, in the north clearstory of the choir, and in the fourth clearstory window from the east, on the opposite side of the choir.

These windows are of the close of the fourteenth century. There is also an early Perpendicular Jesse in the third window from the west in the south aisle of the choir. The date of the east window of the choir is well known; a contract for glazing it in three years was made in 1404. This window is one of the best executed that I have ever seen, the beauty of the figures however cannot be fully appreciated without inspecting them closely from the gallery near the window. The other windows of the choir aisles, eastward of the small eastern transepts, as well as the glass in the lancet windows on the east side of the great western transepts, appear to be likewise of the time of Henry IV. Some of these windows may probably be a few years earlier than the east window. All the rest of the glass in the choir is of the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI.; the greater portion belonging to the latter reign. The chief peculiarity that I have observed in these windows is, that the white glass, which enters so largely into their composition, is, generally speaking, less green in tint than is usual, especially in the western and southern parts of England. Mr. Browne has informed me that it clearly appears from the fabric rolls, that this white glass is of *English* manufacture, which circumstance may perhaps serve to account for its whiteness. There is some very good glass of the time of Henry VI. in the east and other windows of All Saints' church, North-street; the east window unfortunately has not been improved by the modern restorations, which appear to have been made in ignorance of the fundamental principles of the Perpendicular style of glass painting. St. Martin's church, Coney-street, contains much painted glass of the time of Henry VI., of good character, and valuable as affording an example of a general arrangement of designs throughout an entire building.

Some glass of the reign of Henry VII. has been inserted in the four upper south windows of the great west transept of the cathedral: the heads of some, if not all of the figures are restorations.

A very beautiful glass painting, of the last half of the sixteenth century, has been inserted in the window next the east, of the south aisle of the choir. It was presented to the cathedral, by Lord Carlisle, in 1804, and was brought from a church at Rouen. The design is evidently taken from a painting, I believe by Baroccio, (who died in 1612, aged 84,) but the colouring and execution have been varied to suit the nature of

the material employed. I infer from the column-like arrangement of the groups, as well as the actual division lines of the glass, that this work was originally painted for a four-light window. This is neither the place nor the occasion for any discussion touching the relative merits of this and the earlier glass paintings in the cathedral; but I may be permitted to observe that this work affords a proof that it is not impossible to unite the drawing and colouring of an advanced period of art, to the true *practice* of glass painting. In the windows by Peckitt at the south end of the great west transept, the principles of painting upon glass, and painting upon canvass are confounded together; in attempting to imitate the depth of an oil painting by shadows alone, he has simply produced opacity, than which no greater fault can be committed in glass painting.

I cannot conclude these remarks without expressing a hope that before this meeting separates some measures will be taken for cataloguing all the painted glass in the Cathedral and Parish Churches of York. A really correct and properly detailed catalogue of the glass in the cathedral alone, would be a most valuable addition to our archæological publications. Many of those windows are perfect histories in themselves; and contain information which can hardly be collected elsewhere. Yet how little is known of them. The French antiquaries have already made correct catalogues of the glass in many of their principal buildings; and why should not their example be imitated in England? we may be sure that the longer it is delayed the more difficult will become the task; Time never sleeps, and in spite of all our precautions is perpetually destroying the evidences of history committed to so frail a material as glass. One of the principal obstacles to obtaining a correct catalogue of painted glass, the difficulty of procuring a person competent to the task, does not exist in the present case. I could have wished that Mr. Browne had in his own work given, what he is perfectly capable of making, a full and complete catalogue of the glass in the cathedral; but a very cursory examination of the windows has convinced me that he has exercised a sound discretion in declining such an undertaking on his own account. I repeat again that a *good* catalogue of the York glass would be an achievement worthy of the Institute, that it would stamp its proceedings with a character of *usefulness*, and perhaps induce other antiquarian

societies to commence similar undertakings. The releading of painted windows, in a careful manner, and insuring the retention of even every little fragment of original glass in its original position, during the operation, is a work which cannot be too strongly advocated; but at the same time can never supersede the necessity of making full and accurate catalogues, which may remain after the glass itself has perished.

C. WINSTON.

ARCHBISHOP SCROPE'S INDULGENCE CUP.

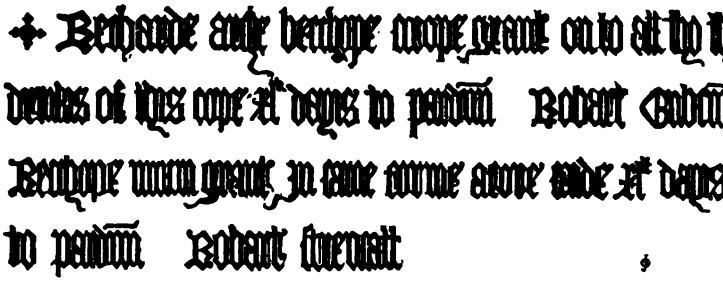
MAZER BOWL, YORK

THIS cup or bowl, which is now deposited among other relics of antiquity in the treasury of York minster, is usually called 'Archbishop Scrope's Mazer,' and is said to have been originally presented by that eminent prelate to the incorporated company of cordwainers of York. Being in the possession of the cordwainers when their company was dissolved in the early part of the present century, the bowl then passed into the hands of the late Mr. Hornby*, who was their last master or governor, and he very properly placed it in the custody of the dean and chapter.

Mr. Drake regards the circumstance of this bowl having been preserved by the cordwainers, as a remarkable instance of Archbishop Scrope's popularity: "For in the shoemakers' company," he tells us, "is kept a bowl called a 'mazeur bowl' edged about with silver double gilt with three silver feet, cherubs' heads, to it. Round the rim on one side is this inscription, **Recharde arche beschope Scrope grant unto all tho that drinkis of this cope xl^ti^ dayes to pardon.** On the other is, **Robert Gobson beschope mesm grant in same forme aforesaide xl^ti^ dayis to pardon. Robert Strensall.** I take these last," Mr. Drake observes, "to have been suffragan bishops of the see. Every feast day after dinner the company have this bowl filled with spiced ale, and according to ancient custom the bowl is drunk round amongst them. It has since had an

* William Hornby, Esq., Sheriff of York 1807.

additional lining of silver and the company's arms put upon it, anno 1669[b]." The inscription is given in this quotation according to Drake's reading of it, which, as the fac-simile shews, contains some inaccuracies. The correct reading, giving the contractions *in extenso*, appears to be, as follows, ✠ Recharde arche beschope Scrope grantis on to alle tho that drinkis of this cope xl^{ti} dayis to pardune, Robart Gubsune Beschope musm grantis in same forme afore saide xl^{ti} dayis to pardune Robart Strensalle.



INSCRIPTION ON MAZER BOWL.

That the traditionary account of the presentation of the cup by Archbishop Scrope to the cordwainers' company is without foundation, will appear from the following item, extracted from the inventory of jewels and other valuables belonging to the Corpus Christi guild of York, which is contained in their original register book, now deposited in the British Museum[c]:—"Unus ciphus magnus de murro cum ligatura plana ex argento deaurata, qui v' ciphus indulgencialis digno nomine censetur, et hac de causa:—Beatæ quidam memoriæ Dominus Ricardus Scrop, quondam Archiepiscopus Eboraci, vere penitentibus et confessis qui de hoc cipho sobrietamine cum moderamine et non excessive nec ad voluntatem, mente pura potaverit, quadraginta dies indulgenciæ contulit graciose: Eadem enim murra appreciatur xl^{ti}. Quam quidem murra seu ciphum Agnes Wyman, olim uxor Henrici Wyman quondam majoris civitatis Eboraci, fraternitati Corporis Christi obtulit, quam devote, cujus anima pace requiescat perpetua, Amen."

[b] Eboracum, p. 439. [c] Lansdowne MS. 403.

As no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the "ciphus de murro" here described is the identical cup or bowl which is now in the treasury of York minster, an inquiry into the circumstances of the person who was the donor of it to the Corpus Christi guild, may contribute to throw some light upon its early history. Agnes Wyman was a considerable York heiress, being the only child of John de Barden, who was mayor of York in 1378. Her mother was daughter and heiress of Thomas Thirkell, another wealthy York citizen. Her husband, Henry Wyman[d], was an eminent citizen and goldsmith of York in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. He was senior bailiff of the city in the twelfth year of Richard II. was afterwards made an alderman, and in the eighth year of Henry IV. he was elected lord mayor, and discharged the duties of that high municipal office during three consecutive years. At this period York was distinguished for the sumptuous manner in which the several incorporated trades and crafts of the city celebrated the religious festival of Corpus Christi, by the exhibition of pageants and miracle plays, which every year attracted many persons of rank and importance to witness their representation[e]. The Wymans appear to have taken great interest in these solemnities. In the year 1399, when an order was made by the civic authorities for limiting the number of places at which the Corpus Christi plays were to be performed in their progress through the city on the day of the festival, "the door of Henry Wyman in Conyng-strete" was one of the twelve places selected. During Henry Wyman's mayoralty in 1408, the guild or fraternity of Corpus Christi, which afterwards acquired an extensive celebrity, was established in York, and both Agnes Wyman and her husband were among its earliest members. Although this was subsequent to the death of Archbishop Scrope[f], it is most probable that the project of forming this society, which was instituted for regulating the solemnities and promoting the due observance of a great religious festival, had been commenced in his lifetime, and was carried forward under his sanction. The presentation of the cup by Agnes Wyman must have

[d] He was the proprietor of a mansion and estate at Naburn, near York, which he had probably acquired by his marriage with Agnes de Barden. The name of her father appears as one of the grantees in the year 1377.

[e] In the year 1397, King Richard II. visited York, and was present at the celebration of the festival.

[f] Archbishop Scrope was beheaded in June, 1405.

taken place soon after the formation of the guild. She died in 1413, having survived her husband about two years[g].

The archiepiscopal consecration of the cup is a very remarkable circumstance, and it is believed that no similar instance is on record. It can scarcely be supposed that the prelate would have performed so solemn an act, had the cup been made for private use, or intended to remain in private hands. May we not reasonably conclude that it was designed from the beginning to be placed among the sacred treasures of the Corpus Christi guild,—that the donor had originally provided it for that purpose, and caused it to be decorated at her own cost,—and that in order to enhance the value of the gift, and render it a more acceptable offering to the guild, the archbishop had been prevailed upon to bless the cup and promise indulgence to all who should drink out of it in a proper state of mind.

In the year 1546 the Corpus Christi guild of York was dissolved, and its property confiscated and sold. The indulgence cup would then pass into private hands, and whilst there was a danger of its being treated as a relic of popish superstition, would remain in concealment. At what time the cup first came into the possession of the cordwainers' company is not known. Probably the date is denoted by an inscription engraved upon a narrow silver plate attached to the bottom or foot of the bowl, which records the names of the searchers and beadle of the company in the year 1622[h].

The second part of the legend on the rim of the cup, "Robart Gubsune Beschope musm [or mosm] grantis in same forme afore saide xl^{ti} dayis to pardune Robert Strensalle," presents some difficulties. Who were Robart Gubsune and Robart Strensalle, and what part did they take in the business of consecrating the cup? Neither of these names is to be found among the ecclesiastics of the cathedral of York at that period. Mr. Drake assumes that they were suffragan bishops of the see, but they do not appear in any list hitherto

[g] Henry Wyman died in August, 1411, and Agnes his wife in September, 1413. They were buried in the parish church of St. Crux, in York.

[h] "W. Walker, I. Frost, Searcers, 1622. R. B. Beadel." Drake has not noticed this inscription. Torre, in one of his MS. volumes now in the possession of the dean and chapter, has the following note:—"The Company of Cordwyners of York have an ancient coker nut cup, very large, inlayd and tipt with silver, about the verge whereof is inscribed,"—and he then gives a tolerably accurate imitation of the legend. The date of Torre's MS. is about 1691.

published of the suffragans of the diocese of York, nor among the Scotch bishops, by whom, it is said, that office was frequently filled. To elucidate the true reading and meaning of the word 'musm' or 'mosm,' which occurs in this part of the legend, many ingenious conjectures have been offered.

In the inventory the cup is called 'unus ciphus magnus de murro.' The material of which it is made is a hard close-grained wood of a dark brown colour. According to a high archæological authority[l], "the maser, the favourite drinking vessel used by every class of society in former times, was called *murrus* from a supposed resemblance to the famed myrrhine vases of antiquity. The maser was however formed of wood, especially the knotty grained maple, and esteemed in proportion to the quality of the veined and mottled material, but especially the value of the bands and rings of precious metals, enamelled, chased, or graven, with which the wood was mounted[k]."

The gift of Agnes Wyman to the Corpus Christi guild of York has now found an appropriate resting place, where, we may hope that it will long be carefully preserved as a curious and valuable relic of mediæval times and usages. The present attempt to elucidate its history, may perhaps cause it to be looked upon with additional interest, as a monument of the piety of one who held a high position among the ladies of York more than four centuries ago, and who may be said to possess a peculiar claim to the respect of the members of the Archæological Institute on the present occasion, inasmuch as the noble president of the meeting is her lineal descendant and heir. Henry and Agnes Wyman had an only child, Johanna, whose first husband was Sir William Gascoigne knight, of Gawthorpe[l], the eldest son of Chief Justice Gascoigne. The last male descendant from this marriage was William Gascoigne esquire, of Gawthorpe, whose only daughter and heiress, Margaret Gascoigne[m], became the wife of Thomas Wentworth esquire, of Wentworth Woodhouse, and was the grandmother of Sir Thomas Wentworth, the great earl of Strafford. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the

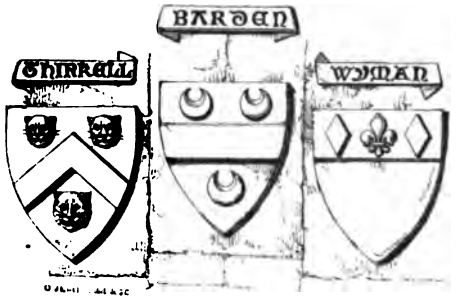
[l] Albert Way, Esq., F.S.A., to whom the author feels greatly indebted for his kindness in further illustrating the subject by the two valuable and highly interesting notes printed as addenda to this paper.

[k] Promptorium Parvulorum, in voce.

[l] He died in 1422, and she afterwards married Sir Ralph Greystocke, knight.

[m] Hunter's South Yorkshire, vol. ii. pp. 98, &c.

Earl Fitzwilliam is the representative of that eminent person. In right of their descent from the York citizens, of whom Johanna, the wife of Sir William Gascoigne, was the sole heir, the ancient and illustrious houses of Wentworth and Fitzwilliam have not disdained to place among the numerous quarterings of their heraldic achievements the armorial ensigns of Thirkell, Barden, and Wyman. ROBERT DAVIES.



NOTE UPON THE MAZER.

No slight diversity of opinion has existed amongst antiquaries, in regard to the precise nature of the mazer, and the material of which such bowls or cups were formed. The terms *cyphus murrinus* and *murreus*[n], *cyphus de murra*[o] or *murro*, frequently used in the descriptions of such vessels in ancient inventories, have led some to consider the medieval mazer as analogous in some respect to the celebrated myrrhine cup of the classical ages. Bishop Kennett, in his MS. Glossarial Collections, remarks that a mazer was "a drinking cup or bowl, so called from the matter of it, which Mr. Somner thinks was maple, but most other authors think it was of some precious stone or earth, perhaps the same we now call porcel-

[n] Sir Richard de Scrop, lord of Bolton, bequeathed to his son, the Archbishop, "meliorem ciphum de murreo, scilicet maser:" and to his eldest son "unum maser vocatum Spang." Testam. Ebor., vol. i. 276.

[o] "Vinitarius habeat ciphos aureos, sive de *murra* vel de *macera*. Aurifaber habeat ciphos de *macera*, cum pede aureo," &c. Summa Guidonis, Add. MS. in Brit. Mus. no. 1867. ? *Macera*, for *Maceria*, wood.

lane[p]." This opinion may have been confirmed by the fact that some such vessels appear to have been accounted of so high a value as to render the supposition that they were formed of a material of small intrinsic value, such as wood, highly improbable. This high estimation seems, however, to have been due to the bands and ornaments of precious metals (*crustæ* and *circuli*) enriched with gems and enamels, employed in the decoration of the mazer; as also to the quality or rarity of the wood, the beauty of the curious streaks and knotty grain wherewith it was marked, or, as termed in old French, *madré*[q], and the medicinal properties attributed to it. It is possible that some of the *cyphi de murro* of medieval times may have been formed of other material, or even of fictile ware.

The precise nature of the myrrhine cup of the ancients has never been satisfactorily ascertained, and it seems reasonable to conclude that in the middle ages vessels of wood, highly esteemed at that period, were, from some supposed resemblance or analogy to those of a remoter period, designated as *murrini*[r]. It must be observed, that whilst abundant evidence exists to shew the prevalent use of wooden, or "treen" goblets, in medieval times, scarcely any notice of drinking vessels of other materials are to be found, with the exception of the egg of the ostrich, or of the fabulous griffin, the cocoa-nut, and cups formed of the precious metals. At an early period, in our own country, mention is made of "treowene fatu wines fulle[s]," and the prohibition of the use of such cups, for the hallowing of housel, in Anglo-Saxon times, may supply an additional evidence. Much curious information connected with the manufacture of "*hanas de madre*" in France, and tending to prove that the mazer should properly be considered as a "treen" bowl, may be obtained from the "Reglements sur les métiers de Paris, au XIIIme Siècle[t]."

It has been asserted that the wood of the maple was preferred for the fabrication of a maser, and that term has been

[p] Lansd. MS. no. 1033.

[q] "*Vermiculatus*, variatus, distinctus, rubeus, maderde." Glossar. Lat. Ang. Sæc. XV. Harl. MS. 2257. "*Madré*, of wood whose grain is full of crooked and speckled streakes or veins."—Cotgrave.

[r] Papias, a writer of the eleventh century, gives the following explanation. "Murra, genus vasis, pro vase vitreo ponitur. Myrrhinum, genus optimi vitri et saphyrini coloris, inde myrrhina vasa dicuntur."

[s] Greg. Magn. Dial., lib. ii. c. 18.

[t] Edited by Depping, and forming part of the Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, p. 112.

derived from the Flemish name of the tree, maser[u]. Various other kinds of wood were, however, in esteem, such as the "hanaps et gobelets de bois de mardre et de tamaris fort rares," presented to the abbey of St. Denis by St. Louis, according to the relation of the Père Doublet. In our own country mention is occasionally made of cups formed of wood of "dugun," or "digione," and Master John de Garlandia, in his dictionary, written in the thirteenth century, speaking of the "reparatores cyphorum," amongst the occupations of the city of Paris, says that they wrought upon cups "de murinis (or murris) de planis, de brucis, de acere et tremulo[x]." It may deserve notice, that in a passage in an early romance, the term masere is used in describing a lady's harp, signifying doubtless some choice kind of wood[y].

> "The harpe was of masere fyne,
> The pynnys were of golde I wene."
> Syre Gawene and the Carle, v. 433.

The fashion of ornamenting with inscriptions the bands and plates of metal encrusted upon the mazer, as also with arms and devices graven or enamelled, appears to have been very prevalent. An instance of the presentation of such a mazer to a guild, in Norfolk, may deserve especial mention in connection with the subject of this paper. In the year 1454 Sir John Wells founded a guild in honour of St. Francis, at Lynn, and gave to "this Fraternite a Maser with a prynt of Seynt John's hede in the bothome, with a cover to y^e^ same, writen with,

> Soft words swageth ye . . . . . (? fyre)
> Suffyr and have thi desyre.

which maser shall remayne with the Wardeyne for the time beyng, and alway to be present at every morn spech and general[z]."

[u] "Mazer, poculum ligneum, a Belg. Maeser, maser, tuber ligni aceris, ex qua materia præcipue hæc pocula confici solebant."—Skinner. "Maser, un neud ou bosse à un arbre nommé erable. Maseren hout, bois d'erable, acernum lignum."—Planta, Thresor du lang. Bas-alman, 1573.

[x] The following gloss upon this passage is curious; "Murinis, Gall. madres: quidam volunt quod hæc murina dicatur arbor ille unde Lucanus, Non auro murane bibunt;" the true reading should be "murrhaque."

[y] Explained by Sir Frederick Madden as denoting the maple.

[z] Richards' Hist. of Lynn, vol. i. p. 479. A curious inscribed mazer is represented in the Archæol. Journal, vol. ii. p. 263.

NOTE UPON THE INSCRIPTION.

It has been suggested, in default of any satisfactory explanation of the term "Beschope musm," that, possibly, it may have been used to designate the chorister bishop, chosen, according to the custom of many cathedral churches, on the day of the holy innocents; or the *episcopus fatuorum*, called also *episcopus stultus*, appointed in the burlesque mummeries of the festive season of the new year, on the feast of the circumcision, or that of the epiphany. Mome, a word used by Shakspeare and Spenser, seems to have denoted a buffoon or jester, and occasionally an actor in dumb-show, a mummer[a]. It is certain that in the church of York some ludicrous ceremonies, of the nature of those to which allusion has been made, were retained until a late period, since entries are found in the inventory of ornaments belonging to that cathedral, taken A.D. 1530, describing the "mitra parva cum petris pro *episcopo puerorum*;—Item, unus annulus pro *episcopo puerorum*," &c. Dugd. Mon., tom. iii. p. 169. If it should be thought derogatory to the dignity of Archbishop Scrope, that his name should have been thus connected with the mockeries of a burlesque ceremony, it must be observed that the indulgence was obviously connected with the convivial assemblies of a guild, and not, precisely speaking, with sacred observances. In the festive mummeries also of the new year, as observed in some churches, even bishops and archbishops, as stated by Belet[b], took part in the sports in the most undignified manner. The most sacred functions of the episcopal character were on these occasions profanely burlesqued, and in a ceremonial cited in the additions to Ducange (*v.* Kalendæ) formulæ for granting indulgences by the *episcopus stultorum* are to be found.

[a] Compare the old French *mome*, a momus, &c. Cotg. Dutch, mom, a mummer, or masker. Momme, *larvatus*, Kilian, &c. The word in the inscription is not easily to be deciphered, and may be read "mosm."

[b] De Divin. Offic., c. 120.

ON THE MINT-MARKS OF CERTAIN SAXON COINS WHICH ARE PRESUMED TO HAVE BEEN STRUCK AT YORK.

RUDING, in some remarks on the 'moneyers' of the mint, has stated that "from the time of Athelstan, with some few exceptions only, the name of the town was added" on the coins. This was a hasty statement, since the converse is much the more true during the reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edgar.

The object of this paper is to point out some marks which, in the writer's opinion, shew that the coins possessing them, and which were struck during the reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edgar, were struck at York.

Cotemporary with Athelstan, Edmund, and Edred, commonly called sole monarchs, were certain kings of Northumbria or portions of Northumbria, adventurers from Denmark, Regnald, Anlaf, and Eric. The information which has reached us respecting them, is very limited, and also very confused. Whether they were cotemporary princes possessed of different portions of Northumbria, or whether they reigned in succession, is not clearly stated. If we may judge from their coinage, the probability is that they reigned in succession, since their coinage is evidently from the same mint. The same moneyers coined for Anlaf and for Eric, and the same type is found on the coins of Anlaf and Regnald, and the same peculiarities are seen on the coins of all the three. But Eric's mint must have been York. His kingdom was the country around York; he is styled king of York, and some of his coins bear the same sword that is seen on St. Peter's pennies struck at York, and moreover we know of no Northumbrian mint but York. If then Eric's coins were struck

at York, so I think must also the coins of Regnald and Anlaf[a]. But if York was the mint of all these princes, it is difficult to suppose that they reigned cotemporaneously and struck distinct coins. The coinage, therefore, in this instance may perhaps elucidate the obscurity of the annalists, and assert the succession of these Northumbrian princes, whoever they were, whose coins have been transmitted to us; although the order of the succession may not be of easy proof. Yet as Regnald's sole known moneyer is not to be found on the coins of Anlaf or Eric, it is probable that Regnald led the way.

The coins of these princes present certain marks, almost unknown on preceding coins of the sole monarchs, and in such abundance that it is quite clear that they were not accidental, but a peculiarity of the mint in which they were struck.

These marks are,

A crescent, ◡

Pellets in the legend, sometimes one between many of the letters, sometimes two or three placed one above the other, sometimes three in the form of a triangle, and four like a square or placed like a lozenge, also one or more pellets placed in the angles of the small cross in the centre of the coin, or the legend, and a number of pellets in a circle.

N or S placed after the word rex or cununc.

An annulet, o.

The coins of Athelstan are the earliest coins which have the name of York upon them, and therefore we have no certain knowledge of the York mint previous to these Northumbrian princes. Whether the stycas of the earlier Northumbrian kings were struck at York, is a matter of conjecture, but in all probability they were; and it is worthy of remark that they present to us the use of the pellets in all the variations which appear upon the coins now under consideration. There is therefore a strong *prima facie* ground for supposing that these marks belong to the York mint, and as they are marks which, with the exception of the annulet, do not appear, or scarcely appear, upon the coins of any other mint of the sole monarchs, it would seem that they are also, with that exception, distinctive of that mint.

This *prima facie* evidence can be strengthened;—and first with respect to the crescent.

[a] Since these pages were written I have seen a Penny of Anlaf reading Rex Eb.

On the coins of some of the East Anglian princes in the previous century, the crescent is seen in the angles of the cross, like the pellet, and such a type is seen in some of the cotemporary coins of Egbert, but on those coins it is a type, and not a mark; it occupies the body of the coin, and is not here and there inserted in the legend or in the field like a private mark.

On the York coins of Athelstan, as I have said, it appears in the field among a number of pellets as a private mark; and on a coin of his successor Edmund, in which he is styled king of *York*, and which was struck by Ingelgar, moneyer to both Anlaf and Eric, the crescent is seen dividing the letters in the legend.

Again, among the moneyers of Eric, as given by Ruding, is Hunred. I have not met with any coins struck by him for Eric; I am therefore unable to compare his coins struck for Eric with those he struck for Eric's cotemporary and conqueror Edred. But on the coins of Edred, struck by Hunred, the crescent is very frequently seen, sometimes three or four scattered about on one coin.

Again, among the moneyers of Edgar is Fastolf, who describes himself as a moneyer of York. Many of the coins which he struck also exhibit the crescent, as well in the legend as in the field.

It is also a great confirmation of the opinion that the crescent is peculiar to York, that the pennies called St. Peter's pennies, and which were struck at York, and which are generally considered as cotemporary coins with the coins under consideration, exhibit this mark, while it is not found on the coins of St. Martin or St. Edmund.

More elucidation might be added, but it is deemed unnecessary, and it is presumed, since we find the crescent on the Northumbrian coins and on coins of Athelstan, struck at York, and on coins of Edmund, which style him king of York, and on coins of Edred struck by York moneyers, and on coins of Edgar struck by a York moneyer, and on no other coin of any other mint that we know of, that when we see a coin of this period with the crescent mark upon it, we may with confidence assign it to the York mint.

Secondly, it cannot fail to strike the most careless observer of the Northumbrian coins, that the legends are more or less studded with pellets, sometimes single between the letters,

sometimes two or three one above the other, sometimes in the form of triangles, sometimes in squares. I have already observed that all these varieties are to be observed on the Northumbrian stycas. These marks are also very abundant on the coins of those moneyers who use the crescent. The same marks are also in great abundance found on the coins struck by the York moneyers, Hunred and Fastolf, and since the similarity of these coins to each other is very remarkable, little doubt can exist, but that they all issued from the same mint, and that that mint was York. It is true that a pellet may sometimes be found on the coins of other mints, but it is the exception, and such coins have a very different appearance.

Again, it will be observed that on a coin of Anlaf, he is styled Cununc N., and on another Rex S. There is also a coin of Eric, which reads Rex N. These letters are also to be found on the coins of the cotemporary sole monarchs, Edred and Edgar, and there can be no doubt but that they have a meaning. It is not a far-fetched conjecture considering that Athelstan used the title "Rex Saxonum," to interpret them as signifying king of the Northumbrians, and king of the Saxons. This will be confirmed by observing that the coins of Eric, although they describe him as king of the Northumbrians, (supposing the conjecture true,) and king of York, do not describe him as Rex S. or king of the Saxons; while the coin of Anlaf above alluded to so describes Anlaf. This difference increases my confidence in the truth of the conjecture, because, after his campaign with Edmund, Anlaf had ceded to him all the country north of Watling Street. He might therefore be well described as king of the Saxons, which would not have been true of Eric.

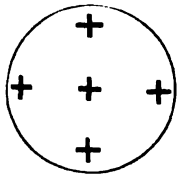
The title Cununc or Rex N. could not be expected to appear on any coin but one of the Northumbrian kingdom, and as we know of no other Northumbrian mint but York, we may fairly presume that all coins with that title were coined there. When then we find coins of the *cotemporary sole monarchs*, who were every now and then marching into Northumbria and expelling the petty kings, exhibiting the same title and sometimes struck by the same moneyers, we may conclude, and I think with some confidence, that such coins of the sole monarchs were also minted at York; and when it is further stated that all the moneyers, whom we know to have used this title, have been already adjudged to

be York moneyers, from direct statement or from their use of other marks appropriated to that mint, it is presumed that there can be no further room to doubt of the truth of the latter appropriation. The title Rex S. might not seem so conclusively to belong to the Northumbrian mint, as it might have been adopted by any southern mint; and yet there can be little doubt but it ought to be also considered Northumbrian, as the moneyer on Anlaf's coin is Farman, a Northumbrian moneyer, and as we also find the title on one of Edgar's coins, struck by Fastolf, an acknowledged York moneyer. For my own part I have not seen these titles Rex N. or Rex S., whether belonging to the Northumbrian kings, or to the sole monarchs, except on coins resembling in essential particulars the coins which I am attributing to the York mint. Perhaps in Northumbria the existence of the kingdom was not considered destroyed by its dependence upon a southern prince. If he was their king, it was as being king of Northumbria or York, apparently a synonymous title.

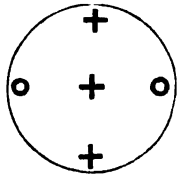
On Fastolf's coins are also seen a variety of other marks, which are also seen more or less on other coins, which, either from general appearance, or from their possessing some of the marks attributed to the York mint, are adjudged to have issued from that mint; such marks as

We now approach a mark, which although I have no doubt but it was at times more or less distinctive of the York mint, still cannot be considered as exclusively belonging to it. I allude to the annulet. It is very frequent in the legends of the Northumbrian coins, and a century afterwards it was equally common on the coins of Edward the Confessor, struck at York. Out of 142 coins in the British Museum of Edward the Confessor, struck at York, 123 possess that mark: the remaining 19 belonging to two types on which it seems not to have been used; and as one of these types is the same that was used by Harold, it was probably the last type which the Confessor used, and the other type (22 Ruding) was perhaps the one before it, so that for some cause or other the mark, which re-appeared in the Confessor's coinage, was again disused during his life-time. It is constantly seen on the York coins

of the other types of the Confessor[b]; and there are only four of his coins in the British Museum struck at other places than York which possess it, three of Lincoln and one of Chester. This is most satisfactory testimony to prove that the annulet was at times a distinctive mark of the York mint. But it appears, although but rarely, also on coins struck by Athelstan in other mints; Chester for instance, and Stafford and Derby; this is perplexing. When the name of the mint appears on the coin, no difficulty, as a matter of course, arises. But there are a number of coins of the period under review, which exhibit annulets in the field on the *reverse*, and which present no name. Are we to attribute these to the York mint? The coins to which I allude are those which in the place of three crosses in the centre of the reverse present sometimes one or three, but far the more commonly two annulets, in the room of the corresponding crosses, that is to say, while the usual type is



we find instead of it



My answer to such a question would be No, and that these annulets are not private marks distinctive of any mint, but that they are a *variety of type*. Such coins, in their moneyers and the style of work, vary very much from the coins which we have been attributing to the York mint; and if they belong to any mint exclusively, I should prefer attributing them to the Chester mint.

[b] I have seen no specimen of the crux type struck at York.

The use, on the other hand, of this type, has led to an appropriation of coins to the York mint, which I think is erroneous. There are several pennies of Edwy and Edgar which have three lines of letters on the reverse. The first and third lines contain the moneyer's name and title, and the intermediate line presents the town of mintage. Thus—

And there are many also whose reverse presents the following appearance. Instead of + B E + D A + or some other town, will be seen O L + E O, and this is supposed a blunder for O N + E O, that is, on York. But I very much doubt the truth of this supposition. It is true that mistakes are not unfrequent on the Saxon coins, but they are not so frequent as that correct spelling is the exception, which we must in this case assume it to be, if we suppose O L + E O a misspelling for O N + E O. Moreover, none of the other coins which have the town so placed on the reverse read O N the town; they merely name the town. And when it is further considered that the moneyers whom we find on these coins are not acknowledged York moneyers, and that the style of work is most dissimilar from the York coins of this period, and much resembling the Chester coins, I am led to suppose that the annulet on these coins is not a letter but an ornament —part of the type; and that if the town in such cases be expressed, the letters are L E, and the coin is perhaps of the Chester mint. Very rarely O N + E O is to be seen; and in such a case I should still consider the O as an annulet, and read the town N E, which in one coin of which Clac was the moneyer is more developed by the letters N E + P E.

Fig. 1.

In illustration of these remarks I adduce a coin of Edgar with the reverse, fig. 1.

This coin would be immediately called by many persons a York coin, and it would be said that the OL + EO was a blunder of the moneyer for ON + EO.

But I have another coin of the same king, and the same workmanship, and the same moneyer, with the following reverse, fig. 2.

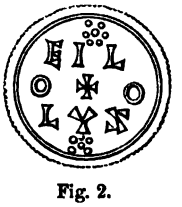


Fig. 2.

In considering these two reverses I cannot help concluding that LE is the name of the town, while the annulets are but a portion of the type in both cases.

I am however very much inclined to believe, when, during the reigns of Edmund, Edred, or Edgar, we meet with a coin which contains an annulet in the legend, that the annulet is a private mark, and that the coin issued from the York mint.

E. J. SHEPHERD.

A TRUE MEMORIALL OF THE LIFE OF LADY ANN CLIFFORD,

SOLE DAUGHTER AND HEIR OF GEORGE EARL OF CUMBERLAND, BARON CLIFFORD, WESTMORELAND, AND VESEY, LADY OF THE HONOUR OF SKIPTON IN CRAVEN, HIGH SHERIFFESSE OF WESTMORELAND, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF DORSET BY HER FIRST MARRIAGE, AND COUNTESS DOWAGER OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY BY SECOND MARRIAGE. ALL DICTATED BY HERSELF IN THE 63 YEAR OF HER AGE.

THE following account of the life of this celebrated lady is taken from a small 4to. volume containing an abstract or summary of the three great books of records kept at Skipton castle, which records, as mentioned in the books, "were collected by the care and painfull industry of that excellent lady Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, out of the various offices and courts of this Kingdome, to prove the right title which her only Childe the Lady Ann Clifford now Countesse of Pembroke had to the inheritance of her Ancestors," and were compiled in the year 1649, the summaries being entered in the year 1652.

The first of these volumes is taken up with the records and lives of the Veteripont or Vipont family; the second contains those relating to the Clifford family, and in the third are transcribed many deeds and interesting documents relating to the Earls of Cumberland. At the conclusion of the records in the third volume is contained an account of the life of the countess of Pembroke, styled "a Sūmarie and Memoriall," in which the chief transactions of each year during her lifetime are mentioned. The MS. is in several persons' hand-writing, but has been not only dictated but corrected by the countess, as many interlineations and references to texts of Scripture are made in her handwriting.

From this memorial the present account had been made by some person, probably her secretary, in the lifetime of her heir the Earl of Thanet, and from the writing and various circumstances I should infer in the lifetime of the Countess.

The description of her personal appearance was not composed by any other person, but is that which had been given by herself.

Through the kind permission of Lord Thanet, and by the ready assistance of his steward, Thomas Heelis, Esq., to whom my thanks are especially due, I was enabled to obtain a transcript from this interesting volume. E. H.

THIS NOBLE LADY was born in Skipton Castle on the 30th day of January $15\frac{89}{90}$ her Mother comeing from London to Skipton great with Childe with her then, haveing her two Sons with her, But her Father being then at Sea. Her elder Brother Francis Lord Clifford dy'd about 7 weeks before she was born.

On the 22d February following she was baptiz'd in the Parish Church at Skipton. Her Godfather was Phillip Lord Wharton her Aunt's husband, her Father being then at London, who came downe to Skipton about the last day of March she being then near 8 weeks old. And on the second day of Aprill following, her father and mother carrying her and her Brother Robert along with them quite away from thence towards London, being but ten weeks old when they came to London: And when she was a year and four months old her Brother Robert then Lord Clifford dy'd at North Hall in the County of Hartford 24 May 1591.

In her infancy and childehood by the means of her Aunt Countess of Warwick she was much belov'd by Queen Eliz^{h} who dy'd when she was about 13 years old and 2 months. Her mother outliv'd that excellent Queen the same time of 13 years and 2 months.

On the 1st September 1605, she took her leave of her Father in the open Air on Greenwich Heath being the last time she ever saw him; for then hee brought so farr on her way towards Sutton in Kent where her Mother then lay, after she had been the space of a month in the old House at Grafton in Northamptonshire, which her father then hired by reason of some unhappy unkindness towards her Mother, and when hee entertained King James and Queen Anne with magnificence, which was a time of great sorrow to her Mother 'till she return'd back again to her from her Father the 1st day of September.

On Thursday the 30th October 1605 her noble Father dy'd in the Dutchy House by the Savoy, when he was almost three months past seven and forty years old, her Mother and herself being present with him at his death, she being just 15 years old and 9 months the same day. Where a little before his death he express'd himself with much affection to her Mother and her. And a great beleife he said he had that his Brother's son would dye without issue male and thereby all his lands would be her's. Her father was the last heir male

of y^e^ Cliffords who did rightfully enjoy the ancient lands and honours in Westmoreland given by King John to Robert de Vetripont, and the honour of Skipton in Craven given to Robert de Clifford by King Edward the second.

She did acknowledge that in her infancy and youth and a great part of her life escaped many dangers both by fire and water, by passage in Coaches and falls from Horses, by burning fevers and excessive bleeding many times, to the great hazard of her life. All which and many cunning and wicked devices of her Enemies she escaped and passed through miraculously, by the help of the prayers of her devout Mother.

Presently after her father's death her Mother did cause her to chuse her her Guardian, and then in her name she began to sue out a Livery in the Court of Wards for her right to all her father's lands, by way of prevention, to hinder her Uncle from suing out a Livery in her Name, which he intended to doe without either her or her Mother's consent, which caused great suits to arise between her and her Uncle, which continued for one cause or another during her Mother's life; in which she shew'd a brave spirit and never yielded to any opposition whatsoever.

In which Businesse King James began to shew himself extreamly against her Mother and her, tho' his Queen was very much inclining to their part and very gratious and favourable to them.

In her youth she was much in the Court with her and in Masques attended her, tho' she never served her.

About the 9th of June in the 5th year of his reign 1607, to shew how much he was bent ag^t^ them in her Unckles behalf, the King then gave the revertion of all those lands in Westmoreland and Craven out of Crowne by Patent to her Unckle, and to his heirs for ever. The grant of which lands out of the Crown was done merely to defeat her as hopeing to get her Release to all the heirs male. But this grant turn'd at last to her great advantage.

By reason of these great suits her Mother and herself in a manner were forced to goe together from London into Westmoreland, and so came to Appleby Castle the 22d of July 1607. They staid there and at Brougham Castle 'till the 8th of Oct. following,—they went towards London, and in their way thro' Craven the 12th Oct. they wou'd have gone into Skipton Castle to have seen it, but were not permitted the

Doors being shut against them by her Unckle's officers in an uncivill and disdainfull manner.

On the 23d of Oct. following they arriv'd safe at London at her Mother's House in St. Austins Fryers, and on the 18th day of Aprill 1608, she being then a Maid, commenced the great pleadings in the Court of Wards concerning her lands in Westmoreland and Craven.

She was married on the 25 day of Feb. 1609 as year begins on the 1st day of January, to her first Lord Rich[d] Sackvile then but Lord Buckhurst, in her Mother's House in Augustin Fryers in London, she being then present, and within two or three days after, her husbands father Robert Sackvile Earl of Dorset dy'd in Little Dorset House in Salisbury's Court at London, and about two years after she was marry'd her Lord went to travayle into France and the Low Countries for a year upon a prein-engagement to his Grandmother and other Friends before he marry'd her, & return'd the 8th Aprill 1612.

She had by him 5 Children, viz. 3 Sons & 2 Daughters. Her 3 Sons all dy'd very younge at Knoll in Kent where they were born.

But her first Childe the Lady Margaret was born in Dorset House the 2d day of July 1614, she was born in the lifetime of her Grandmother who was then at London.

Her youngest daughter Isabella was born at Knoll in Kent the 6th Oct. 1622.

In the year 1615 the 6th June was the great Tryall for her lands in Craven at the Comon Pleas in Westminster Hall. Her first Lord and her Unkle and his son being all there agreed to put it to the referrence of the Chiefe Justices of England, which tho' it never took effect (her Mother and herself absolutely denying to consent to it) yet was the ground of that Award w[ch] King James a little after made to her prejudice.

And by reason of that intended Arbitration of the Judges she went to Brougham Castle to her Mother to ask her consent therein. But she could never be brought to submit or agree being a Woman of a high and great spirit.

On the 2d day of April 1616 she took her last leave of her dear Mother with many tears and much sorrow to them both, about a quarter of a mile from Brougham in the open Air, after which they never saw one another. And on the 24th

of May following her Mother dy'd to her unspeakable greife in the Castle of Brougham, in the same Chamber where her Father was born : and a little after her death she went downe and was present at her Mother's Buriall in Appleby Church the 7th of July following.

On the 22d Aug^{t} 1616 her Lord came to her at Brougham Castle for a fortnight or three weeks, being the onely time that he was in any part of the lands of her inheritance.

The 30th of Sept^{r} following her lord went from Brougham Castle from her to York where her said Lord, her Unkle and his Son being present, the Case was pleaded before Edmond L^{d} Sheffield, then L^{d} President of the North and afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, on the 19th of Sept^{r} ; and about the 9th of Dec^{r} following she went from Brougham to York and from thence to London, and so the possession of that Castle (which was kept for her in Westmoreland) was delivered up to the use of her Unkle on the 29th of March 1617, which he kept from her till the deaths of her Unckle & his Son.

On the 18th and 20th of January 1617 as the year begins on the first of January, she was brought before King James in Whitehall to give her consent to the Award w^{ch} he intended to make and afterwards made concerning all her lands, w^{ch} she utterly refused and was thereby afterwards brought to great troubles.

But notwithstanding her refusall, on the fourteenth day of March following her husband did signe that Award in Great Dorset House in London, by w^{ch} he resigned to her Unckle and his Son all his right to the lands of her inheritance, which brought many troubles upon her the most part of the time she was his wife.

On the 10th day of July 1623 her Lord being sickly did make over to her her jointure of those lands in Sussex, part whereof she enjoyed herself and the other part she assigned over to her two Daughters.

Tho' she was happy in many respects by being his wife yet his Brother Sir Edw^{d} Sackvile was her Enemy and practised against her.

Her Lord Rich^{d} Earl of Dorset dy'd at Great Dorset House at London the 28th day of March, being Easter Sunday 1624, and was buried the 7th day of Aprill following in the Vault in Wythiam Church in Sussex, being just 35 years old and she about ten months younger. She was not

with him when he dy'd being then very sick and ill at Knowles in Kent.

Her first Lord was born the twenty eight day of March 1589 in the Charter House at London, his Mother being the Lady Margaret Howard onely daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded the second day of June 1572. Her Lord was in his own nature of a just minde, of a sweet disposition and very valiant in his own person. He had great advantage in his education by the wisdom of his Grandfather Tho^{s} Sackvile Earl of Dorset and L^{d} High Treasurer of England, who was then held one of the wisest men in that time.

By which means he was so good a Scholar in all manner of Learning that in his youth when he liv'd in the University of Oxford, his said Grandfather being then Chancellor of that University, there were none of the young Nobility then Students there that excell'd him.

He was a good Patriot to his Country and well belov'd in it, much esteemed by all Parliaments that sate in his time, and so great a lover of Scholars and Souldjers as that with an excessive bounty towards them or indeed that were in distresse he did much diminish his Estate, as also with excessive prodigality in house-keeping and other noble ways at Court as Tilting and the like. Prince Henry being then alive was much addicted to those noble exercises, and of whom he was much belov'd.

She liv'd widdow to this Earl of Dorset six years, 2 months and 4 days, most part of which time she liv'd with her two daughters.

In May a little after her Lord's death in Knowle House in Kent she had the small Pox so extreamly that she was at death's door and little hope of life in her; which infection she took of her eldest Childe who had it some twelve days after her Father's death, which disease did so martyr her face that it confirmed more and more her mind never to marry again.

On the 6th day of May 1626 when she had newly receiv'd Lady Day's Rents at Bollbrook House in Sussex, and had money in the house before, she escap'd miraculously an attempt of being robb'd, besides the extream fright it wou'd have put her in, had it not timely been discover'd and prevented by one who accidentally saw them enter in at the window.

On the 3rd day of June 1630 she was marry'd at Cheynis

Church in Buckinghamshire to her second husband Phillip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household and Knight of the Garter, he being then one of the greatest and noblest subjects of the Kingdom. He came to be Earl of Pembroke but the 10th of April before her Marriage by the death of his eldest brother William Earl of Pembroke.

She had by this Lord two Sons that were born both before their time, whilst she liv'd at Whitehall, in which Court she continued to live with him for some four years and six months.

On the 18th of December 1634 by reason of some discontent she left Whitehall to live at Baynards Castle in London, where and at the Houses at Wilton and Ramsbury she continued during the time of his life.

On the 5th of June 1635 her husband in Baynard Castle made her jointure of those lands in the Isle of Shepey in Kent w^{ch} he formerly had settled upon his first Wife. At the time of y^{e} making of w^{ch} jointure he released his right to all her lands in Westmoreland and £5000 out of her lands in Craven for part of her younger daughters portions, if ever those lands should fall to her in his lifetime, as afterwards they did.

About the beginning of the year 1643, her eldest daughter the Countess of Thanet went over into France to her Lord and their eldest son who was there before, where she staid some eight months, and in Aprill and May 1644 she return'd into England with her Lord unto her and 4 of her younger children, leaving their eldest the Lord Tufton behind them, where she was deliver'd of her 7th child Master Thomas Tufton, born on the 30th August 1644 at her husband's House in Aldersgate Street in London.

On the 11th day of December 1643 her Coz. Henry Earl of Cumberland dy'd in one of the Prebend's House in York leaving but one child behind him, the Lady Elizth Clifford. By whose death her lands in Westmoreland and Craven return'd unto her without any question, after they had been unjustly detain'd from her, the ancient lands in Craven from the death of her Father and the lands in Westmoreland from the death of her Mother; Yet she had little or no profit from that Estate for some years after by reason of the Civill Wars. And by his death was extinct the Earldom of Cumberland in the family of the Cliffords.

About this time and for some years before there happen'd a great cause of anger and falling out between her Lord and her. Because he desired to have one of his younger sons marry'd with her daughter Isabella Sackville, which she cou'd no way remedy, her daughter being herself extreamly against it, tho' he believ'd it was in her power to have brought it to pass.

On the 3rd of July 1649 takeing her leave of her second Husband at the Cockpit near Whitehall it being Sunday, she went from thence to her daughter Northampton's House in Islington.

On the 11th of July 1649 takeing her leave of her two daughters and their Lords and Grandchildren in Baynard's Castle she went out of London towards Skipton, whither she came on the 18th of that month into her Castle there, w^ch^ was demolish'd some 6 months before by Order of Parliament because it had been a Garryson for the King, from thence on the 28th of that month she went to Barden Tower. She continu'd to lye in Skipton till the 7th of the month following and on the 8th she came to Appleby Castle, and staid there till ab^t^ the 13th of February going to Brougham Castle, thro' Whinfield Chace for a while, and to her decai'd Castles of Brough and Pendragon.

And on the 23rd day of January as the year begins on new years day her Lord Phillip Herbert Earl of Pembroke &c. dy'd in his Lodgings in the Cock Pitt 1650 being 65 years and 3 months and 13 days old and was buryed in the Great Church in Salisbury the 9th of February following.

On the 13th February following, she remov'd from Appleby to Skipton where she staid till the 18th of February, come 12 months, during w^ch^ time she imployed her time in building and repairing Skipton Castle and Barden Tower and causing her boundaries to be ridden and her Courts kept.

On the 18th day of December 1650 her Grandson Nicholas Lord Tufton came to her at Skipton, and staid there till the 20th of the month following, that he return'd up to London, and from thence went beyond sea to travell into Italy to Rome and other places.

On the 18 or 19 of February 1651 as the year begins on New year's day she return'd back to Appleby Castle and staid a whole year there, and spent much in repairing that Castle and Brougham Castle, and on the 21 Aprill she helped to lye the first stone in the foundation of the Middle Wall in the Great

Tower in Appleby Castle called Cæsar's Tower, after it had stood without a Roof or Covering or one Chamber habitable in it ever since 1569, a little before the death of her Grandfather, when the Roof was pulled downe in the Great Rebellion then in the North. Which Tower was wholly finished and covered with Lead in July 1653.

On the 25th of Aprill 1651 she was present when the first foundation was laid in her Alms House or Hospital in Appleby, for which she purchased the Manor of Brougham and the lands called St. Nicholas near Appleby.

And this Sum̄er Major Generall Thomas Harrison came to Appleby with his forces; for the Wars were hot then in Scotland, so was many places in Westmorland and especially her Castle of Appleby was fully of Souldiers who lay a great part of that Sum̄er. But she received no damage or harm from them, nor by the King and his Army, who that August came into England and within 6 or 7 miles of Appleby, tho' they came not to it.

But by reason of the Warrs no Assizes were held at Appleby or any where in the North.

On the 24 of February 1652 as the year begins on new year's day, she remov'd from Appleby Castle and came to Skipton Castle, whither on the 19th of May follow^{s} her Grandson Mr. John Tufton came to visit her, and staid till the 28th of March 1653 and then went to his Father and so to Eaton College.

On Saturday the 17th July Edward Sackvile Earl of Dorset, her most bitter enemy, dy'd in Great Dorsett House.

On the 6th Nov^{r} this year her cause in Chancery ag^{t} her Tenants in Westmoreland was dismist out of that Court and she left to her remedy at Com̄on Law.

On the 30th of January 165$\frac{3}{4}$ being her birth day she past her clymactericall year of 63 years.

On the 28th March Mr. John Tufton went from Appleby Castle as before.

In the beginning of this Sum̄er her Almshouse in Appleby was quite finished, into w^{ch} she put 12 poor Women, 11 of them Widdows and the 12th a maimed Maid, and a Mother a Minister's Widdow.

On the 15th June her son in Law the Earl of Northampton came over Stainmore to Appleby Castle, and from thence to her decai'd Tower of Barden and to her Lordship of Silsden and so to London.

About the later end of July, the great Tower at Appleby Castle called Cæsar's Tower was covered with lead which had layen open and uncovered ever since the year 1569, being the year before her Grandfather the Earl of Cumberland dy'd, and her new Stables were begun to be built without the Castle where there were no buildings before.

The first day of Sept^{r} her son in law the Earl of Thanet his Lady and their eldest Son Nicholas Lord Tufton came to Appleby Castle where they staid 11 nights. This being the first time that this her first Child or her Lord or any other Children came to her in Westmorland or into any part of her inheritance, excepting her second John Tufton. And on the 12th they went from Appleby Castle into Worstershire unto their daughter at the Lord Coventry's House at Croome in that County.

On the ninth of November her Cause between her and her Tenants in Westmorland came to be try'd at the Common Pleas Barr in Westminster, which went ag^{t} her against evidence direction of the Court and the Judgment of all that heard it.

On the 26 of May 1654 the Lord Northampton with her daughter, his wife and their little Son the L^{d} W^{m}. Comton came to her at Skipton which was the first time that she ever saw them at Skipton. The Lord William wanted then but one day of being a year old.

On the twenty eighth of June her Grandchild the little Lord Compton was carried away from thence by his Nurse who was born in Scotland to Otley tenn myles from Skipton, where they lay all night and where the next day his father and mother overtook him, and so on to their House of Castle Ashby in Northamptonshire.

On the twelfth day of August whilest she lay in Appleby Castle her cause between her and her Westmorland Tenants was try'd before Judge Newdigate, where she obtained a special Verdit against them, tho' her Tenants still continu'd obstinate.

Whilst she lay at Brougham Castle she had the joyful news that her Grandchild the Lady Marg^{t} Coventry was on the 2nd of that Sept^{r} deliver'd of her first child w^{ch} was a son, at the Lord Coventry's House in Croom in Worstershire w^{ch} son was christen'd by the name of John and was the first that made her a great Grandmother. And her daughter Thanet was at her birth and christening of this her first great Grandchild

so as he sucked the milk of her Breast many times. She haveing now with her then her youngest Child the Lady Ann Tufton being then 9 weeks old. But her Grandchild the Lady Marg^{t} Coventry after her daughter Thanet was departed gave this child suck herself as her Mother had done to most of her children.

About tenth of March 165$\frac{4}{5}$, she caus'd a great part of Appleby Church to be taken down being very ruinous and caus'd a Vault to be made in the North East Corner of the Church for her to be bury'd in. And the repairing of the Church cost about £700.

About the 20th of March 1655 her Grandson Nicholas Lord Tufton was sent to the Tower of London by the com̄and of Oliver, on suspition that he had a hand in a then plot, where he continu'd Nine months and four days.

On the 15th of Aprill her Grandchild the Lady Frances Tufton was sent to Utrecht in Holland to be cured of the Rickets, and remain'd there till the ninth of May, One thousand six hundred fifty seven, and she return'd with her Brother Mr. Jno. Tufton to her father's House in Aldersgate Street in London.

In the Sum̄er 1655 whilst there she was at Appleby Castle, at her own charge she caus'd the steeple of Skipton Church to be built up againe which was pull'd down in the time of the late Warrs and leaded it over and then repaired some part of the Church and new glaz'd the Windows, in every of which Window she put quaries stain'd with a yellow Colour; these two letters, viz. Ⓐ Ⓟ and under them the year 1655, most of which Quaries still remaine. Besides she raised up a noble Tomb of Black Marble in memory of her Warlike Father.

And about the begining of Oct. being at Skipton Castle she begun to get the rubbish to be carry'd out at the old Castle there which had lain in it since it was demolish'd in December 1648.

On the 13th of January 165$\frac{4}{5}$ her Grandson Mr. John Tufton went from thence to Queens College in Oxford, and from thence on the 14th of June he went with Mr. George Sidgwick (whom he had appointed his Governor) into the Low Countries, where he staid most part at Utrecht till the beginning of May One thousand five hundred fifty seven, and came to her at her Castle in Skipton.

On the 16th day of May One thousand six hundred fifty six her Cause against her Tenants in Westmorland was try'd at the Comon Pleas Barr in Westminster Hall, and upon a full hearing she had a verdict. And the next day her second Tryall came on in the same Court, but it went by default, so she had another verdict and in both Causes she had 50^{li} costs.

About the 25th May she begun to repair Skipton Castle and about Michaelmas following there were thirteen Rooms finished; seven whereof were Upper Rooms, in one of which she was born, and her Uncle Francis Earl of Cumberland dy'd; and the Conduit Court was cleared of the Rubbish and the Rooms were covered with slate and the Gutters with Lead. But she was not suffered to cover the Rooms with lead.

On the 25th June 1658 her Grandchild Nicholas Lord Tufton was releas'd out of the Tower of London.

In the beginning of this Spring she caused Bondgate Church near Appleby to be pulled downe & new built at her charge.

And the same Spring she pull'd down the Chapell of Brougham and built it larger and stronger at her own charge.

This Sumer 1658 some mischeivous people secretly in the night broke and pull'd down from that Tree near y^{e} Pale of Whinfell Park one of the Hart Horns which (as is mentioned in Rob^{t} Lord Clifford's life) were set up in the year 1333, at a General Hunting when Balioll King of Scotland came into England by permission of Edw^{d} the third.

In the begining of the Sumer 1659 she caused the Church call'd Nine Kirk near Penrith in the County of Cumberland to be pull'd downe and new built at her owne charge.

She likewise caus'd to be repair'd her Old Castle at Brough and the Old Tower call'd the Roman Tower and a Court House for the keeping of her Courts.

About the 14th of August 1659, her Son in Law the Earl of Northampton was comitted close prisoner to the Tower on suspition of his being engaged in the then late insurrection, where he continued till the 2nd of November following.

And this Sumer her Grandchild Nicholas Lord Tufton went secretly into Ffrance. And tho' she found the Castle of Skipton for the most part well finished, yet she could not lye

in it partly by reason of y^e^ smell and unwholesomeness of the new walls, and partly of the Garryson of ffoot Souldiers w^ch^ was put in there about the 4th of August under the comand of Ensigne Ffanner for the security thereof, by reason of the troubles then in England.

On the 9th of December she removed with her Family from Skipton to Barden Tower which was the first time she had been there, and which she had with great costs repaired.

There was a Garryson of Souljers both at Apleby Castle and Brough Castle this last Sum̄er.

On the 25th of Aprill 1660 a new Parliament begun to sit at Westminster, and her Cozens Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir John Lowther were by her means chosen Knights of the Shire for the county of Westmoreland, and her Cousen Sir Henry Cholmeley and Christ Clapham Esq. were chosen Burgesses for the Burrough of Appleby.

In June this year 1660 she begun to repair her old decai'd Castle of Pendragon which had laid waste ever since the 15th year of King Edw^d^ the 3rd, when the Scots did then burn it. And it was so well repair'd that on the 14th of Oct^r^ this year she went thither and lay there 3 nights, which none of her Ancestors had since Idonea sister to Isabella de Vetripont lay in it, who dy'd in the 8th year of King Edw^d^ the 3rd.

She purchased of one Reynold Cock near Sedbar, Yorkshire, Lands to the value of 11^li^ a year, w^ch^ cost 220^li^, which she gave for the maintenance of a person qualified to read prayers, and the Homilies of the Church of England, and to teach Children of Mallerstang Dale to read and write English in the Chapell there.

On the 2nd day of March 166⅘ her Grandson Mr. Thomas Tufton was chosen Burgesse for the Towne of Appelby in the place of Mr. John Lowther, and first began to sit in the House of Commons on the 10th day of March following.

On the 29th of December 1672, being a Sunday, about Midnight there fell a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning upon the Island of Guernsey, which takeing hold of the Magazine of Powder blew up the Castle Connet which was the garryson of that Island. By the ruines whereof were kill'd (to her great greife) her dear Grandchild the Lady Cecily Hatton, Wife of Christopher Lord Hatton Governour there, and with her the old Lady his Mother and many of his Officers and Souldjers. But by God's Providence her Grandchild's

Children being three daughters and their Father and some other relations were preserv'd; the dead bodies of her Grandchild and her Lord's Mother were brought over into England and were interr'd in Westminster Abby.

About September 1675 her Grandson Mr. Thomas Tufton was sworn Grome of the Bed Chamber to the Duke of York.

This Noble Lady Ann Clifford after a happy retir'd life in the Northern parts ever since the year 1649, where she repaired all those ancient Castles or Houses of her inheritance after they had lain ruinous many years, built and repaired severall Churches Chapells Bridges and other structures of public benefit,—built and endow'd Alms Houses in both Counties, —making Acts of Charity & goodnesse her delight & with great care & resolution preserved & defended her undoubted right to the Northern Estate (w^{ch} her father left in great disorder and confusion) And so settled the same that is now lineally descended to the Right Hon^{ble} Thomas Earl of Thanet her now surviving Heir and her Grandson (whom God long preserve in health and happynesse) dy'd in her Castle of Brougham, the Twenty second of March in the 87 year of her age in the year 1675, and was buryed in the Vault of Appleby Church where she lyes, to whose virtuous and excellent Memory her succeeding posterity owe many great obligations.

She was very happy in her first constitution both in her minde and body, for internall and external endowments. And never was a childe more equally resembling both father and mother than herself.

The Colour of her Eyes was black like her Father's with a Peak of Hair on her forehead and a dimple in her Chin like her father—full cheeks and round-fac'd like her Mother and an excellent shape of body resembling her Father—but then (when she begun to dictate her dyary) she said that time and age had ended all those beauties which are compared to the Grasse of the Field. The hair of her head was brown and very thick and so long that it reached to the calf of her leggs when she stood upright. And when she caused these Memorialls of herself to be written she had passed the year of 63 her age; she said the perfections of her minde were much above those of her body; she had a strong and copious memory, a sound Judgment & a discerning

spirit, and so much of a strong imagination in her as that many times even her dreams and apprehensions before hand prov'd true.

When she came to live in the North her delight was to remove herself and family from one of her Castles to another where she had the comfort of haveing her Daūrs and Grand-Children often comeing to visit her, and she always set down in her Dyary the exact time that they came and in what Roomes they lay whilst they staid.

And in this setled abode in her ancient Houses of her Inheritance she more and more fell in love with the contentments and innocent pleasures of a country life, which humour of hers she wished with all her heart, if it pleased God, might be conferred on her posterity, for she said a wise body ought to make their owne homes the place of self fruition.

She was marry'd to her first husband Rich^{d} Sackvile then Lord Buckhurst on the 25th Feb^{y} 160$\frac{8}{9}$, by whom she had 2 daughters and 2 sons, but the Sons dy'd in their Infancy.

1. The Lady Margaret Sackvile one of the Coheirs to her father Rich^{d} Earl of Dorset, born in Dorset House 2d July 1614, and was marry'd to the Honourable John Lord Tufton 21 April 1624, he was Earl of Thanet about 2 years afterwards, by whom she had,

1. Nicholas Lord Tufton their first Childe born the 7th of August 1631, and marry'd the Lady Elizabeth second daughter of Richard Earl of Cork and Burlington; he was afterwards Earl of Thanet and dy'd without issue.

2. The Lady Ann Tufton born the 4th of September 1634, she dy'd the 5 Octo. following.

3. The Lady Margaret Tufton born 13 July 1636 and marry'd on the 18 July 1653 to M^{r} George Coventry eldest son of the Lord Coventry, by whom she had severall children.

4. Mr. John Tufton born the 7 August 1638. He was afterwards Earl of Thanet.

5. Mr. Richard Tufton born 30 May 1640, who was likewise Earl of Thanet.

6. The Lady Frances Tufton born 23 March 164$\frac{1}{2}$ marry'd to Mr. Henry Drax and dy'd of her first Childe on the 22d day of Nov^{r} 1665.

7. Mr. Thomas Tufton, now Earl of Thanet (whom God

long preserve in health and happynesse), borne 30 August 1644.

8. Mr. Sackvile Tufton born 11 June 1646.

9. The Lady Cicily Tufton born 2 July 1648, and on the 12 Feb. 166⅘ marry'd Mr. Christopher afterwards Lord Hatton.

10. Mr. George Tufton born 30 June 1650, he dy'd on the 12 of Decem. 1670.

11. The Lady Margaret Tufton born 2 August 1652. She marry'd Mr. W^m^ Walter of Sarden in Oxfordshire 8 Septem. 1670 and dy'd in Child Bed of the Small Pox 31 Jan. 167⅘.

12. The Lady Ann Tufton second of that name born 22 June 1654, marry'd on the 17th April 1673 Mr. Samuell Grimston a Widdower onely Son of Sir Harbotle Grimston, Master of the Rolls.

The Lady Isabella Sackvile was the second daughter of this Lady Ann Clifford and Coheir to Rich^d^ Earl of Dorset, and was born on the sixth day of October 1622, marry'd James Compton Earl of Northampton. She had

1. The Lord Compton born 21 May 1648, and dy'd within a day or two.

2. W^m^ Lord Compton born 27 May 1653, and dy'd 18 Septem. 1661.

3. The Lady Ann Compton born 14 July 1655, and dy'd 16 Decem. 1660.

4. The Lady Isabella Compton born 16 Decem. 1656, and dy'd 3 March 1657.

5. Mr. James Compton born 14 Aprill 1659, and dy'd 5 August 1662.

6. The Lady Alethea Compton born 14 March 1661, and dy'd without issue.

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